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TRAVELS

IN

HOLLAND THE UNITED PROVINCES ENGLAND SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

M.DC.XXXIV.—M.DC.XXXV.

BY

SIR WILLIAM BRERETON, BART.

EDITED BY

EDWARD HAWKINS, ESQ.

F.R.S. F.S.A. F.L.S.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XLIV.

INTRODUCTION.

The travels here presented to the reader are contained in a thin folio volume, which consists of sixty rather closely written leaves, bound together in a parchment cover. Its history cannot be traced higher than the time of Percy, Bishop of Dromore, in whose possession it once was, and who inserted the following note on the inside of the cover: "The writer of these travels seems to have been a gentleman of the Egerton family in Cheshire. He lived at Handford, which I conceive to be in that county." By Bishop Percy the volume was presented to Mr. Joseph Cooper Walker, a gentleman of some literary eminence, and Secretary to the Royal Irish Academy, who died about the year 1813. After his death, it passed into the hands of his sister, who for some years entrusted it to the care of Sir William Betham, Ulster King-at-Arms. While in this gentleman's possession, it was seen by Mr. Monck Mason, who, in his "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin," p. 7, makes mention of it as "The Travels of a Person of the Egerton family, who dwelt at Handford in Cheshire, and visited Ireland in 1635," deriving his opinion evidently from the autograph note of Bishop Percy.

From Miss Walker it was afterwards purchased by Mr. Christopher Bentham, a member of the Society of Friends, and at that time a printer in Liverpool, but who has now

retired to a residence at Birkenhead in Cheshire. During a temporary sojourn in Ireland, he shewed it to several gentlemen with whom he had the pleasure of being acquainted, and amongst others to the Rev. Sir Francis Lynch Blosse, who published, in the "Church of Ireland Magazine" for the year 1826, copious extracts of those parts which referred to Ireland; but, unfortunately, without adding any illustrative notes which, from local knowledge, might have much enhanced the interest of the work.

It was afterwards "placed in the hands of Sir Walter Scott, who was much interested with it, and strongly urged its publication, tendering his own services as editor, and offering to supply all the necessary explanatory notes." The reader cannot lament more than the editor, that, from some disinclination towards Sir Walter Scott's publisher, this most valuable offer should have been declined. Had the editor been aware of this fact at an earlier period, it is probable that he would have shrunk from an undertaking, in which, at every page, will be forced upon the reader the deteriorating comparison between what is, and what might have been.

It is a somewhat singular illustration of the different estimate which may be formed by different people of the same performance, that this work, which so much interested Sir Walter Scott, should have been rejected by the Camden Society as unworthy to take a place amongst their more interesting publications. By Mr. Bentham it was afterwards presented to Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart. of Oulton Park, Cheshire, who has kindly granted the use of it to the Chetham Society, that it may be printed for the gratification of its members.

This volume contains the journal of two excursions made by the writer: one in the year 1634 through the United Provinces; the other in 1635 through parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland. There cannot be any doubt that the traveller, though connected with the Egertons by intermarriages, was not himself of that family, as supposed by Bishop Percy, but Sir William Brereton of Handford in the county of Chester, the great Parliamentary general, whose exploits in that distracted period are inseparably interwoven with the history of his native county. He was born in 1604, created a baronet in 1627, and died in 1661.

In the course of the work, he mentions several persons as relatives, and some with the indefinite title of cousin, the exact connexion with whom we have been unable to trace; but enough of evidence remains to identify the writer with the Parliamentary General; his frequent reference to Handford as his home would be sufficient, without the mention of "my Brother Booth," that is, the brother of his wife, Susan, who was daughter of Sir Geo. Booth, of Dunham; or of "my sister Egerton, at Allerstone in the county of York," who was his only sister, Margaret, married to Richard Egerton of Ridley, by whom the Ridley estate was sold and the property squandered, and whose brother, Thomas Egerton, was of Allerstone, Co. York, and ultimately inherited the unsold estates of his father. "My brother Urian at Westminster" was his youngest brother; and this Christian name occurs frequently in the pedigree of his family.

He may be also identified by the character of his handwriting, comparing it with what appears in three volumes

of MSS. in the Brit. Mus. (Additional MSS. 11331, 2, 3) which consist of transcripts of letters to and from Sir William Brereton, about the year 1645, and some few in 1642. Some of the notes are signed by himself, "W. B." and there are some drafts and observations in his own handwriting, which corresponds exactly with that of these travels.

This volume, it may be safely concluded, was not the companion of his travels, neither was this journal exactly what he wrote down from day to day. It was, however, probably made up, and in a great degree transcribed, from notes actually made at the time; for there are abrupt changes of construction which give the appearance to a passage of having been put together from two separate memoranda; there are in the same sentence repetitions of the same fact or the same observation, which may be attributed to the same cause. There are also references to another book, which may have been the original journal, or possibly a different work altogether; and there are also allusions to circumstances which had not occurred at the time when he was actually on his travels. But although not written at the time, it is chiefly transcribed from what was so written, and it has consequently all the freshness of originality.

It is a plain, unimpassioned statement of what he saw and observed. The beauties of nature never warm him into admiration; nor do the feelings, habits, or phenomena of the people, or the countries which he visited, seduce him into any philosophical investigation. Perhaps the most remarkable circumstance in these journals is the almost entire absence of any remarks upon the political

and religious subjects of excitement which at the time agitated these kingdoms, in which he was himself, within a very short period, so deeply involved, and in the settlement of which he acted so prominent a part. It seems probable, indeed, that these distractions of his country had not at this time excited his feelings, or much engaged his attention. The principal subject of his observation in Holland was the management of their decoys, of which he seems to have had one at Handford, and in which he took great interest; while in Ireland, the following year, his remarks upon the value, product, and cultivation of land, as well as his mention of some ineffectual negociations, shew that he was engaged in looking out for some profitable investment of money in that country, with which he appears to have already had some tie of the kind, as he mentions Ralph Brian as his tenant at Dublin.* He seems to have been deeply impressed with religious feelings, but, though a professed member of the Church of England, he seems not to have understood her nature or her privileges, and his attachment to her could not have been great, nor exclusive, for we find him as ready to attend the ministry and listen to the discourses of a Brownist, or an Anabaptist, as to any the most eminent of the priests of his own invaluable Church.

The editor has attempted little more than by a few notes to explain some of the provincial or obsolete words, and to identify the persons and places mentioned in the text. He laments that his endeavours at illustration have not been more successful; and that he has found it necessary

* See Summary of his Journey, p. 190.

to leave not a few points to the more successful researches of the reader. In Scotland, and more particularly in Ireland, the orthography is so unsettled, names of places have been so changed, and all works of reference treating upon those countries are so imperfect, especially in an almost systematic omission of an index, that places which furnish long articles in the topographical dictionaries cannot be discovered in any map; and again, names conspicuous in the maps have no place in the dictionaries.

In a work written at so late a period as 1635, it has not been deemed adviseable to retain the peculiar orthography of the writer, except in the proper names of persons and places. In such cases, as an invariable mode of spelling is even at this time scarcely attained, and as that adopted by the author appears to have been acquired by the ear, it is here preserved; the rather, as it not unfrequently affords an interesting indication of the pronunciation then in common use.

EDWARD HAWKINS.

MY TRAVELS

INTO

HOLLAND AND THE SEVENTEEN PROVINCES,

1634.

May 17, 1634.—We departed from London by water; we came to Gravesend about eight of the clock in the evening; we came in a light-horseman;[1] took water about three clock in afternoon. A dainty cherry orchard of Captain Lord's, planted three years ago, near unto Thames, not forty roods distant. The stocks one yard and a half high; prosper well; but I conceive the top will in a short time be disproportionable to the stock. Very many of the trees bear. It is three acres of ground; planted four hundred and forty-odd trees. An old cherry orchard near adjoining nothing well set: this year the cherries sold for £20: it is but an acre of ground: the grass reserved and excepted. A proper ship came from Middleborough on Saturday at noon, 17 May. Stiff N.W. wind all Sunday; turned E. on 19 Monday morn. Passed by Gravesend on Monday about four. Captain Boare went from Gravesend on 15 May; went to Rotterdam; returned thither 20. Another ship came in twenty-four hours from Brill to Gravesend.

A delicate kiln to burn chalk lime; it is the Duke of Lenox,

[1] Light-horseman, a small boat, term now obsolete. "In this storm, one night, haling up our boats to free the water out of them, one of our younkers, that went into them for that purpose, had not that regard (which reason required) unto our light-horseman; for with haling her up, to step into her, out of the boat, he split her asunder, and so we were forced to cut her off."—*Observations of Sir R. Hawkins, &c.* 1622, p. 100.

near Gravesend,[1] upon the river side; it is made of brick, narrow at bottom, round, and wider at top; it is emptied always at the bottom; they hook out so much as is cold, until they pull out fire, and then cease. It is supplied with fire and chalk at top; one basket of sea-coals proportioned to eight of chalk; the fire extinguisheth not from one end of the year to the other. When it is kindled, fire is put to the bottom: it is sold for a groat, one hoop burnt. The pit is in the side of an hill, which is thirty yards high; one of the workmen fell (with whom I conferred) from top to bottom, not slain, but bruised and still sore. An horse stuck by the fore-legs, and held and cried out like a child, and stuck until he was helped up by men.

Thursday, 22 *May*.—About 7 clock we went aboard Mr. John Tompson's Pink (Mr. Jacob, his mate), which is about fifty ton burthen; all under decks full of merchants' goods as can be thrust. Passengers 67, two women, four children. We came to Leigh about 10 of clock; it is on Essex shore, twelve miles from Gravesend. We were some six hours becalmed; we came between the Noore[2] and Nests,[3] where on both sides appeared bones of ships, which had been swallowed in those devouring sands. We were constrained upon the turning of tide to return back, by the shore to QUINDBORROW,[4] where we lodged all night; it is but a village, and yet a mayor-town, seated in the isle of Sheppey. A fine little uniform castle, round built, outside walls and windows in good repair: isle seven miles long. No corn gotten by the inhabitants of this town, nor no barn; live by the sea. Here was a most ingenious copperas work erected. A square plot of ground, about an acre, the earth hath been taken all away, and a kind of stone brought from Essex shore,[5] which, falling into the sea, is

[1] At Northfleet. [2] Nore. [3] Sheerness.

[4] "Queenborough Castle. Once a noble pile, till it was pulled down, soon after the year 1650. It was built by Edward III, about the year 1361, under the direction of the famous William of Wykeham."—*Pennant, Journey to Isle of Wight*, p. 64.

[5] The stone brought from the Essex shore was iron pyrites, which abounds there, as it does also at Sheppey. "All the water of the island is so impregnated with the taste of the pyrites, or copperas stone, with which it abounds, that it is scarcely drinkable." —*Pennant*, p. 65.

tempered by salt water; which stone, by rain and sun, is beaten and reduced to soil; this ground is clayed in the bottom, and is made a fair bottom. Betwixt every bed is a trough made with three deane[1] boards, bored full of holes; this is digged over every summer, the bottom laid highest and the top lowest. This trough receives and conveys away all the liquor and moisture which doth flow from that soil in rainy and moist weather; old barrels, into which these troughs lead, are prepared and placed in the earth, in clay, which receive the moisture, out of which the liquor is conveyed into divers great cisterns of boards, two bayes of buildings, all which are laid and set in clay; out of which it runs into a great tub, placed in another spacious house, and near unto a mighty cistern of lead, wherein this liquor is boiled. Under this cistern are fire furnaces, a partition 'twixt them; these furnaces spend half a chaldron of coals a day, and this leaden cistern will last four years. There is half a barrel of old iron boiled in this liquor, which is consumed to dirt. When it is sufficiently boiled, it runs through a leaden pipe into cisterns of lead, six of them at least, and it cools in those cisterns; the copperas matter thickens and adheres to birch twigs, or bushes, which they hang upon overcross poles, into the cisterns. It is worth £5 a ton; one boiling will yield three or four ton. When this earth is cast with bottom upward, a fleece of this stone is laid upon it, which resolves to earth; the thicker the richer. We lodged at Ship,[2] in Quindburrow, and were well used; six lobsters bought for one shilling; one quick; a convenient place in the remotest part of the marsh for a coy.[3]

Upon *Friday the* 23, in the evening, after supper, we were all shipped, and hoisted up sail next morning, at spring of day. The Unicorn, the king's ship, newly built, was hauling by ropes, drawn by boats, towards Chatham. We vailed our topsail, and demanding whence we came, and whither we were bound, it being

[1] Deal.

[2] This house still remains, and, in external appearance at least, little changed.

[3] A decoy for taking wild fowl.

answered that we were of London and bound for Rotterdam, we were dismissed; and having a fair, pleasant gale of wind, went away amain; and because we endeavoured to strike over at next, and to go as near the shore as possible, we fathomed the depth of the water, and once found it so shallow as we were constrained to turn the ship round upon a sudden. The wind continuing fair and fresh, we came in good time to pass the Flats, about eleven of clock, where buoys are placed, 'twixt which all ships are to sail; and we saw divers which went to the northward, down the King's channel, which framed their course to pass through and betwixt the said buoys, whereof we observed four. These are placed over against the Isle of Tennett,[1] against which we sailed two hours; and about twelve of clock we came over against Margrett,[2] and to the Land's End.[3] It was then a great calm, about an hour, and afterwards the wind wakened, and as the master of the ship conceived we ran seven leagues in a watch, in four hours; and about such time as we lost sight of land, we first discovered three gallant stout ships, at a great distance, which (by a perspective glass) seemed to be the States men of war; another ship was discerned afar off to the southward, which lay at anchor, and hoisted up sail, and seemed a good while to follow us, but with disadvantage, seeing the longer he pursued us the more he was cast behind. But there was another, which seemed towards evening to cross us, and which the master feared had been a Dunkirker[4] (who had taken a ship lately, wherein Mr. Thatcher, a merchant, a passenger, had some goods), but he passed by, and made no attempt at all. The next morning early, being Whit Sunday, was discovered land; one of the islands belonging to the States. We passed by Flushing and Middleburgh, and left them at a great distance southward. We passed by, and discerned nearer unto us, a church, and Gaurie[5] Land, and so came to the Brill, where the tide being something spent, we had a hazardous

[1] Thanet. [2] Margate. [3] Foreness.

[4] The inhabitants of Dunkirk subsist almost entirely by privateers, and, being not very scrupulous as to the nation whose vessels they attacked, the place was little better than a nest of pirates. [5] Goree.

passage; and fathoming the depth of the water over against Brill, we found it there where the buoys are placed to warn all seamen of the danger of that passage, that we had not above two feet more water than the ship drew, which was heavy laden with merchants' goods, and more overpressed with passengers. Mr. Thatcher, a merchant of London, who had goods therein, was so apprehensive of the danger, that he changed colours, and said he was undone, "Oh Lord!" and such like passionate expressions, which increased our fears, and the rather because the master himself was doubtful, though his mate was confident, of our safe passage: over against us also remained the bones and masts of a ship not long since swallowed by those devouring sands; and that which most increased our danger, was the violence of the wind and the rough seas, which, had the ship struck never so little, would have rent her, and broken her in pieces. But here, as it pleased God to order, our fears were greater than our dangers; and then passing by the Brill, and through their ships (gallant ships), we turned into the river of Maze,[1] leaving Gravesend[2] on the one side, and Blackwall,[3] and so come to SCHEDAM,[4] which stands upon the Maze. I went this 26 of May to see this town on foot; it stands about four miles English from Rotterdam, a dainty, sweet, pleasant town, larger than Namptwitch; a delicate, spacious market-place; a fine church; a great channel, walled on both sides with freestone, runs along the middle of the street, whereunto their ships come: this street, paved most evenly with brick, easy to go upon, and dry, be the weather never so moist. Hence we hired a waggon to carry us to Rotterdam for three Dutch shillings.

After we passed Scedam, we came to DELPHESHAVEN[5] (which I also saw this 26 *of May.*) It might well be accounted a fine town subsisting of itself, seeing it is so curiously built, and so dainty a harbour for shipping even in the streets: but this depends upon

[1] The Maas, or Meuse. [2] Gravescende, on the S.E. corner of Delftland.
[3] Blackwall is Swarte Wael, on the opposite side of the Channel, in Voornland.
[4] Schiedam. [5] Delfthaven.

and belongs unto Delph,[1] being only intended, as it is called, Delphs-haven. No town in England worth such a haven.

We came then about one clock in afternoon on Whitsunday into the stately city of ROTTERDAM; it being about twenty-five hours since we came from England's Land's End, until with safety we all arrived at Rotterdam. We went in the afternoon to the English church, and heard Mr. Peters,[2] a right zealous and worthy man. This was formerly intended for a playhouse, but now converted to a better use to a church; Mr. Peters being there entertained, who is allowed by the States one hundred pounds per annum,—five thousand gilders. Here is little respect had to sanctify the sabbath: the young children girls walked all the Sabbath in the afternoon with cups or tuns in their hands; they were about five or six years of age; others elder, about ten, and thirteen, and fourteen years of age, guided these little ones, and sung, screaming, and squeaking, and straining their voices. Such as they met gave them money, which they put into the cups, which was intended to buy a wassail-cup, a carouse: this they continued all Monday. This city (which seems to be as large in circumference as any in England, save London) is seated upon the river of Maze, a fair navigable river, which will carry as great a ship as can sail. An infinite number of tall and gallant ships belong unto this city; they say there belongs to the Maze about thirty of the States men of war; and other stout ships not to be numbered, which are disposed of into every street (into a channel there deep and walled on both sides with free-stone), save one or two. The channels or docks seem to be about fifty or sixty yards broad; drawbridges in every river pulled up by huge iron chains, and the masts thereby have passage. Here is a spacious dock for herring-busses; all of them now gone out to sea save one. Near unto that dock the Prince of Orange[3] his ships lyeth, for which is prepared a dainty spacious house to receive and cover the same. His own ship, wherein himself is disposed, is a rich curious vessel, both within and without;

[1] Delft.

[2] The celebrated Hugh Peters.

[3] Frederic Henry, grandfather of King William III.

a fair gilt lanthorn and curious gilded cabin on top and sides, and the middle story all chambers and rooms of state; all the walls most richly gilded, both on the sides and top; curious chimney, rich marble mantle-tree, the bottom paved with such black and white square stones of marble or touch[1] as are any in York House. In this vessel, no houses of office; all the rooms are for state. Another rich and less vessel lyeth near unto it, gilded and adorned as the former, which is to wait upon the Prince's vessel, and wherein is his kitchen and his victuals prepared. A third, a Dutch huy, is to wait upon these, and to carry their goods, luggage, &c. These never go to sea, but are for their rivers, and to carry the Prince when he goes to leaguer.[2] Another brave vessel of Count Solmes[3] lyeth in this dock, which we boarded also, more spacious than either of the other, so as when you are under hatches in any of them, it may seem unto you that you are rather in a house than a ship. This of Count Solmes hath lyen in the dock three years, and some say it cannot be brought up the rivers, but it is in danger to be seized by the enemy. Among the fair bridges which are in this town is one most observable, on the side whereof is placed the portraiture of Erasmus, of very large stature, with a book in his hand. The river over which this bridge leadeth, is not above twenty yards broad, and yet the bridge is seventy or eighty yards broad, and a fair market-place upon it. Near hereunto is the fairest church in the city, the Dutch church, a dainty, curious, and spacious thing. The French church is the second fair church. The Arminians multiply here, and greatest resort to their church, a fine neat thing; two lofts very spacious in it. The English church was a play-house. The Anabaptists and Brownists have their houses of meeting and places of assembling, but not so public,

[1] Properly, hard black smooth granite, used as a test for gold; but the term is often applied to fine black marble.

[2] Leaguer seems to be here used for the assembly of leiges, from the various states and cities of the United Provinces. Leiger, ambassador, or resident minister. "A special man of that hasty king, who was his leiger, or agent, in London."—*Leicester's Commonwealth.* See page 15.

[3] Brother-in-law to Prince Frederic Henry. See p. 6.

nor so much allowed as the other; but the Anabaptists have a dainty fine church.

As touching the government of this town.

Three Burgomaisters, which hold their places, some one, some two, some three years, they are equivalent to our bailiffs of cities or towns corporate. No charge in housekeeping extraordinary, nor no entertainment extraordinary, no more attendance nor state assumed than at any other times, only in the State-house, insomuch as not a man waits on them in the streets; sometimes you may see a woman, a maid, following them. They have an allowance from the city for the loss of their time from trading. Eight schepens, which are men most of them well versed in the laws, these joined in commission with the burgomaisters to consult and conclude all business for the town. Five of these in place, together with two burgomaisters, determine all differences, and sentence all malefactors. If any dislike the judgment of these seven judges, viz. two burgomaisters and five scepens, he may appeal to the High Court at Hage, and there bring it about before the Council of the States-General there resident. These officers only, called the States of the city. My host of St. John the Baptist's Head in a Platter, being here an English harbour, Mr. Henry Custis appealed to the Court at Hage, and prevailed. But all the officers of the city combine and join together against him that so appeals.

Twenty-four Vornscapp, or aldermen, who have been or are in commission to be burgomaisters; out of these the burgomaister is chosen by these twenty-four, and the sckepons, who sometimes continue judges, two, or three, or four years, and afterwards are in election to be burgomaisters. But no constant, certain number of these vornscapps.

Three Friend-makers, which have authority to call any man before them that hath any suit or controversy, and are chosen by the burgomaisters and sckepens, who are thought to be men of the best understanding and integrity; these are to mediate in a friendly manner, in a way of arbitration, and are to compose and conclude differences. These have no fee nor allowance, and are made choice

of to ease the burgomaisters and sckepens. If any dislike their orders he may appeal to burgomaisters and schepens. If it be any matter of misdemeanour or quarrelling, they have power to punish by imprisonment or otherwise. No charge save two stivers for summons to any of those that are summoned before the friend-makers.

One baylie or scout (*id est*, high-sheriff), and his under-baylie or under-scout, his under-sheriff, which are chosen by States-General, and hold these places *durante vita :* the scout, the chief man above the burgomaister; and they are attended by officers, thief-leaders (under-bailiffs), armed to apprehend all offenders. This is equivalent to our high-sheriff in England, and hath such a like office ; the under-scout as under-sheriff.

Six weys-maisters,[1] or officers of the hospitals, who take care of and seize upon orphans' goods, and see it equally divided amongst them all, youngest as much as eldest ; and if any man die childless, they dispose it under his next of kindred ; if no kindred, to the poor. These men are to seize all men's goods that decease, and they divide the goods equally, the one half to the wife, the other to the children ; and if he have no children, the other half to his next of kindred ; except the wife and husband condition and conclude formally in writing drawn by counsel in perfect health, that the longest liver take all, and this deed to be recorded in the State-house, after it is penned by the notarius publicus, and then it is not to be revoked.

Officers of church ; elders and deacons. These govern church affairs, and provide sufficiently for all the poor of the town ; so as none of them have cause to complain, nor need not to go abroad to beg : only Lazaruses, whereof are some twenty, which are permitted to beg their victuals ; and if they eat[2] any meat not begged by themselves or by others in their name, their disease, a leprosy, encreaseth upon them, and they are much more distempered : they are clothed and lodged in the alms-houses, only suffered to beg

[1] Wees, an orphan.

[2] This I dare not confidently report, because I did not receive any confirmation of it.—*Note by author.*

victuals:[1] most of them are boys, never live to be in years; and so soon as they have this disease, they are brought to the Lazarus house; it is incurable. And about half a mile from this town is this alms-house, this Lazarus house, a dainty fine house, well accommodated with fine gardens and orchards, like a gentleman's house; women to attend them, chamber-pots, and all other necessaries. They hold, except their victuals be begged, or money begged to buy victuals, their disease prevails against them, and rages exceedingly; and therefore many rich men's sons are sent to this Lazarus house, whose friends are able to maintain and keep them; but if they be removed out of this house, and eat not begged victuals, their leprosy, which is only upon their heads, will extend itself over their whole bodies.

Six companies of burghers, which are trained soldiers, and are about twelve hundred martial men, which are to be at command of the States, to be disposed of for the defence of any other town, any neighbour-town, and to strengthen the garrison.

One hundred householders to watch every night, fifty at the State-house, and fifty at the Ports. Mr. Peters, the minister of the English here, informed [me], a religious burgomaister, two years ago, endeavoured to reform the profanation of the Sabbath, and imposed and collected, by distress or otherwise, one guilder from every man trading or working on this day: at length the brewers (whereof are abundance in this town) made a head, came into the State-house, and in a mutinous manner told the burgomaister that they would not be subject unto his new laws; and hereby all quashed formerly effected, and the hoped for reformation came to nothing. This honest burgomaister would not admit players that came to this city to act; but being pressed by some of the town to give

[1] They were not allowed to accost any one, but attracted attention by making a noise with two pieces of wood, called Lazarus klap. In Glasgow, lepers, by an order of the Town Council in 1610, were allowed to pass only by the side of the causeway, were ordered to have clappers in their hands to apprise people of their approach, to keep their mouths well muffled, and to keep as far off as possible from those who gave them alms.

way, and alleged it would be an advantage to the poor; every third penny would derive unto the poor, and so it would be worth £50 to the poor; he went up and fetched £50, and said he would supply that loss, and dismissed the players, and gave this £50 to the poor. Mr. Forbes told Mr. Peters, travelling with him through High Germany to see the king of Sweden, that being at Basill,[1] which stands towards the head of the Rhine, there died one of the Jews' most learned rabbins, and desired upon his death-bed that his will and testament might be published and proclaimed to all the Jews his brethren in all parts, which was done accordingly, the substance whereof was this: that they long had expected a Messiah and Saviour, and if he came not within thirty-four years or thereabouts, fourteen or sixteen of which years remained only at that time to be fulfilled, that then they should not expect any longer, but rather embrace the Saviour of the Christians.

I was in the scout's house here, the chief man. He is a very gentle, courteous man; his hall adorned over mantle-tree with birds cased, seven or eight several sorts.

In copper pans they season their nets for herring fishing, and all other nets; they are there boiled with a kind of bark until the water look yellow and brown.

Windmills here in the top of houses. I went to the top of a very high house to see a windmill, which grinds malt; it is a pretty nimble stone. A poor Exchange, not worth three-pence; nothing therein to be sold but ballads and knives; it is much neglected, and goeth to decay. The town watered about the walls, and fair ditches in all their back sides. A dainty quay here is, and many yarne-crofts[2] here about, such like as are about Dort, whereof at large in the following discourse of Dort. Here is a dainty Doole-house, where the great officers meet and feast, as also consult; here are the burgo-masters' and chief officers' pictures placed in both ends, and the Roman emperors on both sides of the room. Here were two companies feasting (their flags hung out into the street); I do

[1] Basle.

[2] Rope yards.

believe scarce one sober man to be found amongst them, nor was it safe for a sober man to trust himself amongst them; they did shout, sing, roar, skip, leap, &c. Abundance of busses not to be numbered sent out to fish for herrings; sometimes they cast out nets almost an English mile long out of one buss; in stormy weather they take down all their masts, and fish, the vessel lying at hull.

Upon Whitsun Tuesday, about eleven of clock, we took waggon for Dort, and came thither about three clock in afternoon. We paid for our waggon two gilders and a Dutch shilling, for passage over two ferries eighteen stivers; twixt Rotterdam and Dort, a stone wall, along the Wall[1] above a mile, and how far further *non constat.* We passed a great ferry over the Maze at Isermaunton, one Dutch mile from Rotterdam, and two Dutch miles from Dort; the boat is a long narrow boat which carries horses and waggons, and is sixty or seventy foot long. We observed sowed by the way good wheat, oats, much flax, some hemp and rape; a stork's nest on the top of a chimney of a low boor's house.

Dort is compassed almost round with the Maze on the north and west, and the Wall on the east. It is placed in an island about four or five English miles round, and it is in Holland. It is called the Maiden town, because never taken by the enemy. A city more populous than Rotterdam; eleven companies of burgers charged with arms, two hundred in a company, one hundred whereof watch every night. Two colonel's companies in garrison here: Count Maurice his Dutch company, consisting of two hundred Walloons; Colonel Goreing's company, consisting of two hundred English: captains of these companies, Captain Valiers of the Dutch; Captain Gerard of the English: captains pay twenty gilders a-week, gentlemen bearing arms two gilders a-week, eight days reckoned to the week, and their lodging free; ordinary soldiers three English shillings for eight days, their lodging free.

This town governed by a scout, one burgo-master, and sckepens. This scout and burgo-master attended always by their halberds

[1] River Waal.

and thief-leaders. This scout is equivalent to the high-sheriff, and precedes the burgo-master, because he represents the prince his person. Two very fair streets leading from the north to the west, more uniform and complete building than I saw any in Rotterdam, both of them an English mile in length, and betwixt them a very fair spacious haven at least one hundred broad and of the same length, and full thronged with ships. Other two fair spacious havens, about half an English mile long, and about eighty yards broad. Five or six greater ports leading into this city, and some three or four less ports, four of them very fair and curious gates. The great church is more neat and curious than that of Rotterdam, not so large, but the top, sides, pillars, and all most daintily and curiously white-limed, and so very lightsome. The chancel like ours, but never used but to receive the sacrament, which is administered four times a-year. Another less church, reported unto us to be a most neat, complete thing. The burgo-maister's house, a fair and high-built house, six stories high. Here is an English church, Mr. Vincent, Predicant, a man of mean parts. The States allow him 600 gilders per annum, and 300 gilders out of the Latin school, whereof he is usher, and 100 gilders more gratuities, so as his place is thought worth unto him £100 per annum. Here is also a French church; Arminians, Brownists, and Anabaptists, and Manists,[1] do lurk here and also swarm, but not so much tolerated as at Rotterdam. Four Dutch churches in this city. Here is the Doole,[2] a spacious place for the assembling of the states of the town, wherein the synod, the famous and orthodox synod of Dort, was held about twenty years ago; over which room is a high and commanding turret, wherein we drank two cans of wine, which gives you a full view of the whole town, both the rivers and the country, which is a flat and level, and lieth lower than the water, and would doubtless be drowned, were it not preserved by high banks twenty yards high, and so thick and broad as two waggons

[1] Mennonites, Menonistes, or Mennistes, a sect prevalent in the United Provinces, and frequently considered a sect of the Anabaptists.

[2] The Doele, or Klovenier Doelen, now a public-house, of poor repute.

may conveniently meet upon the top; these banks made and maintained all along every river-side. You may hence discern Gitternberg,[1] Breda, Rotterdam, Delph, Girkham,[2] Willamstat, Clenniard,[3] Sevenbergen, the four last and first garrison towns. One almshouse for old men, two for old women, and one for maimed soldiers, almshouses called Ghuesthouses, three for fatherless and motherless children,—all these seven maintained by the town. All the poor provided for sufficiently by the officers of the church, so as none wander abroad and beg; unto some of them allowed four, unto others five, unto others six, Dutch shillings a week. And all the poor are disposed of into the almshouses, and maintained by voluntary contributions, and without any taxation. Near unto the Doole build herons,[4] which breed in the middle of the city, which by proclamation are not to be molested or destroyed. The scoute here represents the person of our high-sheriff, and the burgo-maister of the mayor.

A coy-duck at supper at Dort, and another at dinner.

The fatherless children are maintained with meat, drink, and apparel; are put to such trades as they are most fit and capable of; trained up to read, and thence dismissed when able to maintain themselves. If any soldier, marine, or tradesman die, his children disposed of into these ghuest-houses. Abundance of yarne-crofts about this town; some containing an English acre, worth per annum £100; others two acres, worth £200 per ann. Betwixt every twelve yards, a narrow ditch about one yard broad, out of which water is cast upon the yarn. The burgers have dainty garden, orchards, and summer houses, near unto the town. A terrible flood last winter, which put this town and all the inhabitants of the country in great fear. It overflowed their banks, which are twelve yards high, which were showed us this day by the waggon man in our return. It drowned abundance of cattle in the country; it came into the streets of Dort so deep as that boats might pass therein; it came also into

[1] Gertruydenberg. [2] Gorcum. [3] Klundert.

[4] He probably means storks, not *ardea cinerea*.

the streets of Rotterdam, and into the houses a yard deep. You might pass in boats over all that part of the country. About half a Dutch mile from this city is brick made. The clay brought by water, and there tempered and moulded, and burnt in standing kilns of brick; *id est*, brick walls on four sides; in the middle a square vacant place, wherein the moulded brick is disposed and placed and burnt. Here is in this town a mint, it being one of the principal and most ancient towns in Holland, and which sends a committee to be leiger[1] at the Hage, out of which committees the States-General are chosen, and all ambassadors sent to foreign princes. Here is copper ore smelted in a little earthen pot, and made into bars; it runs into bars about a yard and an half long, and afterward in the copper mills is beaten into thin bars four yards long. There are three of these copper mills, one water mill, whose wheel gives motion unto some six iron hammers which strike very strongly and nimbly; there are other two copper mills, horse mills, drawn by two strong horses, which stand upon a wheel which is sufficiently broad to contain two horses together. This wheel stands much aslope, on the middle whereof, I mean neither the highest part nor the lowest, these horses are placed and fastened by the neck by iron chains; their removing their feet and the weight of their bodies gives motion unto this wheel without any great strain or coaction, being placed aslope, and as it should seem upon a slender turn, no thicker than your arm. These employ six iron-hammers as nimbly and strongly as the water-mill, and I conceive that a mill framed in this manner would have served for a rape-mill, a mill half so great. Here is a fine glass-work near unto the Blue Port; and about forty roods from the town a mighty long salt house, wherein they make bay-salt. The brine is part fetched out of the sea, about Brill, and part out of Spain. I was in one of their houses wherein they work, which little less than sixty yards long; in the middle placed two mighty spacious iron pans, some six yards asunder, which are about six-

[1] See page 7.

teen yards square; in the one they boil the Brill brine, in the other the Spanish. The Spanish is much the stronger, and makes a whiter salt and hard, but it is a mighty great grained salt, as big and some larger than a peppercorn. The salt made is not disposed into sacks, walms,[1] or any other measures, but lieth in huge great heaps, as corn in partitions in granaries; some salt very brown and coarse. I could not well understand them, nor they my language, and therefore I could not inform myself further therein. But when I said the Spanish salt was very brave, they were so well pleased, and seemed to rejoice thereat, and a woman took an handful of salt, and threw part of it upon my foot, part in my hand, and part on my hat.

A ship, this Wednesday, May 28, coming into and within six roods of the quay, was split by another vessel going out, which had the advantage of the wind, which falling foul upon her, in all our sights, being in the parlour wherein we dined, we did sensibly perceive and discern her sinking, and in a very short time quite sunk; not many men in her, but all saved; for boats and barques, discerning them to be in distress, made out with all speed to relieve them; and as the keel was sunk under water, and the men in middle in the water ready to perish, they came in, and reaching ropes, staves, and oars unto them, they were thereby all preserved; this sunk ship speedily weighed up and drawn to the quay. They say the man that split this ship is to sustain and make good unto the owners the half of the loss.

The island wherein this fair maiden city stands, is encompassed

[1] *To wall* is to boil, and the word was not long ago, and perhaps may be still, in use in the Cheshire salt works. A lead-walling is the brine of twenty-four hours boiling for one house.—*Ray's Proverbs*, ed. 1742, p. 146.

For the proper regulation of the brine pits, at Nantwich, and for establishing the true price, and the time of making salt, several persons were in former times chosen from among the most wealthy of the proprietors, who were styled rulers of walling, and who were sworn to uphold the ancient customs. Their office extended to the adjusting the proportion of brine, for each wichhouse, and to inspect the pits, to see that the brine was not weakened by improper means, or received a taint from any nuisance.—*Platt's Hist. of Nantwich*, p. 17.

round by the Maze and the Wall, two great navigable rivers. This island is about six or eight English miles about, and preserved by a strong bank about twelve yards high, beyond which bank are seated many (some say a dozen or twenty) coys. We were in three coys, all well wooded; two of them adjoining close together, the one a lesser coy (which is the winter coy), hath five pipes, like unto mine; it is ten English rood long on the sides, eight rood broad; no wild fowl therein, but we were permitted to walk within the hut; the coy-ducks came boldly unto us and fed: belonging hereunto, one hundred and fifty ducks, thirteen drakes; dainty, fair, spacious, and well-proportioned pipes, higher overhead, longer and better compassed than any I ever saw in England. Twiggen nests provided for the ducks to breed in. The other coy, joining hereunto, much more spacious and larger; it hath six pipes in one end only, thirty-five rood long, and thirty broad. We were not permitted to see this larger coy. Ducks sold for sixpence a piece: two pellstarts, two smeathes,[1] two shovelars, each equivalent to a Dutch,[2] and four teals, sixpence. Another coy we saw, wherein are four pipes in one end; a great pool; the ducks fed with barley; the dog-farm, three rood from the hut or the pipes; and by the help of a little ladder, the dog is enabled to leap into the hole a yard high. The fowl in the little coy fed with barley. But we could not be admitted to take a full view of any of these coys, neither is there any spy-holes into the pond, but all their pipes are much more curious, and carry a far better proportion than ours.

This fair maiden town of Dort, the ancientest city in the land, and invested with largest privileges, sends the prime committee,

[1] Smeathes are probably smews, *mergus albellus*, a bird frequently taken in the coys of Holland. It has been suggested that pellstarts are pintail ducks. It is somewhat remarkable that no explanation of these words can be found in Yarrell, Montagu, Pennant, Ray, Willoughby, &c. &c. nor even in old Randall Holmes. Nor are these names now known in Cheshire, where they must have been familiar, from the frequent use of them by our traveller.

In Ash's Dict. the word smeath is indeed found, as the name of a sea fowl, but without stating the species.

[2] For Dutch, read duck.

who is the prime of the States General representing the cities which send them.

Upon *Wednesday the* 29 *May*, we returned by waggon from Dort to ROTTERDAM. We paid for our passage two gilders six stivers, and upon our return we found my brother's coat taken away; enquiring and searching for it, but could never hear of. We complained to the burgomaister (who understands English), sitting in the State-house, and had a fair hearing, Mr. Custis having been summoned by an officer, for which we paid three stivers. Here set the burgomaisters in one room, the scoute, or baylue, in another, the sckepens in another, and the weismaisters in another, and the secretary in another. Justice is here executed six hours every day. The Friendmakers also here sit. We were referred to be further heard at four of the clock, endeavouring to obtain satisfaction from the host, with whom they were left in charge, and who said whatsoever was there left should be in safety. We were staid in Rotterdam all Thursday, and until evening on Friday. At four hour we attended in the State-house; the burgomaisters were in *convivio quodam*, at the State Harbour, the Cross Keys, upon Erasmus Bridge. Hither we went, desired to speak with the burgomaister that understood English; but after we had attended there as long as in the State-house, we were referred until next morning at ten o'clock; but being tired out with attendance here, discharged our inn. I writ a large letter to the English burgo-maister, and sent away my footboy with it unto him, who was also epicurizing at this time, as the day before at Scedam, and because I named him not in the superscription (not knowing his name) he did not open, but returned it. In our reckoning was demanded one gilder four stivers for a quart of burnt claret wine; seventeen stivers a-night for our lodging.

About seven hour at night we hired a scute for four Dutch shillings to carry four of us and our trunk to DELPHE, where we arrived about nine hour. This was drawn by a good strong horse whereupon a little boy rid. He trotted altogether, a cord fastened to the top of the mast of the boat, which was also fastened

to the horse. The lazarus-house seated near unto Rotterdam upon a river cut out for boats to pass it twixt Rotterdam and Delph; this water is above the ground, and would doubtless overflow were it not kept in by the banks. This is a dainty passage, and will carry a great vessel. At this lazarus-house they reach you a box whereinto is put what you bestow, which is thrown into the water. Here are three or four tolls to be paid by the watermen. Here, by Mr. Kenerick's means, we were accommodated with a very fair spacious chamber in the English house, which is allowed for the English merchants, rent free and excise free. Here is a staple for the English cloth. In this house[1] the Princes of Orange kept their court, and I was brought into the chamber wherein the Prince was born, and here they resided until such time as this Prince's father coming out of was shot by a Frenchman, who stood behind the pillar with a pistol charged in the one hand and a partisan in the other. After the bullet went through his body it glazed and made impression in the ceiling, yet to be seen. The company of English cloth merchants live here bravely, accommodated with all necessaries, and invested with many privileges; their house rent free, victuals excise free; a stately room to dine in; a dainty bowling-alley within the court; a pair of butts; accommodated with fair, convenient lodgings.

The five ancientest cities in Holland: 1. Dort; 2. Harleim; 3. Delph; 4. Leyden; 5. Rotterdam.

Delph hath the fairest spacious market-place, as is said, in this whole land; it most complete market-place that ever I saw in England, and is four square. In the west side stands the state-house, the finest state-house said to be in all the seventeen provinces. Herein is a wooden huke,[2] a round hollow piece, so narrow as that it is of a fit size for his head to go and to hang on his shoulders. It is about one yard and half, and very heavy; the wearing whereof is enjoined as a punishment throughout all the town upon whores, petty

[1] This house was called Prinssenhof; in aftertimes it became a barrack, and still continues such.

[2] Yoke.

larceners, shippers that exact. It is a great shame and disgrace to them; their faces are open and to be known, their hands held close by their sides and cannot stir; it is very heavy, and they moving, it knocks and breaks their chins. On the east side of the market-place stands the new church — a delicate, high, straight steeple. Herein is a curious monument of Prince William,[1] one in brass as he was in arms, the other in marble; boys crying curiously, and much to the life, made in brass; two boys holding lamps on either side overhead, and two on either end; four curious pictures in brass at every corner of this tomb. This by some thought nothing inferior to any monument in Westminster. In the other, old church,[2] as fair as this other church, there is a monument intended (and the picture of Peter Hinde[3]) who was admiral of Holland, and slain by the Dunkirks about two years ago. Here over his monument hang the ragged staff, the colours of the Dunkirks taken from them. He took the Plate fleet, and was as terrible to Dunkirks, as Drake to Spaniards. Here also is a monu-

[1] William I, whose murder is mentioned above. This monument still remains. The prince here mentioned was William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, founder of the republic of the United States. He was murdered by a popish fanatic, Baltazar de Guerard, a gentleman of Franche-Comté, who assumed the name of Guion, pretended to be a Huguenot, and contrived to obtain the confidence of his victim, and shot him with a pistol loaded with three bullets, as he was about to ascend the stairs from the dining-room, July 10, 1584. The marks of the balls, which entered into a stone of the gate after they had gone through the body of the prince, are shown to strangers at this day in Delft in Holland, and I myself saw them when I was young.—*Maurier's Lives of Princes of Orange*, 1693, p. 115.

The superstitious Catholics and Spaniards celebrate this Balthazar de Guerard, and have ranked him in the number of their martyrs.—p. 122.

An inscription on a stone, let into the wall, still records the event.

[2] St. Hippolytus.

[3] Peter Hein, in 1628, commanded a fleet belonging to the West India Company of Holland, and falling in with the Spanish galleons, captured them; his own share of the prize-money amounted to about seven hundred thousand livres, and he was promoted to the dignity of Lieut.-Admiral of Holland. In the following year he commanded a small squadron of frigates to blockade the port of Dunkirk; three privateers attempted to force their passage, but were encountered and captured. A cannon shot, however, at the commencement of the action, struck the admiral on the shoulder, and instantly deprived him of life.

ment over Colonel Morgan's[1] wife. Here is a most curious port,[2] called the water sclott port, which is said to be as curious a port as any in the land. Herein dwells the Digrave, who hath the same authority and command over the country, which the scoute hath over the city, and herein he keeps his office. Of this port he hath such an absolute command that at his pleasure he can have access into the town.

This city was built about seven hundred years ago. The officers of Delph, one scoute and underscoute; who sits upon life and death, and is to punish misdemeanours and capital offences. Here are also four burgo-maisters, who are to hear and determine suits in law, matters of difference twixt party and party; seven sckepens, who are to give their verdict, as are our jurors. Vornscapps forty-four, who are the common council of the city, by whose consent all taxes are to be imposed and levied. Here are likewise freind-makers, or good men, who are to arbitrate and compose differences by consent. Here is a large and spacious ghuest-house, capable of four hundred persons, though now very empty; one fair chamber, wherein those that are therein disposed are lodged, is built four square, and resembles our own Exchange; one rank of lodgings now void above, even upon the head and tester of those below, and another rank of lodgings below, wherein are placed those poor thereinto admitted; neatly accommodated with convenient lodging, linen, victuals, close-stool and cupboard to every of them. Hereunto belong houses of office, mighty great brewing vessels, and a fine kitchen. Hereunto belongs a church, wherein are four sermons every Lord's-day. A dainty ox-house belongs hereunto, wherein are kept their stall-fed oxen, which never go out of doors during the whole winter after they once are taken into the house. This is a most neat ox-house. Behind the groopes a gutter one foot deep to take away all their stale and dung, and before them a gutter, whereinto the water they

[1] Col. Morgan was governor of Bergen-op-Zoom and its English garrison when it successfully resisted the attacks of the Spanish force in 1588.

[2] Gate.

drink is pumped. They stand on both sides, and in the middle a spacious place neatly laid with smooth tile. Here is also in this ghuest-house a chamber intended and reserved to entertain poor soldiers, that have no money to pay for their lodging and their victuals. Here they have bread and cheese, and a bed, though without sheets, free cost for one night. This ghuest-house is for sick and diseased persons, but none admitted that have any infectious disease. Here is a house in this city invested with a strange privilege. It has a tapp-house, wherein they use much to buy and sell and make bargains. If any difference in this house, three men (who are yearly chosen for that end) are to call the parties before them into a room in that house, wherein is a fire in the middle, and about one yard and an half high is a tunnel to convey away the smoke. No block, back, mantel-tree, nor jaumes here needful. At the higher end, in seats prepared for this purpose, sit these three judges, and round about the fire the parties and witnesses, where they all drink liberally, and the judges make an order which binds the seller; and if before next day at ten of clock the buyer refuse to stand to that order, he is to defray the charge of what was spent by all the company at that time.

In this town tame storks and shovelars kept tame, birds with long legs, less bodies than our storks,[1] and broader bills, like our shovelars.

After dinner, Mr. Morgan and Mr. Bayneham and myself went to see Gabriel Direckson's coy, a rich boor in the country, an acquaintance of Mr. Morgan's who dwells beyond Shippley.[2] He hath £500 sterling a-year, and received £6000 portion with his wife. He is a merchant, and is interested in the East and West India company. He hath a daintier house for a boor; a neat chimney in it, the back, save where the hob is, adorned with such stones a yard and dim[3] high, as are our best hearthstones in England. He milks thirty kine; his men milk the kine, which give twenty-seven great trease-full[4] of milk; every cow about four gallons a day; they make account that every cow yields a Dutch

[1] Our storks are herons, *ardea cinerea.* [2] A few miles S. W. of Delft.
[3] A yard and a half. [4] Tray is a milk-pail; in Sussex called, now or formerly, a trug.

shilling a day; this milk is kept in a cool cellar, and in brass great vessels so soon as it is milked: it is placed in a trough of cold water to cool the more suddenly; it will keep the longer before it sour. Here is a dainty fine shippen,[1] contrived as the other, and hay overhead, and a cistern full of grains covered with sand to make his kine pottage in winter. Here is a fine barn or hay-house, the roof whereof is made light, and to be lifted higher with a screw, or lower, as you see cause; hollow your mough[2] at the bottom, that so no mouses may enter, and place water-pots at every post to drown the rats and mice. Yet this boor is a very drudge himself, and goes like a clown or sloven, yet gave he us free and generous entertainment. He is coy-man himself. His coy is seated near his own and divers other houses and the highways and navigable rivers on both sides, nearer by much than Doddleston Bridge or Findloes House is to my coy. His coy hath five pipes as mine, but better compassed, and two of them almost meet. Much wood, reed, grass and thicket within the hut, so as the fowl on one end cannot discern the dog showing elsewhere. Abundance of quince trees herein planted, which prosper very well. He hath about two hundred ducks, twenty drakes. He hath fowl bred twixt pellstarts and ducks about twenty. I saw some of them. Many gray ducks which are best; coy-dogs best that are either white or red, and the more hairy the better. These ducks as tame and familiar about his house as any tame ones can be. Smeathes he keeps in a hut near his house covered with a net. A dainty little windmill I saw to drain or drown land, whereof I will procure a model.

I met a boat twixt Shipley and Delft laden with bees. We paid for our scute five Dutch shillings. Mr. Bayneham invited us to sup upon Saturday night to the Company's ordinary, where we were kindly entertained in the great chamber. Here lives three of the daughters of the Prince of Portugals,[3] who by

[1] Cowhouse. [2] Corn mow.

[3] Don Emanuel, son of Anthony, proclaimed by the people king of Portugal, but dispossessed by King Philip II of Spain, married Emilia de Nassau, daughter of

their mother, a Protestant, were trained up in that religion. Their father still remains in a house at Brussels, maintained by the king of Spain. One other of these sisters (whereof are five) lives with the princess, and the five with the Grave of Cunenberg's[1] lady. The prince of Portugal, their brother, is lately converted, hath left his father at Brussels in a religious house; he is much at Hage, but his lodging here. Mr. Peters told me that there was already committed to press the causes and grounds of his changing his opinions.

This *Sunday morning, June* 1.—About nine of clock I sent for this demoniac, who was brought unto me by an English maid. I conversed with her two hours at least. She is conceived by all here to be possessed, and as herself this day related unto me, it was in this manner. About fifty years ago (she is now sixty-five, and, at her first coming unto us, in a sensible condition), lamenting the death of her uncle, there presented himself one like unto her uncle (she then being about fifteen years of age), who told her he was her uncle. She embraced him at first, and afterwards doubted and said her uncle was dead; whereupon she attempting to go away, he gave her a blow on the face which drew blood; and coming into the house wherein she dwelt, she told those there that she had seen her uncle, and would bring them unto him, but they could then find no uncle; but after a few days he appeared unto her again, and then he told her he was not her uncle (though he appeared in the same likeness as before) but he would bring her to her uncle, and then he gave her three figs to eat, which at first she refused, whereupon he threw her into the water, and being helped out by others that saw her thrown in, but discerned not him. And after she was recovered out of the water, he attempted again, and constrained her to eat them all three, whereupon she fell suddenly into an extremity, and hath had continually such an extraordinary unnatural hardness even under her short ribs twixt her paps and

William the Great, Prince of Orange, by his second wife, Anne of Saxony. They had two sons, and six (not five) daughters, who are said to have made unsuitable matches.

[1] Cullenburg.

her navel; she did unlace herself, and I felt her bare skin. When the devil troubleth her, this hardness riseth and swells and danceth within her, riseth up into her throat; her tongue is pulled down, they say, when she is violently possessed; her head and feet and shoulder-blades are turned, and she is in violent torment. The devil will not suffer her to go to the church, but if she be in church, she is constrained (or rather the devil within her) to disturb the whole congregation, and therefore she is prohibited to come to church. If she have thoughts to receive the sacrament, she is then violently possessed. When she came to Mr. Forbs his house, she could come to the door, but had no power to go in, except she were carried. In one of her fits wherein this day she seemed to be (whereof I was a witness), she seemed to swell, looked ghost-like, with most fixed eyes, and we reading that text of Christ dispossessing the man possessed with legions of devils, she seemed much troubled and violently possessed; and when I read that text of some devils to be cast out by fasting and prayer, she seemed to understand me speaking in English, and answered: "You may fast seven years if you will; must I fast, and not you? fast you if you will, not I." Mr. Bayneham reading the first of Luke, and coming to the song of Simeon, she was very unruly, so as John Ward and I could not without some difficulty hold her, but she would needs have thrown herself down, and said, "it was a lie, it was not true;" before that, her hands, knees, and all parts seemed to tremble and quake when we began to read on the Bible; but then seemed she most violent when Christ was mentioned, his office and nativity, and then offered to make a strange noise (in no language) to drown or interrupt his reading; her body seemed to swell, and to be contracted, and to be drawn strangely. And when I did read (to try whether she did counterfeit or no) in the Bible that which was no part thereof, and thereupon she seemed to begin to be troubled; but afterwards reading a psalm, she was much more violently handled. In this fit, I offered her money, a rix-dollar; but she did not accept. She saith the devil hath formerly lyen in bed with her, and appeared unto her in the shape of her

sweetheart, whose death increased her grief for her uncle; so as now he appears unto her in her sweetheart's shape, and presents himself every night standing at her bed's feet, and hath not lyen in bed with her since Mr. Forbyes prayed with her, and prevailed so far; she seeth him nevertheless every night at her bed's feet, and when she is to give thanks for any meat she eats, the devil will not suffer her, but she is forced to eat her meat like a swine, without giving thanks. He speaks often unto her, and once she told him she defied him; he had only power over her body. He answereth: "What! I have taken all this pains in vain? I will have thy soul in the end." When she is possessed violently, they say she will speak all manner of languages to those who come to visit her in those extremities, or rather indeed it is the devil within her who will speak in their own languages to those who come to her. He makes use of her organs, and speaks out of the hollowest and lowest parts of her body. He will tell them of their faults, and what they have done. If they be profane persons, he will disgrace them; if godly, he will call them blockhead (as he did Mr. Forbs), but speaks no evil of them. The Company's barber (of Delph merchants) came to her in this condition, and the devil spake to him in English, and called him Giggs: "Giggs, art thou come? ho! Giggs, thou art mine;" since which time always he hath been called by that name. Mr. Forbs being once sent for unto her in one of her extremities, the devil said before the messenger returned, "the logger-head cannot come;" and he did not come. This woman is a poor woman, and lives upon the alms of the town, and is provided for by the overseers of the poor. She was married, but her husband lived not above one year and an half, and then died; and as the English maid who hath been most conversant with her, told me, the devil meeting him in the streets, squeezed and bruised his body so as his death was thereby occasioned. After I left her, and that she was perfectly recovered, she was much discontented and wept, because I offered her money in her extremity, as though she did counterfeit; and being stayed to dine with the master of the house, wherein we left her being perfectly well; and when they

gave thanks, she began to tremble and shake and to be troubled. Herself told us that the devil endeavours to persuade her to believe that he is God, which name he cannot pronounce when he confers with her, but pronounceth it: and as the English maid told me, one Mr. Russell coming to her in her extremity, and reading touching Christ's power over unclean spirits, the devil in her answered in English: "It was a lie; it was writ by man; and give me pen, ink, and paper, and I can write better matter than that was." The English maid also told me, coming into my chamber, that she being sent for Mr. Forbes to come to her, Mr. Forbes said (as she conceived) that he would come; the devil within her replies, "he will not come": she averred it he said he would come; whereas indeed she did mistake, for he said he could not come, and did not come. The English maid affirmed that she did sweat so extremely yesterday, when I was with her, by reason of the torment she was then in, that she soiled a clean smock put on that morning; and that coming to her this 2 Junii, the devil told her, when he appeared unto her last night, that I was a witch, and that I dealt with the devil, and that was the reason I came to see her, and that I would have her go to the devil; but he would bring her to God; —cannot pronounce God, but saith he is Jod; and Christ Jesus he will not acknowledge, but saith he is Christ and God. She was in this manner first taken at Leyden, where, as the English maid (a modest, civil woman) reported, the devil, in the proportion of a man, came into a shop and desired to buy some poison, which so soon as he had received, vanished away and paid not for it: immediately this poison was brought unto her by him, and she was persuaded to take it, but refused. But since her coming to Delph, he hath tempted her to hang herself; and once or twice she was so much overcome by the strength of the temptation, as that she did (in the house wherein now she dwells) hang up her, and had not God's providence ordered that some coming in cut the rope suddenly, she had perished.

About the 9 *of June* was Delph fair, which they call their keirmes: it holds about a week: it is equivalent to a fair with us

and wakes. Upon Thursday, the women that want and desire husbands present themselves, make choice of their seats in Delph church, where the boors that want wives come to make their choice; and when they affect any woman, after some few questions: "Who are your parents and friends?" and "Who are yours?" if the woman like the man and affect him, they go out and drink, and then in their cups they treat of portions, &c.; and if all things concur, suddenly married.

Upon *Sunday*, 1 *Junii*, after dinner we went to Hage by scute, which is about three English mile; it cost one stiver et dim every person. Here is the courts of the States-General, and of the Prince of Orange, and of the Queen of Bohemia.[1] It is but a *Dorpe*,[2] but the finest in all the land. It is more populous and something larger than Delph. Here we went to the English church, where we heard a very honest, neat sermon. Hither came the Queen of Bohemia (who mourns, and it is thought will continue in that habit *durante vita*), her second son[3] (the eldest, Prince Palatine,[4] having an ague), and the Lady Elizabeth,[5] her daughter. In this little church sermon never begins until the queen come. After sermon we went to Colonel Harbert, who brought us into the Prince of Orange his garden, the fairest and most spacious platt that ever I saw in my life, and the vastest covered walks: the plot seems to be four square; walks covered go round about it, and in middle of the plot here is a fair round moat, about sixteen or twenty yards wide, and in the middle thereof a little island round, wherein is a round covered walk and a kitchen-garden within that walk. In the middle of this garden a poor young cyprus tree.

[1] Elizabeth, daughter of King James I, married Frederick, Elector Palatine, who rashly accepted the kingdom of Bohemia, which he was unable to retain. He died in 1632.

[2] Dorpe, a village without a corporation.

[3] The afterwards celebrated Prince Rupert, the rash and chivalrous general of his uncle Charles I.

[4] Charles Lewis, who, more prudently than generously, adhered to the Parliament, and sat in the Assembly of Divines, in England.

[5] One of the most extraordinary women of Europe, the correspondent of Descartes and William Penn, and the envy of Christina, Queen of Sweden.

Sr. Hen. Harbert told me that the States maintained one hundred and thirty thousand soldiers by land; one hundred men-of-war for the narrow seas, and one hundred to guard the inland rivers, less vessels, every of them being in annual charge equalized to a company of foot. The States-General are possessed of eight of the Seventeen Provinces entirely: Holland, Gilderland, Zeland, Friseland, Utrecht, Over-isell, Zutphen, Grunning,[1] great part of Brabant, three of the principal cities, Bergen-upp- Zoon, Buss,[2] and Mastricht, the chief city of Limburge; in Flanders they have only Scluse,[3] with some forts, as Isen-Dike,[4] Oldenburge, Axel, and some others, forts and sconces.[5]

In Holland; towns that send committees, who have the places and voices of States-General during three years, who take place according to the antiquity of the towns: 1. Dort; 2. Harlem; 3. Delph; 4. Leyden; 5. Amsterdam; 6. Dergond;[6] 7. Rotterdam; 8. Brill; 9. Scedam; 10. Girkam:[7] these for South Holland. For North Holland: Anchusan,[8] Horne, and Alkmaare.

For this presents Nobles that are States-General: Baron of Brethro;[9] Count of Culenberg, Lord of Buckhurst,[10] Lord Dufenford, Lord of Asper, Lord of Summerdike,[11] Astendelfe,[12] Van Aspern, Van Schagen, Van Matheness, Poelgeest, Warmont, Revenburg, Noortwyck.

Only this to be observed: that though these nobles be always States-General, yet only three of these sit now in council: Count Culenberg, Lord of Buckhurst, Lord of Dufenford: these resident at Hage; the rest called upon great and important occasions. To be observed also, that only three of these committees always resident at Hage, so as though they be always States-General, yet only three of them constantly sit in the council of state; the rest are called when some great matter is to be resolved upon and is in consultation.

[1] Groningen. [2] Bois-le-duc. [3] Sluys. [4] Ysendyck, Ardenburg, and Axel.
[5] Sconce, a small fort, built for defence of some pass, river, &c.—*Bailey's Dict.*
[6] Gouda, or Turgow. [7] Gorcum. [8] Enckhuysen. [9] Brederode.
[10] Bronchornst. [11] Sommelsdyk. [12] Assendelft.

The chief towns of Gilderland which send committees, are these: 1. Arnheim; 2. Nimweigen;[1] 3. Bummell;[2] 4. Teile;[3] 5. Harderwigg;[4] and now of late they have taken in Venlow; 7. Rooremond; and 8. Strawleing. And they have all this land, save Gilders, which is in the enemy's hand. So as Gilderland sends eight committees, out of which three chosen to be resident at Hage, and sit in council of state, the rest, though States-General, yet not called to council but upon extraordinary important occasions.

The chief towns of Zeland which send committees: 1. Middleburg; 2. Flushing; 3. Terviers;[5] 4. Armue; 5. Zierick-Sea;[6] 6. Bruers-haven;[7] and 7. Dergous.[8] These also send three committees always resident at the Hage, who sit in council of state; the rest called upon extraordinary occasions.

They have garrisons in Duke of Cleve's country. The Duke of Cleve[9] was buried by the Duke of Newburg, who possesseth part of his country. They have garrisons Scotch in Wesell, Reez, Limbreck, and another town in that dukedom.

Friseland maintains her claim to her ancient privileges, and will not acknowledge Prince of Orangen or any other, but assumes to be a free state, and sends one who sits here in council with the States-General; and as an intelligent gentleman informed me this day at the Prince of Orange his court, there are two degrees of States sit here in council, the one superior and principal, who are selected out of the committees, out of every province one, who join with the nobles chosen as aforesaid. These resolve upon what is concluded upon, and the other the committees consult how monies may be raised, and how that may be effected which is resolved upon. Friseland elects and sends committees for these towns: 1. Leu-

[1] Nimeguen. [2] Bommell. [3] Thid. [4] Hardwicke.
[5] Terveer. [6] Zurichsee. [7] Brewershaven. [8] Tergoes.

[9] This duke of Cleves was John William, who was born 1562, and died in March, 1609, having been twice married, but not leaving any children. A bitter war ensued so immediately after his death between his presumptive heirs, that funereal rites were not performed over his body till the year 1628, when his nephew, Wolfgang William, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and of Neubourg, undertook to have this ceremony performed.—*Vanloon*, vol. ii. p. 59.

werden; 2. Dockam;[1] 3. Franaker; 4. Boleswert;[2] 5. Sneake; 6. Harling; 7. Workim; 8. Hinclopen;[3] 9. Staverne.[4] These have voices, and are as the former provinces.

Utrecht sends for itself one committee, but hath four cities within it: 1. Amordsfoarde;[5] 2. Wickdourstadt; 3. Mumford;[6] which all are called to council about any extraordinary occasion. Rhine in Utrecht forgotten. Groningen likewise a province, having within its precincts two cities, who send committees: 1. Dame, and 2. Delp-seile. Friseland now up in arms, because they will not yield to pay some taxes, contributions, and excise, imposed by the States; offered some violence to the magistrates. This Dorpe[7] of Den Hage is governed by a baylue (which is the same that is a scoute), two burgo-maisters, two under-scoutes or under-baylues, assistants to the baylue. The burgo-maisters chosen out of the aldermen, and execute that place three months, then others out of the aldermen or scepons elected. Here, in this town, and in this whole country, they are most guided by the civil law. Here are eight scepens and goodmen or friendmakers. Here are ghuest-houses, one for impovered and impotent persons, another for fatherless children.

Returning to Hage after dinner, upon *Monday*, 2 *Junii*, we left the scute a mile short of Hage, and went to see the Prince of Orange stable of horses, wherein were none but some thirty young horses three and four year-old: the stables capable of about sixty. Beyond the stable we saw a furious leopard of the prince, as also a young little elephant about three years old, who wanted of his growth (as he said that kept him) sixteen handful; he said they came not to their growth until they be a hundred years old, and live until they be three hundred years old. Hence I went to a dainty new house[8] of the Prince of Orange, erecting and almost

[1] Dokkum. [2] Bolsward. [3] Hindelopen. [4] Slavoren.
[5] Ameersfoort. [6] Montfoort. [7] Village.

[8] T'Huis in't Bosch, or the House in the Wood, a palace decorated with a profusion of paintings; one room is absolutely lined with family portraits, and the great hall is painted with subjects in honour of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, by Jordaens and others, who, according to Reynolds' too severe criticism, have only produced a variety of wretchedness.

finished: it is about an English mile from the place where we left the scute, and as far from the Hage. This house was intended a story higher, but that the foundation would not admit it. It is most proportioned in length; the floors of all the lower rooms laid with one white, another black square stone; all the chimneys in the lower rooms almost of different works, but all stand upon marble pillars about a yard into the room. No jaumes at all, but so as the fire lieth, as it were, in the side of the room, and doth extend itself to give as much heat to either side as forward, being hollow on either side. In the second story the beauty of the rooms is the gilding on the roof, which seems to be very rich, and all marble chimneys; here is a dainty stair-case, there being two pair of stairs which come out of the hall, and land both at one stair-head, and lead into the best rooms. Some of the seats of the windows gilded in the riggott[1] that is planed. Here are mighty spacious garden plots here, sowed with herbs and roots; one or two English acres. Here is also leading from the highway to the court (leading to the house, which court is curiously paved with even narrow brick) a spacious piece of ground containing about four English acres, wherein are planted sycamore-trees curiously and in such order, as which way soever you look, they stand in order and rank. The name of the prince's chief house Hunslow Dike. Colonel Pagnall told me that the prince was possessed of a very fair estate and large possessions, insomuch as when they have travelled over the prince his own land hath been a day's journey.

This day I saw four of the daintiest, most curious mares that I did ever behold; they were the Prince of Orange's coach-mares, bred but of his own straine[2]; they are (as I conceive) twixt Barbaries and jenets,[3] brown bays, full of metal and flesh.

The prince hath a curious little garden half as long as one pile of

[1] In Cheshire, a gutter to a house is called a riggot; the word may here mean a channelled moulding.

[2] Strain, derived from Saxon, a breed of horses.—*Bailey's Dict.*

[3] Jennets are Spanish or Barbary mares; how differing in breed from what he calls Barbaries, we have not discovered.

his house, close hedges, carrying round compasses as thick as though you were in an house. The ladies and gentlemen here all Frenchified in French fashion. This afternoon, about seven hour, came into this dorpe the Landgrave of Hessen's brother (a young gentleman about eighteen years of age), well mounted, and attended with some ten horses. We likewise saw the prince's little garden, wherein was a dainty fountain; in this garden, ripe oranges and lemons; a most brave, curious rock here is, and of a very large extent, and a place, in nature of a cage, wherein disposed all manner of dainty fowl.

June 3.—I dined with Colonel Goreing;[1] my lady with importunity prevailed with me to stay. Here we had royal entertainment; a brave boiled piece of beef, and two curious dainty bag-puddings, the one of suet, flower and almonds, the other with raisins and ordinary spices—an excellent good one; and at latter end of dinner a gammon of Westphalia bacon sliced in great pieces; green leaves here strewed upon the table when covered: here dainty strawberries and cream. About four hour we went to Queen of Bohemia's court, whither my lady Goreing went along with me, and presented me to the lady Elizabeth,[2] with whom I had a good deal of discourse; afterwards my lady Goreing presented me to the queen, and I kissed her hand, as I had done the princess's before. Here Mr. Stones, one of her majesty's principal gentlemen, invited me twice solemnly to stay and sup with him, and afterwards came to fetch me to see the queen at supper, where, after the queen had put me upon a discourse of the discovery of our Lancashire witches, she answered it with a relation of a discovery of witches in Westphalia, where a whole village, all witches; and amongst

[1] Col. Goring commanded a regiment of foot in Holland at this time. [3] See page 7.

[2] This probably refers to "The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster, with the Arraignment and Triall of nineteene notorious Witches, &c." Aug. 1612, before Sir James Altham and Sir Edward Bromley, by Thomas Potts, Esq. An advertisement prefixed, signed by the two judges, asserts that they "imposed the labour of this work upon this gentleman, by reason of his place, being a clerk at that time in court, imploied in the arraignement and trial." Sir Edward Bromley attests that he revised and corrected it.

them was the Bishop of Wurzburg's chancellor and his page, all whom deservedly burned. The queen, also inquiring of me touching the stocks of Bagmear,[1] reported that at Berlin, the Elector of Brandenburg's house, before the death of any related in blood unto that house, there appears and walks up and down that house like a ghost in a white sheet, which walks during the time of their sickness and until their death. Her majesty said that the Lady Leveston, then present, had seen it open the curtains. She also spoke (which Duke Bernard of Weimar averred unto her) that some ministers being at supper assembled together in a room of the house of Duke William of Weimar, which was troubled with spirits; that being at meat, all their stools upon a sudden plucked from under them. A gentlewoman sitting there at supper, feeling something under her clothes, stabbing downwards suddenly with her knife, it came up all blood; her garter was taken off her leg, and tied under all clothes upon her bare arm.

Here I saw before supper the Rhinegrave, the son of Monsieur La Force, and after supper, Grave Henry Vandeberg, the Count of Culenberg and his lady, Vandenberg's sister. Here I was stayed supper with the queen's gentlemen, and wondrously kindly entertained.

The queen reported a great defeat given by Arnheim, the Saxon general, to the Imperialists,[2] in Silesia: four thousand slain in the place. Landgrave of Hessen hath likewise prevailed against Imperialists near Cullen. She also said that D. Bernard[3] was marched up into Upper Palatinate to fight with King of Hungary.

All the rooms in the Queen's house, walls, beds and all, covered with black.

The tulips which I had from the Prince of Orange's gardener cost five guilders the hundred, the best. They are to be set in

[1] Bagmere is a mere or small lake near Brereton Hall, wherein, according to ancient popular traditions, stocks or trunks of trees were seen floating for several days previous to the death of the head, or of the heir, of the family.

[2] Near Lignitz.

[3] Bernard, duke of Saxe Weymar, with the army of the Swedes and the Confederates, marched to attack the king of Hungary at the head of the Imperialists. The armies met at Nordlinguen, and the Swedes were totally routed, 26 Nov. 1634.

August or September. Many quails kept here in cages, which you may hear call in streets. Four churches in this town: two Dutch churches for the town, one for the prince's house, and one little poor church for the English. In the fairest church, which is fine, neat, and spacious church, are abundance, an infinite number, of arms hanged round about the church; and the pillars hanged round, yea even so thick as almost one covereth part of another; and in the chancel many fair arms placed betwixt the pillars. In this country, when they make a grave, they, finding a place where have been none buried before, make the grave as deep as possible, and bury one upon another. Their women never come to church with their corpse, save only their men, who march in ranks in good order, two and two together.

This 4 *Junii*, in morning, we went to LANDINA[1] by waggon, for which we paid three guilders: here are the basins wherein christened three hundred and sixty-five children of the Count of Henenberg's lady, who lies there, under the brass basins, interred:[2] here is also a monument of an English nobleman in this church. Here by the way we met two dromedaries, which were very unruly, and the horses much afraid. I leapt out of the waggon: the dromedaries are ugly creatures, bulches[3] behind and before, and betwixt them a

[1] Loosdruenen.

[2] Here is a church monument, where an earl and a lady are engraven with three hundred and sixty-five children about them, which were all delivered at one birth; they were half male, half female; the two basons in which they were christened hang still in the church, and the bishop's name who did it; and the story of this miracle, with the year and the day of the month mentioned, which is not yet two hundred years ago; and the story is this. That the countess walking about her door after dinner, there came a beggar woman with two children upon her back to beg alms; the countess asking whether those children were her own, she answered, she had them both at one birth, and by one father, who was her husband. The countess would not only not give her any alms, but reviled her bitterly, saying, it was impossible to have two children at once by one father. The beggar woman being thus provoked with ill words, and without alms, fell to imprecations, that it should please God to shew his judgment upon her, and that she might bear at one birth as many children as there be days in the year, which she did before the same year's end, having never borne child before.—*Howell's Letters*, sect. ii. lett. 13.

[3] Bunches. Dromedary, a sort of camel, having two *bunches* on the back. *Bailey, Dict.*

convenient seat for a man, where a man did ride when we met them. They are as large as a camel I have seen. Here by the way we observed the sea-sand, the shore to be much above us, and going up unto the top of it, we went up an hill; herein to be admired the wonderful providence of God, inasmuch as the sea doth not overflow the land, lying so much below it. These hills and banks of deep sand are cast up and wrought by the sea, by the waves of the sea, and here is barren dry sandy land as in Sherwood Forest, like Bowden Downs,[1] save longer lank grass; and until the sea sand be taken off and led away, the ground is nothing worth; this sea sand is carried to Hage and other places, where they make firm foundations. Here is poor rye on this sandy land. A pretty jest of an English boy, who said, "the dogs bark, the cocks crow, cows bleat like English ones, and the men can speak no English." An Englishman sits here on a gibbet 'twixt Delph and Hage, who, being trusted and left alone in the house, murdered the man's only son: he dwelt in Shipley. He was put to a cruel death: first, one leg broken by an iron mall; second, the other leg; then his thighs and arms, one after another; then was given him a blow on the breast, and his brains struck out. A late discovery of a murdering-inn near Stralesound, wherein were slain eight hundred persons, and their flesh pickled up. It was discovered by a post, who, meeting with a scholar, and coming together on the way towards Stralesound, when they came thither, the gates being shut, they were constrained to lodge in an obscure inn. After supper the post was much distempered with the meat he had eaten, it did not well digest, so as he could take no rest, and heard a lamentable crying out, and a man's voice, which indeed was the scholar, who was tumbled out of his bed through a false deceitful floor into a mighty deep cellar, where the butchers presently slaughtered him, cut his throat, and quartered him, whose quarters there found hung up and salted. Thus it was discovered: the post rising early, it was enquired where the scholar was; it was answered he was gone; hereupon the post informs the magistrates of the town; they were apprehended,

[1] In Cheshire; now enclosed.

search was made, and all confessed, and that fat men were most useful unto them; none of whom escaped. These deservedly executed, as also those professed robbers, murderers, ravishers, blasphemers, and idolaters, who gloried in nothing more than committing notorious villanies; who, after they had stuprated a woman with child, cut her throat, ripped up her womb, took out her infant, and killing a bitch in whelp, took the young out of the bitch's belly and put them in the woman's womb, and sewed it up. These suffered at Prauge most tormenting deaths: first, in one public place in the city, their flesh of the one arm torn off, seared, to prevent bleeding to death; after one hour's intermission, the flesh on the back, breast, thighs, so excruciated; afterwards laid upon a wheel, and all their bones broken one after another, and so continued, some languishing two whole days more before they died, having been tormented before from eight in morning to four in afternoon; hereof Mr. Tomkins, who keeps the Blue Anchor in Hage, affirmed his eyes were witnesses. He also reported the former.

The 4 *Junii.*—At supper I paid for my ordinary twenty-six stivers.

The 5 *Junii.*—In morning I went to see some coys, whereof here are abundance. Six in my view; two whereof I saw, the former rented for two hundred and fifty gilders, the other for two hundred and twenty-five gilders a-year. Six here are within half a Dutch mile. They had both three pipes in one end and one in the other: two hundred flying smeaths belonging to one coy; abundance of pell-starts, and thirty pell-starts in one huck.[1] These coys near the highways; mighty high trees grow in both of them, so full of cover within the huck and without, as all ground, reed-seatings and all, covered with wood. Here a coy-duck brings up chickens; wood covereth some pipes so thick, as there is no net. Sometimes take two hundred on a day; sell them at Christmas for one shilling a duck; at other times, sometimes six-pence, seven-pence, and eight-pence, and nine-pence, as in season. Trees herein as high as birches; their ducks, smeaths, and pell-starts exceeding

[1] Hutch.

tame. By the way over against an heries[1] house planted about forty young trees for shade, preserved by four boards nailed square together, two yards high. Here a dainty garden of a plain man's, wherein portraited to the life in box all the postures of a soldier, and a captain on horseback. Herein a pond, wherein abundance of fish, which, upon the ringing of a bell and throwing in bread, come to the top to feed boldly. He said here were many sorts of fishes. The park all along the highway side boarded or walled with boards two yards high; and it is said that herein are both red and fallow deer. This belongs to the States-General. Prince Robert at Leyden told me there were many parks, and that it was a most pleasant, dry country about Reinberke, lately taken in by the States.

This 5 *Junii.*—We left Hage and came by waggon for LEYDEN, for which we paid twelve stivers a-man: we took waggon about four clock, came to Leyden about seven; it being three Dutch miles. Here near unto the Hage we passed through trees planted in good order, which belong under the inhabitants of Hage; afterwards we passed through a wood, wherein were many oak trees, said to be planted *per comitissam Johannam.* Here is a park belonging to the States, wherein is said to be both red and fallow deer. It is a park-like ground. Here, 'twixt Hage and Leyden, all (for most part) barren land and deep sands, which have been wrought and laid there by the sea, whose shore lies on left hand, seems to be much above you, and seem like high hills, so as though the ground you pass look much higher than the country below; yet there also, in respect of the shore above you, it seems a valley.

Here about Leyden is a more pleasant, sweet place than I have met with in Holland. This town (as also other towns) much of late enlarged, so as one of the ports,[2] the port, stands now within the city. Here the daintiest curious gallows that ever I saw: three pillars of freestone neatly wrought, on which the beams are placed; upon the top of every pillar stands a large gilded ball, as big as your head. Here, when the poor beg, and when they will give them nothing, they give them this answer: God help you! God help you!

[1] *To herie* (obsolete), to honour. *Herse*, a canopy over a body lying in state; a temporary monument. A *heries-house* may be a kind of mausoleum. [2] Gates.

Going about ten clock to see the princes (the Queen of Bohemia's children), and having kissed their hands, Prince Robert,[1] falling into discourse with me, asked me to stay and dine with them: I knew not what answer to make; he invited me a second time, and went away. Presently came a Frenchman, and was so importunate with me as he stayed me, and I dined with those princes. This Frenchman named them in this order: Prince Charles,[2] Prince Elector; Prince Robert; Prince Maurice, who hath lately been much disfigured by the small-pox; Prince Edward, the best face; next him Prince Robert; Prince Philip, and Prince Gustavus, so little as not able to sit at table. The queen's daughters: Elizabeth, Lodovica, Henrietta, Sophia. Here is brought up with them a cousin-german, their father's sister's son. After grace said by their pages, the Lord's Prayer said in English; two foul women.[3] Study from eight to ten, and then dance to eleven, and then dine; they return to their books at two, study till four; learn to fence to five. Here, in their stable, four dainty sorrel pied horses suitable. This house wherein their court is kept, lent them by the town, which seems to be larger and more spacious than any town I have yet seen; and although here be an university, yet no face nor presence of an academy. Here be only two colleges; in one about thirty students of divinity, who have their diets and twenty gilders a-piece, a square uniform little court or quadrangle: in the other, twenty students of divinity, who have therein their diets and fifty gilders a-piece; these only go in the habit of scholars: so as here is no face nor presence of an university. The scholars apparelled some as gallants, some like soldiers, some like citizens, some like

[1] Rupert.

[2] Charles Lewis, the prudent adherent of the parliament; Prince Rupert, celebrated for his precipitate valour, as one of his uncle's generals; Prince Maurice, another of Charles' generals. Of the other princes little is known, they probably died young: the male branches became extinct upon the death of Charles, the son of the above Charles Lewis. The Princess Elizabeth (see above); Lodovica, or Louisa, was distinguished as an artist, and some of her paintings are still highly esteemed, and adorn the walls of some foreign cabinets; Sophia, the well-known Electress-mother of George I, and one of the most accomplished women of her age. Of Henrietta little is known.

[3] Nurses?

serving-men; all in colours for most part. The schools here are very poor, mean things, in comparison of Oxford schools. Here are twenty-two professors, some of whom are continually reading from eight to twelve and from one to five: four professors of divinity: Joannes Polyander,[1] Antonius Thysius,[2] Constantinus Empereur,[3] Antonius Wallæus.[4] Doctors of physic: Adrianus Falcoburgius,[5] Ewaldus Serevellius,[6] Adolphus Vorstius,[7] Joannes Walæus.[8] Many civilians here. High Dutchmen most resort unto this university, because their universities in High Germany not so safe. Here more follow their pleasures than their books. Here, by the schools, we saw a printing-house, and the princes walking. Two things only which belong to this university memorable: the physic garden, wherein all manner of herbs and plants medicinable, though a small plot of ground not above half a statute acre.

Herein was I this night, *June* 6, when Adolphus Vorstius, Doctor of physic, read his lecture in this garden, which he is to perform twice a-week. His manner is to take a whole bed, four yards long and one broad, and to discourse of the nature and quality of every herb and plant growing therein, which he points out with his staff when he begins to speak thereof. He treated of the mastic-tree, which there grows, though it is but like a bush, and of no great stature: hereunto he ascribed much virtue. He also discoursed of lupins, of hyssop, and of hemlock, which he said was of a most venomous, somnifying, stupifying, and intoxicating quality; yea, if any man did but so much as touch it and rub it, that part that touched it would lose his natural heat: a young gentleman immediately before had been fingering it, and, upon hearing this, no little daunted and dismayed: another afterwards would needs

[1] Professor at Leyden in 1611, died in 1646.

[2] Born at Antwerp 1565, died at Leyden 1640.

[3] Professor of Hebrew from 1627 to 1648.

[4] Born 1573, died 1639.

[5] Adrian van Valckenburg born 1581, died 1650.

[6] Ewaldus Schrevelius succeeded Everardus Vorstius in the chair of Divinity, born 1576, died 1646.

[7] Born at Delft in 1597, Professor at Leyden 1624, died 1663.

[8] Rector of the Medical School in 1632.

touch it, an Englishman, but he confessed unto me that it cast such a savour, an offensive taste, to the brain, as he expected not. This doctor speaks good Latin, and expresses himself in very good language, and very fluently, and with much ease.

Here is likewise an anatomy school, wherein, besides the rarities mentioned in the Itinerary, are many more: an Egyptian king, a blackamoor, who is said to have died three thousand years ago, who was embalmed, and so preserved from putrefying to this day: his name was Pharaoh, brought hither within this thirty years. Here are the skins of men and women tanned: a man's much thicker and stiffer than a woman's. Here the anatomy of a woman executed for murdering her bastard child, and the child anatomized in her arms. Here we numbered the ribs in two anatomies of a man and a woman, and found eleven ribs in a man's side and twelve ribs in a woman's side.[1] Here is also an Egyptian king's daughter, a blackamoor, embalmed; the jaw of a whale, four or five yards long; the teeth of a whale, near half yard long one of them, twelve in number, the rest every two less than other; a young whale, cut out of his dam's belly, which lies below in the cellar, eight yards long. *Fulminis sagitta,* the dart of a thunderbolt, about the length and thickness of your little finger; under it is written, in Latin: "Existimant multi lactentes pueros, si herniis corripiuntur, lapide hoc cunis imposito restitui: aut, si non hoc morbo affliguntur, ab eodem preservari: De quo marbo, Dæus.[2] Qui caste gerit hunc e fulmine non ferietur; nec domus nec villa, quibus adfuerit lapis ille." Here are the anatomies of divers creatures, men, women, and children; bull, horse, stag, water-dog, goat, monkey, ape, baboon, fox, swine, musk-cat, house-cat, which hath fifteen ribs; divers other creatures whose ribs numbered (as bull, horse, dog) had but twelve; whale had seventeen ribs; greyhound, wolf, bear, swan, eagle, cock, stork, pigeon; the guts and maw of a man thirty-six

[1] This notion of inequality of number is among the vulgar errors noticed by Brown, book vii. ch. 2.

[2] Marbadæus, who wrote "De Gemmarum Lapidumque Viribus," printed at Cologne in 1539.

foot long; head of elephant, two tigers' skins stuffed; an Indian mole stuffed, as big as a cat: turtle shell, two yards every way; crab-fish, with an horn in the forehead about two foot; the body of a West India fowl, phænicoptoras,[1] three yards long, the body almost as great as a swan: short wings, red and black, long legs, long neck, crooked bill, feet like a goose; a cancer, East India, with a shell like a broad platter on her back; divers serpents, one great, one three yards long; a very great Roman urn, wherein they put the dust of their great persons dead, when their bodies are burned; a lamp, used [*to be*] placed by the Romans in their sepulchres, which is said to burn perpetually; the proportion of two crocodiles, one four yards long; caput alces; two Indian canes, nine yards long, half-yard about; many more rarities which I found in my book, and there pricked, and many more there are which are omitted.

In the physic-garden: an eagle fifty years old, white head and white train; another was here (now dead) which was a hundred years old; this inscription over her:—

> Sum celebris pennis, oculis, clangore, senecta;
> Spectator caveas pande, beabis, ave.

In this garden a tree, which hath such a strong venemous malignant quality, as, if one lie under all night, what creature soever, they are dead before next morning; hereof I broke a branch, which Ralph Brian rubbed but a little in his hand, and his finger burned and prickled. Herein divers plants and herbs, which cannot endure the wind or sun; these covered with glass. Here, in this little garden, fifty-six beds; all ordinary herbs, roots, and weeds, as well as rare herbs, and planted, to be found herein: tansy, French wheat, docks, hemlocks, alicampanum, bater-docks, &c. Many roots and plants set in pots, and prosper well. I bought a book, wherein are the names of all the herbs and plants in this garden, wherein more at large hereof in the book which sets down the nature and quality of the herbs and plants of this garden.

[1] Flamingo.

Upon *Saturday*, 7 *Junii*, we went to John's[1] father's in a waggon, by him sent. We went about six o'clock, and came to ALLIFEIN about half nine, which is nine English miles. This dorpe was burnt about fourteen years ago; the fire first took in rape-oil, suddenly flamed out mightily, and presently set on fire a stork's nest on top of church, and burnt the church and a great part of the town to the ground. It is rebuilded, and here is a dainty neat church new-built, wherein three great candlesticks hang over the middle aisle; one of them cost £25 sterling. We saw 'twixt this town and Leyden a neat gentleman's house (with a brave turret on top, which is a great grace) moated about, and a drawbridge to pull up most easily, an invention well deserving to be put in practice in England over all moats or dykes. Before ten hour, we came to John's father, and went with him to his coy, wherein wood excellently grown; apple-trees, plum-trees, and cherry-trees prosper very well, and shed forth abundance of wood.

The largest and neatest coy-house I have seen, lofted overhead to lay corn or hemp-seed, the pipes so straight, bending some little towards you; four pipes only until last winter, two in either end: one more, added last winter, of no use: here, by the help of a windmill, they can drown all the ground round about the coy. It is framed in this manner: a long piece of timber (such an one as in England we use to turn our windmills withal) is placed upon four stumps supporters, and it is laid slopewise, high with the head, whereon is fastened the four sails, and to the foot is joined a little wheel, which is turned by the wind turning the sails, which casteth out the water: this wheel is placed in deep narrow gutters proportioned unto it, and cut out for it to run in, out of which it throws the water into the land to be drowned.

Hence we went to see a rape-mill turned by an horse at Swammerdam, and by the way we passed by a pleasant and something higher ground, where, they say, was a city inhabited by those who

[1] John appears to have been his coyman. It seems not improbable that he was a Dutchman whom Sir W. Brereton had transplanted into Cheshire to manage his coys after the manner of Holland, where such matters were perhaps better understood.

were, one of them, as large sized and statured, and as strong, as two or three Dutchmen now living. John my coyman reported it. We saw the rape-mill turned by an horse, which drew about two great mill-stones standing on the edge one by the other, which did turn round upon a third mill-stone, upon which the rape-seed being thrown was ground: near hereunto placed the pan, which of itself, by the help of screws, turns about to be stirred, wherein they boil the bruised rape, and thence put it into bags, which is put into a press, which is beaten down with the mill also by virtue of a wheel at the top thereof, which wheel turns and screws down the wedges without any more labour save the mill going.

In my return I went in to see (at Allofein) the house of the Lord Offerbeake, a great house promising much; but, entering into it and examining the rooms, I found nothing answerable to what was expected: on the back side I saw a pool empaled, wherein were pell-starts, smeaths, shovelars, teals, and others, and a straight poor pipe to take fowl in. On this side the house spacious gardens and mighty great orchards, and store of fish-ponds; on the other side of the lane, and near unto the river of Rhine, most curious hedges and walls covered; the first whereinto you enter two rood broad, near twenty rood long; along the sides and ends whereof a strong frame of timber, which guides and nourisheth a brave thick cover of a kind of elms; this garden moated about; upon the top of this walk, it is said, he intends to build a chamber, which may command and overlook the river running by the side thereof, and may see many brave ships and boats continually passing upon that river. Here is a square plot converted into garden and walks, and most curious hedges, and 'twixt every hedge and walk a dainty moat, which seems to be full of fish. Towards the middle of the plot, the walks rounded, and, 'twixt every walk, dubbed hedges kept in most curious order; and in mid, round walks like a maze, the several plants: 1, box; 2, yew; 3, elm; 4, privett; 5, Geneva plant,[3] makes a thick hedge almost like yew: 6, thorns, whereof a most dainty hedge is

[1] Juniper.

straight as a line the whole length of the plot; 7, cornowlee[1] makes an hedge like privett, but it is a broader and thicker leaf; 8, pear-tree hedges; 9, apple-tree hedges, both thick platted, and kept dubbed in good order; 10, wood of life,[2] which smells like wormwood, grows to a good height, leaf in proportion resembles most holly fearon; 11, tamarisque, which is almost like savin; 12, red barbaries; the lowest of these hedges higher than any man can stride over, and, as I conceive, frames of timber guiding and supporting all of them.

Here in this village, on the back side of which runs the Rhine, I observed a chest bored full of holes, locked, which was placed in a dock prepared for it, which was with a pulley to be drawn out and let dry; herein were fish kept, to be always ready upon any sudden occasion to be taken, the ark being dry and empty of water; for this end I saw also twiggen round baskets at Hage to keep living fish in, hanging in the water, to draw out at pleasure.

We returned hence by water, being about nine English miles; it was about three hours' work, and cost us one gilder to hire a little sckuller boat to Leyden.

We stayed the Sabbath at Leyden, *June* 8, 1634, and heard Mr. Goodier (a worthy, honest man) in the English church, a little (yet neat) place, and not fully furnished with hearers. Hither also to this church we went in afternoon: came thither before two, yet sermon begun. After sermon,[3] all of that congregation desired to stay:[4] we departed. After this sermon ended we went to the Dutch church (St. Peter's), wherein are many scutcheons and arms, where we found them receiving the sacrament at a long table covered with white cloth, placed lengthways in an aisle which stands over across the church: the men, I imagine, had all received together at the same place; we only saw the women receive sitting; in the middle of whom, on the one side, was placed the minister (the predicant), who, after he had consecrated the bread and wine,

[1] Dogwood Cornel, *cornus sanguineus.*

[2] *Arbor vitæ.*

[3] *i. e.* in the morning.

[4] For the communion.

did administer the same unto those who sat next unto him, who conveyed, on both hands the predicant, the bread upon plates, and the wine in cups, to those who sat next unto them: they themselves broke the bread, being cut into long narrow pieces. When all these had received, they departed, and others succeeded; but, as it seemed unto me, this not administered with such decency and reverence as in England. After all had received, a psalm sung, and then some short prayer read, and so concluded. Here in this church all brass pillars 'twixt the middle aisle and the chancel. Here stayed in the church a great number of Dutchwomen, who resolved to keep their seats in the mid of the aisle (every of them sitting upon their own stool, brought and carried with them), until the next sermon, which was to begin about one hour afternoon. In this city, though it is said that there is about one hundred and forty thousand persons, yet not above three or four churches: St. Peter's, for Dutch, the principal; St. Mary's, for French; and the English church. Here is a brave ghuest-house, which now maintains seven hundred orphans; besides divers other ghuest-houses.

This is the largest and most populous city I have yet seen. Herein their greatest trade is fulling and making of wool: abundance of our English wool and fullers'-earth brought hither through Scotland by stealth; so as black cloths, far better dyed than ours, can here be afforded better cheap than at Delphe. This city governed by one scoute and three under-scoutes; four burgo-maisters, which make orders, laws, and constitutions for government of the city; eight sckepens give sentence upon all that break those laws, and are judges in matters of difference 'twixt party and party. The scoute (the sckepens present) execute what the burgo-maisters and sckepens order and judge.

June 9.—I went and advised with Dr. Warcoaste, a physician, touching my childrens' weakness. He directed that we should strip off the stalks the leaves of fern (*Latine appellebat Filix sic Dr.*) and dry them in an oven, and make a bed of it, and lay the child upon it; as also take the root, stamp it, and boil it in ale, and annoint the child's body all over therewith. "Aqua mellis distillata

valet ad crinem robustiorem efficere, atque etiam crescere in vultus efficit barbam."[1] I gave this Dr. 2s. Dutch. I went afterwards to Dr. Florentius,[2] a most elegant and able man, speaks exquisite Latin, who prescribed rolling of both legs and the use of fern as aforesaid, and also to remove the obstruction, which perhaps occasioned that hardness of his belly and that swelling in the wrist-joints. He prescribed a scruple Cremoris Tartari to be taken twelve mornings in broth of veal or chickens; if this hardness proceed from the worms knit together, which is ordinary, then he prescribed six grains of corallin,[3] six of hartshorn, and one scruple cremoris tartari, "candidum, optimum abluatur" dixit "et foveatur crinis decoctu capillorum veneris,[4] ac etiam usu aquæ mellis distillatæ." I gave him also two Dutch s., his fee being but three stivers if you go to him, and six if he come to you; by order of States not to exact more; here the first degree they take is doctor, when the professors think fit, and the graduate deserving, sometimes at three or four years.

Mr. Goodier told me of a strange deliverance of this town besieged,[5] wherein the famine and pestilence raging, the town not being able to hold out any longer, the country was drowned by drawing up their sluices and cutting the banks, and the night following the wall in one place, convenient for the enemies to enter, fell down and broke down (a great breach); the noise whereof and the sudden eruption of the water took such impression of fear, and occasioned the apprehension of some further danger by some further design; whereupon they broke up their siege, and left the town. For this strange preservation a solemn day of thanksgiving kept yearly in this city. Here I heard a

[1] Distilled honey water is useful to make the hair grow stronger, and also to increase the beard upon the face.

[2] Wrote "De Peste" in 1814.

[3] *Corallina officinialis*, sea corallina, or white worm seed, at one time much used in medicine, now but rarely.

[4] *Adiantum capillus veneris.* The hair to be washed and nourished with a decoction of maiden hair, and also by the use of distilled honey water.

[5] By the Spaniards in 1574.

strange relation of bread-loaves of bread turned into stone. In the time of a very great famine, wherein a poor woman that had many children, and wanted bread, and came to her sister, who had much riches and store of victuals and bread, desired her sister to lend her one loaf of bread; she most falsely and profanely denied that she had any bread. Her poor sister pressed her further and was very importunate, and said she had bread. Her sister denied, and with this deprecation, wished if she had any bread, that it might be turned into a stone; and accordingly she and her husband supping and sending for bread, when it was brought, it seemed to be turned into stone, and all the loaves in the house also, which took such impression in her, as she fell sick and died. This was reported unto me, but I dare not report or justify the truth.

Here I saw the fairest and largest state-house, wherein was a lively description of the Day of Judgment.

About eight hour *Monday* 9 *June*, we went for Harlaim in the mart ship or passage-boat, and passed all along a dead water, about twenty roods over, until we came to a dorpe called Caghe, and then we passed Caghe-Meare, and so came to Harlaim Meare; it being a side wind, sometimes the boat rowled so much on one side, that it went within less than a quarter of yard of the water, the sail almost leaning into the water; and we met a little boat coming much against wind, so laviereing[1] as that the sail almost touched the water, and the water came within less than half a foot of running into the boat. This is a very large standing meare, whereon you may go almost from Leyden to Amsterdam: it is a mighty, vast, spacious thing. I saw it from the top of Harleim church steeple, and it can be no less than thirty mile long. Our passage was five stivers a-man from Leyden to Harlaim, by scute.

About one of the clock, we came to Harlaim, the second city in Holland; and in the river, 'twixt the meare and the town, we passed by a ship loaden with beer, about the same distance, about the same burthen our ship was of. Here we laviered about twenty

[1] Tacking. *Laveer*, to steer a ship sometimes one way, and sometimes another.

times in this little narrow water, and saw another ship, a little before us, run ashore with laviering. Here before we came to the town we saw a dainty gallows: three pillars of brick, iron bars overcross, whereon hang two men in chains, all flesh consumed. A woman executed stands here fixed to a post: she suffered for murdering her own child. She was put to a most cruel death upon a wheel. Another man's proportion[1] stands here, lately erected and fastened to a new post. This man desiring an alms, which was not given, whereupon he threateneth revenge, and sets fire on that house, which burnt the whole dorpe; whereupon he was most cruelly burned. The sckipper that carried us said he went this passage every day in year (save frost.)

This city is the second town in the land, and one of the largest: it is conceived that there is about ten thousand persons inhabiting therein. The city is much decayed of late, because consisting most of weaving linen cloth and stuff (that being the greatest trade of this town), which doth not go off so well as formerly; making threads and lace, and witeing[2] the same in yarne-crofts. Brewing is a great trade in this town, the dorps hereabouts being supplied with this beer. Herein the Arminians suppressed. It is governed by one chief-scoute, one under-scoute, and one scoute that ruleth by night; four burgomaisters; seven sckepens, good-men, or friend-makers. The burgomaisters chosen thus: the sckepens and vorn-scapps (who are equivalent to our common-council men), choose and present unto the prince six of most sufficient, which are sent unto him by the senior sckepen, out of which number the prince selects and pricks two, which always serve four year. There are vornscapps, out of whom and by whom the sckepens are chosen.

Here is a most dainty curious old-man-house, which might well become lord in the land to live in: it is built in manner of a quadrangle, and most neat and uniform. In court four dainty suitable quarters in the court, which is most evenly paved with bricks; two gardens; two green quarters, to dry their clothes. Within the

[1] Body or figure. [2] Bleaching.

house: a cloister, neat walk in sides whereof; convenient little neat lodgings, wherein placed two beds in wall, after Dutch fashion, for two persons: thirty of these chambers, which are capable of sixty persons. Here is a stately chamber for the fathers of the house, the governors of the house, which are four; another such-like room for the mothers of the house; a fair stately chamber, whereunto they are removed when they fall sick, where they are as well attended as though they were gentlemen. Here is also a curious neat hall, wherein they dine and sup: only such as dwelt here fifteen years can be admitted into this old-man-house.

In this town also a ghuest-house, for sick persons, be they strangers or others, to whom allowed their surgeons and doctors: a very rich, ancient house, which hath much lands and many houses to rent.

Here a wyes-house[1] for poor children, fatherless, whose parents have lived fifteen years in town.

A house of correction, to punish and set to work those that are able and will not work; out of the overplus of whose endeavours, those relieved that are needy and are of no congregation; whereas every congregation takes charge of and relieves their own poor. Here are also five or six old-women-houses, who are furnished with fine chambers and neat gardens.

Here is the fairest and most spacious market-place in the country (save Delphe); a very brave state-house hall, and over the scoute's-court door written in golden letters: "Audi alteram partem." Here a very fair, spacious, neat, long room, wherein are their shambles: all flesh, meat, mutton, veal, pork, and beef, sold by weight; a brave fish-market, the stalls curiously slated, an half-moon roof over the table whereon the fish is laid, beyond which the seller stands always dry; and so may be buyer: it is about sixty yards long, on either side such a roof or cover; in middle a neat and good broad walk.

Here is four churches of public use: the great church, St. Baves;

[1] Wees, i. e. orphan.

the Bacchanist[1] church, so called from that side of the town wherein it is seated, which is so called; St. John's church; St. Anne's church. The great church carries the name of the fairest, most spacious, in all Holland.

Here, in the monument, hangs three ships, armed before with iron saws, whereby they cut in pieces iron chains to bar up the haven of the castle Damiata,[2] wherein their lord was retained prisoner; whereby they released the lord of their town and country. The saws were placed in the belly of the ship, which was well followed and seconded by three or four that followed. In recompense of which good service their lord gave them two silver bells, which still hang in the top of their steeple, which I went to see, but would not be hired for them to take the same journey, there are such steep ladders, weak and narrow steps toward the top. Some say they took and found these bells in the town of Damiata.

As we were coming towards Amsterdam port, we saw a man about thirty-six years of age, not great-boned nor large-sized of himself, so stall-fed as that his legs were not able to support and carry his body; he was therefore constrained constantly to keep his bed: his companions, keale-bones[3] and checke-stones[4] to play with children. He is mighty fat on the sides. I never felt horse, nor beast, nor any creature, so thick and fleshy on ribs. He said he did begin to be thus pursle[5] and fat at fifteen years of age. He saith he hath been a prisoner in this manner this ten or twelve years. The lords of the town, at a great assembly, to feast and jovialize it, sent for this man, but his legs were not able to carry him home, so as they were constrained to cause him carried home upon a drag or sleade.[6] His legs in the calf as thick as a child's body, and in the small, as thick as any man's leg (as John Ward's)

[1] Baccheness, a district in Haerlem.

[2] This tale is sometimes differently told. It is said that during the siege of Damietta, in the second crusade, a party of Haerlemites constructed a vessel furnished with saws, and therewith cut through a chain which barred the entrance of the harbour, and so opened a way for the besiegers.

[3] *Keale* bones are kayles, kettlepins or ninepins. *Kegler*, Danish.

[4] *Cheche* stones are chuck stones, or, as they are sometimes called, *duck* stones.

[5] *Pursle*, for pursy, fat, short-breathed.

[6] Sledge.

in the calf. We took the measure of the body of this monster, and, upon trial, found it did extend itself to compass my brother Rich., and Ralph Brian, and Will. Baylye: it was two yards and an half, wanting half a quarter. When he was thus measured, he sat up in his bed, and was in a thin bease[1] waistcoat.

Here I omitted the curious brass pillars in Harlaim church, which are neatly wrought; they are placed 'twixt the chancel and body of church; they are about forty-six in number: a curious brass border over them wrought in a work.

This city enjoyeth very great privileges, and is the only bridle to curb and prevent the increasing greatness of her neighbour, Amsterdam, who, of late, as in trade and addition of building, so in privileges, have much enlarged themselves: they have of late obtained a charter for a beast-market, which formerly was never there kept, but always at Anchusan.[2] They have recovered all the windmills which saw boards from Lardam.[3] They attempted, lately, to have walled Amsterdam strongly about, and for that end they began to make a strong wall towards Harlaim port and that side; but the inhabitants of Harlaim violently opposed themselves against them, and would not suffer them, but constrained them to desist.

Here, in Amsterdam, they have no power to execute any offenders, but are constrained to borrow and make use of the hang-man belonging to Harlaim, whose time they must wait and attend.

Having seen the churches in Amsterdam, I find that Harlaim church is the fairest and most spacious in this land; and then Leyden, Dort, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Delph, &c. In Harlaim church four brave candlesticks, eight less; the fairest in all land, save four candlesticks in new church in Amsterdam, the greatest that I did ever see, worth fifty pounds at least.

This city is famous for those brave woods and walks belonging unto it, the like whereof not to be found in this province (except Hage). About six of the clock in the evening, entering a neat barge covered, which is a passage-boat, which are to go off at every hour's end, be there never so few passengers. One came with us

[1] Baize. [2] Enckhuysen. [3] Saerdam.

in this boat this day, and but four passengers in her. They were twenty-six in number: thirteen from Harlaim, thirteen from Amsterdam, and know their order and turns, who, from five in morning to six at night, are, and do constantly go off at every hour's end. These barges are drawn with an horse in a most straight, curious, pleasant ditch, which was cut out within less than two years; it was performed at the charge of the states of the towns; it is said it cost them £20,000 sterling.

It was perfected in six months' time, though a troublesome and tedious work it must needs be, being about nine English miles long, some three or four foot deep, and about three rood broad.

It is said that out of the passage of every boat allowed to repay the money disbursed in this work about seven Dutch shillings.

Every footman passing on this bank 'twixt Harlaim and Amsterdam is to pay two stivers toll; every horseman, four stivers; half to Harlaim, half to Amsterdam. So also the money paid by the scutes, which is for most part forty stivers; two stivers for every person carried by scute, and ordinarily they carry twenty passengers; when I came forty were in scute with me. Paid to the sckipper three stivers for every passenger, who pays in all five stivers; so as at least every day (save two or three months' frost) they receive back, of the money disbursed, fifty-two guilders a day; besides divers boats go off extraordinary, and in divers boats are many more than twenty passengers (which will much increase their receipts); and besides two stivers paid by every footman, or four stivers by every horseman; this equally divided 'twixt Harlaim and Amsterdam, who were at the charge of this ditch; so as at least this pays back every day six or seven pounds sterling.

Here along this passage are thirty-six stoopes[1] placed at equal distances; they are laid in oil, and figures are placed upon them; here is likewise begun, by posts and boards nailed to the bottom, to part the way, whereon it is intended the waggons to go, from the way, which is also upon this bank, whereon the horses go

[1] A stoop is properly a vessel holding two quarts; here possibly it means a common cask.

that are to draw the scutes; which, finished, will be a stately work also. In the middle of this passage I observed and took notice of some of their sluices, which being drawn up, they may drown the whole land; and I saw the sea on one hand much higher than the meare below on other hand, and do believe that these were the sluices which were drawn up to drown the country and the enemy at such time as it was besieged; at which time this to be observed, that there came such a violent west wind as did much raise and increase the waters by bringing in the flood, and, after the enemy had raised his siege, the wind turned and was so forceable as it repelled the waters, and laid much of the country dry; for this deliverance a solemn day of thanksgiving held in Leyden every year. These extraordinary duties of thanksgiving and fasting better kept than with us, though their sabbaths much profaned. The prince, the king of Bohemia's son,[1] lost in the other passage over Harleimer Meire to Amsterdam, which, as is said, was principal inducement to cut out this passage. In the way they shewed me a dorpe, called Scloterdike, within an English mile of Amsterdam, wherein dwelt a Dutchwoman, and which house hangs up at this hour the picture of the woman and of her husbands.

This woman had twenty-four husbands; six of them drowned, two of them slain. She died about five years ago. She was a man-like woman. Stephen Offwood, our host, hath seen and known the woman; she died in this town. One of her husbands lived with her seven years, and she had divers children. This day 10 *Junii* I walked out of town to the house where she lived, wherein I saw her picture hanged up: her name was Frische Roomer; it is a tapp-house, and herein I drunk a can of beer.

[1] This was Prince Frederick, the eldest son of Frederick the Count Palatine and Elizabeth, daughter of James I. "Passing over Haerlem Mere, a huge inland slough, in company with his father, who had been at Amsterdam, to look how his bank of money did thrive, and coming (for more frugality) in the common boat, which was o'erset with merchandize, and other passengers, in a thick fog, the vessel turned o'er, and so many perish'd. The Prince Palsgrave sav'd himself by swimming, but the young Prince clinging to the mast, and being entangled among the tackling, was half drowned and half frozen to death.—*Howell's Letters*, sect. iv. lett. 10.

One thing memorable in the discourse of Harlaim omitted, that here they have a spacious coney-gree[1] which reacheth all along the sea-coast. Here during their kermes, which is their fair, and is now kept, every man privileged to kill with dogs, and carry away whatsoever he can kill. It is said here are upon these downs deer, which belong to the States, and no man suffered to kill them.

Arriving at AMSTERDAM 10 *Junii* about nine hour, we passed Harleimer Port and came into a fair street, wherein of late swarmed the most impudent whores I have heard of, who would if they saw a stranger, come into the middle of the street unto him, pull him by the coat, and invite him unto their house. One of the burgomaisters coming through this street in a stranger's habit, was thus invited and assaulted, whereupon this street, which is above a quarter of an English mile long, which was stored with these huswifes, was about three or four months ago something purged; the scoute apprehended and banished about one hundred of them, the States paid the rent of their houses.

Junii 11.—We saw their Exchange, which, were it square, the walk underneath would resemble that of our Exchange in London,[2] but it is something narrower in the ends; it is not so stately and richly adorned in respect of the ornaments and pictures there, whereof this is naked overhead, where is their Exchange, which doth in proportion and form resemble ours, only the wares therein to be sold are but baubles and trifles in comparison of the old Exchange, London; the walk below and the room over-head is not square, but the ends shorter than the sides about a rood or two.

[1] *Coney-greys*, or *greeves*, rabbit burrows.—*Randall Holmes*, bk. ii. ch. 9, p. 187.

[2] The original Exchange was built by Sir Thomas Gresham; the foundation was laid June 7, 1566 : it was completed Nov. 1567, and called the Bourse. This building was destroyed in the great fire; it was rebuilt, and opened with great ceremony Sept. 28, 1669.

In 1570, Queen Elizabeth went in great state from her palace at Somerset House to make Sir Thomas a visit at his own house. After dinner she went to the Bourse, visited every part, and then, by sound of trumpet, dignified it with the title of the Royal Exchange. All the upper part was filled then, and even to this century, with shops.

This is greatest and most flourishing city in this province, which for trade is not inferior unto many in the world.

Tuesday 11 *Junii.*—We went into the house of Yantunus, who hath been professor in Leyden of the Arabic language—a lusty old man, whose beard reacheth his girdle. In this house he hath erected a most curious water-work at an infinite charge; no room without some rare invention for pleasure and delight; none for lodging almost, but also contrived and furnished with several inventions, and those all various to affect the outward sense, and draw on ghuests to apply there. He is an Anabaptist, but a man of most strange invention. This most rare invention, this water-work, is erected in the top of his house, which is six stories high, where having heard all sorts of music upon strings, upon wind-instruments, and upon an instrument which did in a pleasant tune and harmony make the bells to sound, playing thereon as you do upon virginalls. Here we had three great glasses of their muddy stuff, for which we paid (and for a dish of almonds and raisins) six Dutch shillings. After this we were taken into a loft or gallery in the same room: over against us stood upon a convenient place, for that end prepared, the proportion of a woman milking a cow, who seemed to move with her hand, and milked until the vessel, whereinto the water distilled or was milked, ran over. Here was another woman's proportion, as it were carrying away a vessel upon her head, which, being filled with water, did also overflow. Afterwards here was an ox which p—— strongly, men tending the cow and ox, as also digging; on the other side a bull which roared, a cow and her calf which lowed, a cock stood overhead which crowed, but hoarsely; we were then brought down to the water-work, where was a ball tossed and danced two yards high by the strength and force of the water-spout; proportion of the sun in water, but before, the proportion of a globe, then of the sun, of the half-moon, of a star much to the life, of a crown which was danced one yard and dim high; two birds carried up, descended soaring; two boys

[1] Form or figure.

sat opposite one to the other about three yards distant, which ——————— p—— stoutly one at the other, one upon the other; a woman out of whose breast water sprung; divers beasts placed upon the rails round about whereon we leaned, out of all whose mouths water strongly sprung, and was carried two or three yards: and in the mid, out of the very top of the work, the water did spring directly upwards three yards: in this work did the water issue at least in forty or fifty places. A lively representation of the five wise and five foolish virgins; the one having oil plentifully, the other wanting: the first received, the second repulsed. Adam and Eve, and the frogs and toads, which strongly spit out their venom; overhead a flat roof, on which placed a turret, to which you ascend by stairs made of iron-bars in a narrow compass, and so walk to a little cabin covered overhead, open on all sides, that the wind may not have over much power over it; and by a wooden ladder you ascend to the top of this also. Here is a commanding prospect twelve yards higher than the roof; this supported by four pillars, strengthened with some bars of iron.

June 12.—After we had dined with Mr. Pageatt,[1] where we had a neat dinner and strawberries, longest that I have seen, we went to a house called Dole-hoofe,[2] where we saw the pictures made in wax most livelyly of the Infanta standing, with her dwarf attending; 2. Henric the Fourth, Bourbon, King of France, and his Queen; 4. Gustavus Adolphus, the last King of Sweden, and his Queen, and the young Queen of Sweden, their daughter;[3] 8.[4] William, Prince of Orange,[5] in a furred and almost like alder-

[1] Probably the author of "A Defence of Church Government, exercised in Presbyterial, Classical, and Synodall Assemblies, &c. By John Paget, late able and faithful Pastor of the Reformed English Church in Amsterdam," 1641. To which was "prefixed an Advertisement to the Parliament, with some Animadversions on the Cheshire Remonstrance against Presbytery, by T. P." *i. e.* Mr. Tho. Paget, a minister in the diocese of Chester, who was prosecuted for nonconformity, and fled to Holland about the year 1621, where he probably died, but the time of his death is not known.—*Book's Lives of the Puritans.*

[2] Doole-house, vid. pp. 11, 13.

[3] The celebrated Christina.

[4] These numbers as in MS.

[5] William I, Prince of Orange, murdered July 1584.

man's gown, and a little round ruff about his neck; 9. Grave Maurice;[1] 10. Prince Henry,[2] now Prince of Orange, his Princess, Count Solmes[3] his sister, their son,[4] about seven or eight years of age, an English nurse, and a new-born daughter, a little daughter dead, laid in a cradle at her feet, and a page. Here also the picture in wax of the Maid of Meure,[5] who is reported to have lived fifteen years without meat: all these so much to the life, as they seem living as they sit. Here also was showed a work going upon wheels, showing men in all postures, some mowing, some threshing, some sawing, blowing the bellows, &c. Another show, representing the martyrdom of all the Apostles, some beheaded, some hanged up by heels, some sawed to death, others crucified, &c. Here a curious maze. Thence we went to another Dole-hoofe, where we saw such another water-work as the day before, only it was on the ground, and those who stood within a circle, and near unto the

[1] Grave Maurice, son of the above William I.

[2] Henry, brother and successor of Maurice. Maurice, just before his death in 1626, charged Prince Henry to marry the Count of Solms' daughter, attending the queen of Bohemia, whom he had long courted.—*Howell's Letters*, sect. iv. letter 15.

[3] This Count of Solms was son of John Albert, who in 1615 commanded a portion of the army of the Prince of Orange, with which he relieved Brunswick, at that time besieged by its own prince, with whom it had seriously quarrelled. He was grand-master of the household of Frederic, king of Bohemia, to whose fortunes he adhered, and whom he accompanied to the Hague, where he died about the year 1623. Grave Maurice, a short time before his death, advised his brother Henry Frederick, his chief heir, to marry Amelia, daughter to the Count de Solmes, who was then in Holland with the Queen of Bohemia, and whose beauty and good carriage were accompanied with a great deal of modesty and prudence.—*Vanloon*, vol. ii. pp. 95, 157; *Maurier's Lives of Princes of Orange.*

[4] William, born 1626, died 1650, married the Princess Mary, daughter of Charles I; was father of William III.

[5] It is probable that Meure is written by mistake for Bern, and that the following statement relates to the young maid figured in that work.

"Here in the canton of Beerne, neere to Vrbs, wee went and saw a young woman, who then had nigther eate, nor drunke, nor yet excremented for thirteene yeares, being truly qualified by her parents, friends, and physicians, and other visitors. She was alwayes bed-fast, and so extenuated, that her anatomised body carryed nought but sinew, skin, and bones, yet was she alwayes mindeful of God. And the yeare after this time, her body returned agayne to the naturall vigour, in appetite and all things; and married a husband, bearing two children, dyed in the fifth yeare thereafter."—*Lithgow's Travels*, ed. 1632, part viii. p. 347.

rails, were well washed: a woman well washed under her clothes once or twice. Here a show of ships sailing, which are moved by water; Actæon, turned into a hart, with horns, pursued by his hounds, Diana following in revenge. Here the show of the Pope going in procession, carried by his bishops, attended by cardinals, princes, abbots, monks, friars, and the devil following after them: here mass sung, the devil roars.

Yesterday, we bought four-score painted stones for one chimney; these postures of foot-men for the back of the chimney: care to be taken these to be placed half on one side of the hob, half on the other; half faces one way on the one side, and so the other side: drummers and officers to be placed in most eminent places. Horsemen's postures for an hearth: fifty to be placed with as much care and in same manner as the other. All these painted stones to be laid in water, until they be satisfied, before they be laid in sand in the hearth, or set on the back of chimney in lime and hair: they must be curiously placed, and in order disposed. For another hearth, fifty flowers; for another hearth, fifty birds. The horsemen and footmen cost nine gilders an hundred; the birds and flowers cost four gilders an hundred. I bought, this 12 *Junii*, the pictures of the Hen and Chickens, the Banquet, the Queen of Bohemia's picture, the Prince of Orange his picture; all these four cost twenty gilders. The pictures of Dives and Lazarus, two of them, whereof one for Sr. Geo. Boothe;[1] Joseph standing before Pharaoh, and Christ's Ascension, for Sr. G. B.; these four cost twenty-six gilders: all eight together cost forty-six gilders. Two other pictures of Jeptah; the greater horseman for myself, the less for Sr. G. B.; both of one and the same price, cost eighteen gilders. Two postures of a man and woman, in plaister of Paris, the appurtenances at foot and over head, three pieces on either side: they cost eleven gilders; two chests, two gilders: these will take any gilding or colour in oil, and, I have observed, the foot coloured black; the mantle-trees unto all these wood lined with neat sieleing:[2] the mantle-trees all of wood. If any part of the corners

[1] Sir W. Brereton married Susan, the fourth daughter of Sir Geo. Booth of Dunham Massey, in Cheshire. [2] Fine mortar, such as is used for ceilings.

break out, there is plaister of Paris powder, which is to be made as it were pap, and instantly with point of a knife laid on: let it dry, and when it is dry, form it and scrape it even with a chisel or sharp knife. To cleanse it and even it, use a piece of dog-fish's skin, or for want thereof, hair-cloth. The pictures of the seven Roman Emperours, and three other pieces of the Goddesses, being in plaister of Paris work, cost two gilders. Hereof I had two dozen.

Bought eight gilt nobs, fair ones, cost six gilders; eight painted fair ones, cost forty-two gilders; other four, less, about seven or eight stivers a-piece; six, less about five stivers a-piece.

The greater alabaster picture, five Dutch shillings; the less cost three shillings Dutch. Wm. Daviseon offered to furnish me with a couple of these perspectives, which shew the new-found motion of the stars about Jupiter; the price sixty gilders for both.

I agreed this day with Willm. Wrigtington, the Hull shipper, to carry all my goods to Hull, and two servants, for which I was to give him one pound ten shillings, whereof I gave him, in earnest, a rix-dollar.

This day, being *Saturday, Junii* 14, is observed as the Jews' Sabbath, who are about three hundred families seated in this town, most Portugals. A street they have called the Jews' street: they have three synagogues here. I was this day at their synagogue, from nine to half twelve, then they concluded; return at three, continue until evening. They have fifteen whom they call their Parnassus:[1] these are the governors and judges. They have all white mantles of a kind of linen, but short: these they wear over their hats, which they never put off during all their being in church. They have three sorts which perform their Divine Ordinances, their Levitical rites and ceremonies: the sons of Aaron, who represented the priests, who carried their Alchoran, the five books of Moses, covered with a cloth of gold, and whereon were divers little bells pendant, placed in the form of a crown, which was fetched out of a little cabinet; this represents their tabernacle: these sons of Aaron are their predicants, and also read the books of Moses; the Levites sing

[1] Parnas, or Parnasim, a chief council amongst the Jews, especially of the Portuguese section.

the reading psalms of David in a tune; and the Parnassuses appoint of the Israelites such to read as they think fit. The sons of Aaron and Levites have longer white robes than the rest. Here in this congregation, no good order, no great zeal and devotion here appearing; much time spent in singing and in talking. We went hence to an Englishman and his wife, lately turned Jew, as is said, merely to enrich themselves: very obstinate and ignorant both. He is a merchant of tobacco. 'Tis said his wife, being an handsome woman, was a courtezan in London. They deny all the New Testament. Their men most black, full of hair, and insatiably given unto women: their wives restrained and made prisoners; their widows distinguished from all other women Jews by white veils hanging to their backs. They will not bury amongst the Gentiles, but have purchased unto themselves a peculiar burial-place, a field on the water-side, some three or four English miles from the town, wherein are erected their sepulchres; and when they remove, they remove also their bones thence away with them. Within this twenty years, they buried at Alchmoare; and when they changed their burial-place, their bones all were removed. This burial-place, at large described in the first leaf of the other book,[1] is placed by the side of the channel or water-passage leading from Amsterdam to Utrecht.

Junii 14.—I saw a late erected ox-market, without doors, wherein nine double stalls without doors; on both sides, one hundred yards long; a spacious paved walk behind them, and a walk railed out before them.

Another curious house slated, wherein places prepared to give the oxen meat; cratches and mangers both, a curious walk betwixt them dry; an open walk paved neatly behind them; nine also of these partitions, one hundred yards long a-piece.

Two fairs yearly at Luke-tide[2] and in April: they last three weeks or a month. Hither sent abundance of beasts out of Denmark and Sweden; paid for binding or tying up every beast, six stivers; and for excise paid to the town, the seventh part of the price for

[1] This other book, here referred to, is not now known to exist.

[2] The middle of October: St. Luke's day, Oct. 13.

every beast, sheep, hog, or calves, bought or eaten: the buyer pays one-half, the seller the other half.

Excellent windmills to saw boards, placed near a navigable ditch; the windmill wherein I was, four stories high; herein these, being double mills, will employ sixteen saws at least, and will cut through, will saw, a piece of timber of twenty yards long in an hour. The labour and iron-work hereof was said by a wheelwright would cost fourteen hundred gilders, besides wood and those materials.

I viewed a spacious piece of ground (which was about three years ago water, six or seven foot deep, called Deimer Meare), about four English miles in compass, which was drained in this manner. First, they made a strong bank forty foot broad, upon firm land round about it, upon which firm land placed three windmills to throw out the water on either side; six in all; which mills are placed in the lowest part of the land, so as all the water may fall unto them; ditches and trenches made to receive the water, which cast out the water so plentifully, as in one summer it was laid dry. By help also of two overcross ditches, which receive all the water, and convey it unto these windmills, which are spacious and neat dwelling-houses; only the roof of them is to turn with the wind, the lower part immovable.

This land the first year sowed with rapes, to settle it; the second year built upon and planted, with curious orchards and gardens. We saw the house of Mr. Jacob Paw, a rich merchant, which shows bravely, and richly, and sumptuously, and yet most slight, all composed of boards painted in curious works in oil-colours, the boards not laid cross, but set upon the end, and neatly jointed one into the other. Within we found divers mantle-trees of wood, cut in the form and proportion of marble mantle-trees, and painted in mantle-colours; this most ordinary, and with such pictures of plaister of Paris work as I bought. Here a long and neat orchard planted with trees in order. Here a curious and neat hen-house; and house for tame coneys: his kitchen, dining-room, and houses of office, on one side of the court, a distinct pile from the other, which is only a house for pleasure, delight, and lodging; and to answer this other pile wherein are houses of office, another is built on the other side of

court opposite unto this; (both of boards, and but slight and laid in oil): in this house the hen-house, coney-house, stable, coach-house, &c.

Sunday, Junii 15.—I was at English church, a long narrow edifice, which lately belonged unto a nunnery there. Here I received the sacrament; all receivers coming up and sitting at a long table whilst they received; all the men first successively, and then the women, and when they have received, return to their places. When the sacrament of baptism is administered, no godfathers required nor admitted, only the parents of the child are to answer to these three questions: 1. Whether they conceive their child born in original sin, and to stand in need of Christ a Redeemer; 2. It is demanded whether they believe the doctrine of the Old and New Testament to be the word of God, and that the religion professed in these reformed churches (*id est*, whereof he is a member) is grounded upon the word of God. 3. It's required that he should employ his best endeavours to train up his child in this faith; to all which an affirmative answer being given, the child is baptized without any ceremony, in name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, &c. Marriage likewise solemnized by the English and Dutch reformed churches, without the use of the ring or any ceremony, only an admonition precedes, directing how these married persons should demean themselves each to other, and for that end those scriptures read hereunto most pertinent; as also a large discourse precedes, touching the institution of this sacred ordinance, and those texts hereunto pertinent also read. The marriage of cousin-germans absolutely and generally disallowed of, and prohibited in all these churches, and by all sects and religions here.

Sermon being ended, in afternoon, we went to the Lutheran church, which is the neatest church, one of them, that I have seen in this land. It's a new church, and built after a new fashion; the pulpit placed in middle of the great aisle, and with greatest advantage for the hearers. Here is the greatest assembly in the town; and in this church two fair spacious vaults or galleries, one above the other, which go round about the church, save in one end, wherein placed the greatest. I admired to find no pictures in their

windows, and enquiring into their opinions, I could not discover any difference at all twixt our church and theirs in matter of religion, save only in matter of consubstantiation; for the greater number of them will not allow of the use of images in any sense, the rest only for ornament, not for adoration: herein I was the rather confirmed because no images at all extant in their church and windows. Here baptized after sermon fourteen children, the water not sprinkled upon their faces, but the predicant doth pull back the cloth and dressing upon the head, so as all the skull of child's head is bare, and holding the face downward, he is sufficiently prodigal of water, pouring divers handfuls upon child's head, and holding his hand upon child's head, rubbing the same during all the time that he is pronouncing the words of baptism, which as I conceived were equivalent to these of ours: "I baptize thee in name of Father, Son," &c., using as long a speech whilst he held the child in his arms, as our ministers do. I observed diligently, and he used not the sign of cross, which all the Dutch churches reject. Here were no godfathers; those that brought and carried the children gave the name unto the predicant, and all these were women that held and brought the children. Immediately after these baptized, succeeded a couple to be married, who used the ring, and it was as long in solemnizing as our marriages, but I saw no other ceremony used but the ring and joining hands; after this concluded, all the bride's kindred, friends and acquaintance that are present, or meet with her, kiss her, even in the church, where groom leaves her, and her own friends bring her near his house, where he meets her, salutes her, and receives her. Amongst the Lutherans I observed that they bowed always at the name of Jesus, so often as it was used in the solemnity of their marriage, which was very often.

These sects allowed which have churches. Protestants, Dutch, English, French, have churches; Lutherans, Arminians, Brownists, have also their churches; and the Anabaptists, whereof 'tis said are above thirty several sects, have their churches; the Brownists divided, and differing amongst themselves; Mr. Canne being the pastor of one company, and one Greenwood, an old man, a

tradesman, who sells stockings in Exchange; I saw him there; he is the leader of another company. The Jews have three synagogues here, but, methinks, their ceremonies much differ and degenerate from those instituted in the Levitical law. The Papists, Arians, Socinians, and Familists of Love, have also their public meetings in houses turned into churches, and that without control; but these swarm not so much as rest.

The customs and excise here very great, but I could never attain to an exact knowledge thereof, though I applied myself to enquire; but this I heard, that this town affords as great revenues, to maintain the wars to the States, as four provinces—Zeland, Utrech, Over-Isell, and Friseland. A mighty revenue derives out of the excise paid for beer and wine by tap-houses and wine-sellers: for every barrel of beer they pay seven gilders and dim. excise, and for every barrel of English beer, Bremen beer, and Rostacher beer, and spruce beer received into their houses, they pay ten gilders a barrel. The burgers and burgomaisters pay for small beer two gilders, and one stiver excise; and for strong beer, fifty-six stivers. For every Winchester measure of rye ground at the mill, five stivers; and for wheat, ten stivers. For all flesh, the seventh penny, as also for fish about the same proportion; and whatsoever is here spent, they must pay excise for: but this encouragement here given to strangers and merchants, that what goods they bring hither and hence export to other countries are excise free (except tobacco); or, if the merchants bring any commodities and sell them in the town, they pay no excise, but the buyer pays excise.

An infinite number of ships not to be numbered lie here. Last week, five hundred sail of ships went out of the Tarcle[1] upon one day. From this town to every town in this province a daily passage-boat mart-ship; for Zeland twice a week; for Over-Isell, Utrecht, or Friseland, Gronneing[2] and Zutphen and Gilderland, every day; and although this be a most flourishing city, which maintains as great a trade as any city in Christendom, yet most inconveniently seated in many respects, the air so corrupt and unwholesome,

[1] Texel.

[2] Groningen.

especially in winter-time, when most part of the country round about overflowed. Here no fresh-water, no water to brew withal, but what is fetched from Weesoppe,[1] six English miles distant. Hence they have much beer, as also from Rotterdam, Harlaim, Delph, and Utrech: no water to wash withal but rain-water preserved in rain-bags;[2] little fire to be afforded in this country, except turf: for every hundred baskets (every basket containing about three bushel) the excise paid is six gilders: excise paid also for milk, butter, cheese, cherries, and all fruit and roots. The most of the wood burnt brought out of Denmark, Norway, which is here used: the coals come from Newcastle, for which the excise paid is six gilders for a chaldron. And although here they now build most glorious and spacious houses, yet it must needs be at a most excessive charge, as not only wanting all materials within themselves, no timber nor stone in the land, no brick burnt near them, but they are constrained to undergo a great addition to these charges in making firm and secure foundations in this boggy, mareish soil. They are enforced to drive trees to the head, which are fourteen or sixteen yards long, a yard distant round about the ground whereupon is intended the house to be built; upon the heads of these trees placed planks, whereupon the walls and foundation are erected; this are forced into the ground by a great heavy piece of wood, which is drawn up in a frame for this end contrived, and the weight thereof falling upon the tree drives into the ground. This is the work of no less than thirty or forty men, who will in half an hour drive to the certain one of these long trees. Here mighty expensive in their buildings, especially in their floors; sometimes they will bestow seven hundred or eight hundred gilders upon one floor.

One thing I omitted touching the placing of my posts,[3] which are made of plaister of Paris: they are to be placed to the wall, and set straight by a plummet of lead, and with good store of white lime to be joined to the wall, and all the three pieces to be one joined to another, by being set in lime and hair; no weight to be

[1] Weesp. [2] Rain bags, backs, large tubs or vats.
[3] Postures he calls them elsewhere. See pp. 58, 59.

laid upon them, nor they must not attempt to make any impression in them to fasten them: this only to be observed, that a mantle-tree to be placed upon the head of these posts, which is to be wood, and is here used to be of slight pieces of timber; they go out into the room about three-quarters of a yard, and are faced with some neat sielcing; underneath the end of the mantle-tree placed a board, under which board, and twixt which and the head of the post, that part next unto the chimney-wall, is placed a wedge twixt the board and head of the post, which doth hold fast together all the pieces of the post: some of these covers in wood which are framed like mantle-trees of marble, and are laid in marble colours in oil, and these in divers works in Jacob Paw's new house in Diemeere.

The names of the churches in this town: the Dutch churches, 1. The old church; 2. The new church, a dainty fine thing, wherein four great pendant candlesticks of brass, and eight lesser fair candlesticks; 3. The Southern church, a neat church erected within thirty years; in the windows of this church the pictures of the arms of the companies of every trade. 4. The Heylighe-stee,[2] this most ancient, save the two former; herein preach the High-Dutch. 5. The Northern church, alias Crucekerk, built in form of a cross, and in mid round. 6. The Western church, the neatest church of all, lately finished; it was thought and was so purposed that here should be made the highest steeple in town, if the foundation will bear and sustain it. 6. Here is another in a remote place called Odulph's-Capple;[3] herein they preach once every week. 7. Here allowed by the state one French church. 8. One English church; these two churches prepared by the state, and the ministers maintained by them: allowed unto Mr. Pageatt 1100 gilders, £110 sterling per annum. 9. The Lutherans have a fair church lately built, this only connived at, but a mighty congregation, and a capacious church. 10. The Arminians' church, a dainty fine thing, connived at, though not so public as the Lutherans, nor so great a congregation; this built on the back-side.

[1] Diemermeer. [2] Heilige Stede. [3] St. Olof's chapel.

11. The Jews have three synagogues connived at; one of them I saw, a neat place, an upper room. 12. The Anabaptists have three meeting-places, which are connived at, these resembling barns, so they term them: amongst these Anabaptists, some Arians, some Socinians; of these Anabaptists 'tis said there are thirty-three sorts. 13. Here are some few Familists of Love, which have a meeting-place. The Papists have not any constant meeting-places known; these most restrained, yet they are connived at, and meet often in great men's houses.

In this city a most curious dainty Corn Market, square on three sides, covered neatly about three yards wide, made arch-wise, and painted overhead; a dainty fine walk when it is empty, and in the middle a capacious place to set corn in. A curious fish-market, and two fair houses wherein the flesh-market is kept; shambles on both sides, and a fair clean walk in middle; these places made clean once or twice a day.

The fairest and most curious streets in this city: the Heres Graff, bravest buildings herein, only on one side; the Cæsars Graffe, this most uniform graffe, built alike on both sides, not so stately buildings as the Heres Graffe; the Princes graffe; the Single. In the middle of these streets fair, broad, navigable channels, but no ships carrying sail here admitted to come in; and trees that bear a good shadow placed close by the water-side, and in so good order as all day long on one side the street you may walk in shade. Within twenty or thirty years this town has much enlarged, and made as large again as before; then were added these fairest graffs, the Heres, Cæsars, Single, Princes Graff, and divers others, which are the fairest in all the town. Here a stately stone bridge, made with iron rails, whose foundation stands not upon the ground, but upon piles of wood; it consisteth of eight arches; three iron-rails placed one above another, supported by iron posts fastened into the stone; this I conceive to be for lightness.

Memorand.—Received from Mr. Bayneham about 4 Junii, as appears by a note under his own hand. . . .

I say four hundred gilders . . . 400 gilders

Received by Raph Brian of Mr. Baynham 5 June one hundred gilders

Received by John Ward 16 June from Mr. Baynham two hundred gilders

Hereof lent unto my brother Rich. at Delph . .	£5	0	0
To Mr. Davenport of Woodford's son . . .	2	10	0
To my brother at Amsterd.	1	10	0

Parcels of goods committed to the custody of Will. Wrightington of Hull: Six baskets of stones for floors to be placed three black ones for one white; the points to be placed towards the door, three black ones for one white. There are ninety white stones; black ones two hundred and seventy, which cost, the black ones, 15 gilders an hundred. For seventy-five white marble stones and two hundred and twenty-five black ones I was to pay 70 gilders, and so proportionably for the rest. To make these smooth or clean, a Gothland stone herewith sent, to be used to take out any stain or spot. These disposed of into six baskets. In one basket, sixty-six black stones; in two, fifty white stones; in the third, forty white stones, fourteen black; in the fourth high basket, seventy-four black; in the fifth, fifty black stones; in the sixth, there are sixty-six black stones; the less of these stones, rubbed with water, is to take out a stain or spot, the greater to make them smooth and even. Two great chests, wherein two pictures, poasts of plaister of Paris, with all the appurtenances. One basket, wherein painted stones for hearths. One great wooden box, wherein ten pictures. Two gammons of Westphalia bacon loose. One coy-dog. One pair of turtle-doves and an half, one trunk, one great white box, hemp-seed and French water to be given them, the powder of freestone to be given them in their cage to cleanse their maws. The three white turtle-doves cost 4 gilder 10 stivers with cage. The two dun ones cost 3 gilders. A dainty tansy of gooseberries[1] at Geor. Huitts, made by Mris. Cave.

[1] The dainty reader will, we hope, thank us for discovering the following receipt for a tansy of gooseberries.

"Take a quart of green gooseberries, top and tail them, and boil them in clarified butter in your frying-pan till they are enough done; then pour into them the yolks of

Touching the present condition of the state of Holland, observe that by reason of the two late expensive and chargeable sieges of Buss,[1] and especially Maestricht, these states are much indebted; nevertheless they maintain at sea and land one hundred thousand men. Eighty sail of ships, men of war, to guard the seas, some say many more; the watchman on Dunkirk steeple told us that he numbered a hundred and twenty States' men of war pass by that haven, many whereof we saw lying in that road at anchor, touching the further particulars whereof, quære the observations touching Dunkirk, fol. 90, in the other book. Eighty sail of less ships, men of war, to guard the rivers of the Maze, the Wall, the Isell, the Tarcell,[2] the Skell,[3] and the drowned lands in Holland, Zeland, and Brabant; divers of these we saw and took notice of. Twixt Dort and Williamsteed,[4] and not far from the Teele, where we lodged all night, we saw one of their little gallies, which was rowed with oars (being slaves sentenced to the gallies) in calm weather.

Their poorest towns supported by placing garrisons in them; the country maintained by soldiers, who spend twice so much as the States allow them. No man persecuted for religion, nor scoffed at, be he never [so] zealous.

a dozen or fifteen eggs, being well beaten, with half a pint of cream, and a suitable quantity of sugar; when it is baked enough, strew over it rose water and sugar, or sack and sugar."—*Middleton's Five Hundred New Receipts*, 8vo. 1734.

[1] Bois-le-duc. [2] Texel. [3] Scheld. [4] Willemstad.

THE SECOND YEAR'S TRAVEL THROUGH SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

1635.

Junii 11.—We came from Handf.[1] and took horse about eight in the morning, and came to Wakefield about seven. We baited at Bostockes at Woodhead,[2] where we paid two-pence a pint for ale, and 3*s.* 8*d.* for victuals; and at Wakefield at the Bull, where we lodged, we paid 5*s.* for supper and breakfast; it is an honest and excellent house. Here next morning I gave my bay mare garlic and butter for her cold, but it wrought nothing with her, nor did the drench, which I usually give, which I gave her at Yorke next morning. But by the way I observed a coney-warren walled about with stone, containing about one or two acres of land, and not far from Yorke I went about half a mile out of the way to take a view of Bishopps-thorpe, the Archbishop's palace, which is about a mile or two distant from Yorke, placed sweetly upon the bank-side of the river Owes.[2] It is the poorest and least capacious house which I have found in England belonging to any bishoprick, a very little poor hall, and no fair rooms in the whole house. In the chapel I observed the table representing the altar placed in the lower end of the chapel; a stone building which seems to have

[1] Handford, the residence of Sir W. Brereton, between Wilmslow and Cheadle.

[2] Woodhead is a very small village seven miles from Mottram Longdendale in Cheshire, "a place well known," says Aikin, "to the weary travellers who have crossed the hills above in their way from Yorkshire. It consists of three public and a few private houses." "The public-houses depend upon travellers, few of whom pass without calling, and, indeed, it would be imprudent for them to neglect feeding their horses there, as they have no other opportunity of doing it for a considerable distance, especially on ascending to Brentland edge, which lies on the way to Wakefield."

[3] Ouse.

been an old chapel converted into a dove-house, which hath two tunnels. The church, which is the parish church called Bishopsthorpe church, is the least and poorest church I have met withal in England; here is only a curate maintained to say service. The bishop's cellar here well furnished with thirty-two hogsheads of good strong beer, and eight pipes of the same; we tasted of it.[1]

12.—We lodged on Friday at Msis. Keyes in Cunnie-street in YORKE, where we had excellent entertainment, and very reasonable, and next morning, 13, taking another view of the Minster and Chapter-house, I observed the round roof hereof (for which it is most famous) to be framed of wood and boards painted. In the chapel, wherein the bishop is installed, sitting in St. Peter's chair, which is an old, little, decayed chair, and famous for nothing but the antiquity thereof, there was a decayed monument for St. William,[2] the residue of whose bones were taken by the sexton, 1633, and laid carefully up, and this, as he said, was done by the king's special command; the man shewed us a rich gilt basin and ewer, and two fair bowls with plates to cover them gilt; these made use of when the sacrament of the Lord's supper is administered, and as he said they cost the king £300 or £400. Here is a draw-well, called St. Peter's well, which the sexton much magnified.

A very stately organ lately erected in the minster-quire, under which is written: "Benedictus Deus Patrum nostrûm, qui dedit in corde regis ut adornaret domum suam."

On the north or north-east side of this minster, seated Sir

[1] This account of Bishopsthorpe is not now correct. Considerable alterations and improvements were made by Archbishops Dawes and Gilbert, but these were effected to the greatest extent by Abp. Drummond, between the years 1763 and 1769, and "the whole palatial structure and its dependencies are, in their present state, well adapted to those purposes of dignified hospitality which are incumbent on the Primate of England." Abp. Drummond restored the archiepiscopal chapel; and at his instigation, and chiefly at his expense, the parochial church of Bishopsthorpe was rebuilt.—*Storer's Cathedrals.*

[2] William, consecrated 1144; deprived 1147; restored 1153. A man of great piety, canonized one hundred and twenty years after his death (June 4, 1154), when his bones were removed to the nave of the cathedral.

Arthur Ingram's[1] house, and brave garden, whereof not a third part furnished with flowers, but disposed into little beds, whereon placed statues; the beds all grass; very fair, high, spacious walls round about this garden, and large fair trees, but nothing well furnished with fruit. Here I observed a sloping border, a full yard high, placed to the trees, which hath brought forth roots out of the lower part of the body of the tree; this border is kept green, but the gardener conceives it no advantage to the trees, which are now cut and dubbed, but the gardener dislikes that course. To keep in order and to weed, and maintain this garden; another spacious orchard wherein are many walks; and to keep a fair stately walk upon the city walls, which do bound and compass this orchard; to tend and dispose of his fish, to keep which he hath divers fish-ponds in this ground; and to breed and bring up young pheasants, there is only allowed him per annum; and Sir Arthur to be at no more charge. The pheasants are bred in this manner; when the pheasant hens begin to lay, their eggs are taken from them, kept in bran, and set and hatched under an hen, fed with pisimers, and kept in an house. Four cisterns here are made of brick, about a yard deep and square, to keep pikes, breames, tench, and carp; water is pumped into these, but I do not expect these to succeed well; they are placed in an open house walled, but the roof sufficiently open, and yet under lock and key. This gardener conceives that mingling muck with soil, and placing it to the tree roots, is very good, but not muck alone.

Monday, Junii 5.—I went to see S. J. Hob,[2] with whom I had

[1] Sir Arthur Ingram, of Temple Newsom, Co. York, high-sheriff of the county 1630, father of Henry, first Viscount Irvine, died 1655.

[2] It is not improbable that the person here intended was Sir John Hotham, who with other northern gentlemen, were most angry with the Earl of Strafford.—*Clarendon*, book iii. p. 188.

He had received some disobligation from the Earl, and continued the invective against him, which was commenced by Pym in Parliament in the debate upon his impeachment, mentioning many particulars of his imperious carriage.—p. 173.

The Earl's quarrel with the gentlemen of Yorkshire seems to have been caused by his succeeding Sir John Hotham as Custos Rotulorum in 1615.

much discourse circa quend. nob, whom he had found a most dangerous man[1] to discourse with in private, and therefore this was always his answer, when his opinion or advice was required, that he would consider of it, and return his answer in writing; some things charged and fathered upon him which he never spoke; instance given of a most dishonest practice in P. W. unto whom was delivered in Channell-row-house[2] a great book of two sheets of parchment subscribed by W. D.,[3] wherein were feoffees in trust, Comes Sarisburiens.[4] Sir Gualter Cope and others. A fine there is still extant leading to this book, which he finding, repaired presently ad Com. Sarisb.,[5] and said unto him: "You and some others are feoffees for such an estate, enquire, I beseech you, into your father's evidence;" whereupon search being made by him, he found the book, and delivered it unto him, whereby W. Comes D.[5] conveys over lands and goods ejus Comitis, reserving only Bidst[6] and £1000 per annum. In this, provisio facta per Dom. R. S. this book delivered in loco predicto to P. W., with this charge and command; that the same should be most carefully kept and laid up against his coming that summer ad L.,[7] where was then D. de T.[8] This was received by P. W., and it was promised; but at his coming ad L., and that he was desired to peruse the evidence in Eagl. Tow. So

[1] This certain noble person and dangerous man was probably Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards spoken of as P. W., or President Wentworth; he was made President of the Council in the north of England in Mich. Term. 1628, Deputy of Ireland 1631, afterwards Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and Earl of Strafford.

[2] Channel, or as it is now called, Canon-row, Westminster. In this row was the residence of William, Earl of Derby.—*Pennant's London.*

[3] William, sixth Earl of Derby, who succeeded his brother in the earldom in 1594, and died in 1642. He married Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Oxford, and niece to Robert, Earl of Salisbury.

[4] The Earl of Salisbury was the celebrated Sir Robert Cecil, who was attended upon his death-bed by his friend and co-trustee Sir Walter Cope.

[5] William, second Earl of Salisbury.

[6] Bidston is situated in Cheshire, near the mouth of the river Mersey. This, and adjoining manors, belonged to the Earls of Derby, by whom it was alienated in 1653.

[7] London.

[8] Probably the Duke de Tremouille, whose daughter, the celebrated defender of Lathom House, was married to James, son and successor of the above-mentioned William, Earl of Derby.

soon as he came thereinto, he spoke thus to P. W. "Let us begin where we last left; where is that book I gave you at Lond. in loc. predicto?" He answered, in such a box; where searching, no such thing was to be found; every box, till, and corner searched, but it was not to be found in that house: quære utrum nil negatur super sacrament. P. W.

This man[1] the most understanding, able, and industrious justice of peace in this kingdom. No warrant granted out, but he takes notice thereof in a book; and at sessions an account demanded of all those warrants sent out, which, if the constables, to whom they are delivered, do not execute nor return, and give an account, they are called upon at the sessions; or, if those that require and procure the warrants keep them in their hands and make use of them for their own ends, and do not deliver them to be served, they are bound over to the sessions. This day, a widow by him ordered to be committed, because she refused to pay the money, which was five pound, committed to her husband as overseer of the poor of the parish, whose stock this was, she being his executor; this he said might be justified, and that the law thus directs.

To cure a strain of the back sinews, Raph Hungate's receipt, practised upon old cripple and many other horses with good success: receive of euphorbion three pennyworth, as much cantharides; let these be bruised and mingled with oile de bay, three pennyworth; or for want thereof with swine's grease rendered, whereof you make an ointment or salve; if it be a great, or an old strain, you must add unto it one or two pennyworth of white mercury (more or less to be used as in discretion you think fit, and according to the strain). This being mingled with the former, to be applied thus: when all the hair is clipt off where the swelling and strain is, then also shave it with a sharp razor, and afterwards, with a pen-knife sharp and well-wetted, lance it down the back and swelled and strained part of the leg in three or four long razes; and the ointment with your hand is to be rubbed and chafed upon

[1] Sir J. H.

the place shaved and lanced; if your horse be unruly, he must be cast; then take a fire-shovel red-hot, or a red-hot iron plate, and hold before the place thus anointed until the ointment sink and drench into the skin. These cautions to be observed: first, the horse is to be tied so short as that he cannot reach it with his mouth, lest he gnaw when it smarts, and be poisoned; after twenty-four hours thus tied, you may turn him out of doors, for he must not stand still in the stable; this, being thus anointed, will blister within half an hour or an hour. Secondly, observe whether it swell upwards and towards the body, which, if you discern, speedily with milk anoint, and with your hand stroke the swelling downwards 'twixt his brisket and his knee. He must be diligently watched and attended, and after five or six days you must anoint the same with fresh butter.

Junii 18.—I went from ALERSTONE to ELLENTHORPE in five hours, where discoursing about the great storm, I was there credibly informed that upon Ribstone Moor (which is near Sir Henry Goodericke's[1] in Yorkshire) there perished seven persons in the storm not twelve score from their habitations, and one woman near Goolesborrow,[2] Judge Hutton's,[3] that attained to the door of her husband's house, being shut, one of her maids saw her at the door through the window, but she being spent, sat down upon a block before the door: they went unto and opened the door in all haste, and found her quite dead. Sea-fish upon the coast of Lanckashire perished in the storm fifty cart-load together.

Great complaint here, at Fail-kirk in Scotland, as of the last winter's extremity of cold, frost, and snow, wherein perished many in their houses for want of relief, divers and many houses being

[1] Sir Henry Goodricke, Knt. was born 1580, died 1641. He was father of Sir John Goodricke, the first baronet, who received that honour in 1641.

[2] Goldsborough.

[3] Sir Richard Hutton, a man learned in the law, was appointed one of the justices of the Common Pleas, March 3, 1617. One of his daughters married Mr. Dawney of Cowich, Yorkshire, and was mother of the first Viscount Downe. He was the Serjeant Hutton of Goldsburgh to whom Judge Davenport addressed the letter with an account of a trial for a murder discovered by an apparition.

buried in the snow, and could not be found but by the smoke of the chimneys. Many sheep and cattle perished in this storm, so now they are mightily punished with extreme drought, which, as it keeps down their summer, so also doth it hinder the winter, corn from shooting freely.

[A most extreme winter also hath here been in Ireland, and such drought and extreme heat here at Ennercoffie and Washford, as doth burn up all their corn and grass. These heats began *Jul.* 7, and it was as extreme violent hot weather as ever I felt in my life from this day; it did exceedingly distemper us to travel in the heat of the day, or indeed any time of the day, except there were some cooling refreshing wind; during this time the wind stood most easterly. This extreme hot scorching weather did continue in Ireland until about 21 *Julii*, upon which day was much rain, and it continued dropping weather until we left Ireland, *Jul.* 25. In all high field grounds much want of hay and grass, which is burnt up, insomuch as Mr. Ward, mine host at Waterford, affirmed that where he had two load of hay last year, he had scarce one this year. Here also they had extreme storms of frost and snow, and when I came into England, *Julii* 26, I found the like wants and complaints in England. I paid at Bristol twelve pence day and night hay, and at Bath ten pence a night for hay; and a minister affirmed unto me, coming 'twixt Bath and Bristoll, that where they had twenty load of hay last year, they had not four load this year. About this time here was much dropping weather.][1]

Mightyly punished in this country by drought, and much more in the south: here they are constrained to put their milch-kine into their meadows; no rain to speak of hath fallen here since the storm, and in the bishoprick no grass almost to be found, nor any low meadows.

Ju. 19. — We left Ellenthorpe: whence to Catericke Brig is

[1] This paragraph, here inclosed within brackets, is written in a rather darker ink, and was probably inserted at a later period upon a space that chanced to be blank, at the foot of the page, as connected with the previous remarks upon the state of the weather, which had been introduced by his "discoursing" at Ellenthorpe.

twelve miles, fair way; Leemeing Lane, seven long, as straight, level way as is Wattling Street from the Cross,[1] 'twixt Hintley[2] and Lutterworth to Adderstone.[3] From Caterigg Brigg to Peirs Brigg[4] seven miles,[5] a straight way also; thence to Bishoppe Auckland, seven mile. We lodged at Newton, two miles out of the road, and from Peirs Brig, with generous Mr. Henry Blackistone, younger brother to Sir W. Blackstone of Gibsett,[6] whose eldest son married my cousin[7] Mary Eggert. Here I was kindly and neatly entertained, and this gentleman brought me to Aukeland, invited me to his brother's, and his nephew Wren's, Mr. Linsley Wren, who married Sir W. Blackstone's daughter, a fine gentlewoman,[8] very lively, and of a free carriage, &c. Here he lodged all night, and (upon his return to Auckland next morn) staid with me until evening.

Junii 20.—We went from this good family upon Sat. 20 *Ju.*, and by the way in his grounds he showed good marle; he breeds about twenty calves yearly. I saw handsome wellikeing stirks of his, about twenty. This morning I tasted pure white honey out of the last year's comb. Here bees prosper well, though it be so much north; here is about eighteen hives; none perished last winter; the mouths stopped in winter close up; only to admit air, let a little hole be made with a stick. The hives were only

[1] Now called High Cross. [2] Hinckly. [3] Atherstone.

[4] Pierce bridge, over the Tees, connects the counties of York and Durham. It is twelve miles from Catterich bridge.

[5] Twelve miles.

[6] This eldest son of Mr. Henry Blakiston, was a distinguished loyalist, and knighted at Oxford, 12th April, 1643, by King Charles I, in whose service he held the rank of colonel, and was desperately wounded in the attack on Massey's quarters, Sept. 1644.

[7] Cousin is here used merely as indicative of some relationship, not in the sense to which it is at present restricted. Richard Egerton of Ridley married Margaret, only sister to Sir William Brereton; his sister, Mary Egerton, the lady here mentioned, married Sir William Blakeston of Newton, Co. Durham.

[8] Barbara, fourth daughter of Sir William Blakiston, was contracted to marry Lindley Wren, son and heir of Sir W. Wren, Knt. of Binchester, 27th Sept. 1622, when she was only about sixteen years of age. This lady's lively and free carriage provokes some further remarks from Sir W. Brereton.

covered on the top with a clod of earth, and are indeed very strong and substantial. In some places in this country they remove their hives in winter into their houses; they yield most profit and purest honey if they live not above two or three years, and then may be drowned. A good hive worth about one pound ten shillings or two pound per annum, so much were their bees worth. Here I saw the most and best purest honey that I ever met withal; one great pot worth five or six pounds; greater profit herein than in any other commodity, and with least trouble and charge.

This day at BISHOPPE-AUCKLAND with Dr. Moreton,[1] Bishop of Durham, who maintains great hospitality in an orderly, well-governed house, and is a very worthy reverend bishop, whose importunity I could not resist, who, when I offered to take leave, brought me into my chamber. This castle, as it is a stately, pleasant seat of great receipt, so is it of great strength, compassed with a thick stone-wall, seated upon the side of an hill, upon a rock, a river running below, and good store of wood (though little timber) encompassing above.

Here is a very fair, neat hall, as I have found in any bishop's palace in England. Two chapels[2] belonging hereunto, the one over the other; the higher a most dainty, neat, light, pleasant place, but the voice is so drowned and swallowed by the echo, as few words can be understood. The tower is made use of upon Sabbath-days, where, 21 Junii, Dr. Dod,[3] now Dean of Ripon,

[1] Dr. Thomas Morton, Bp. Chester 1616; Lichfield and Coventry 1618; Durham 1632. Born 1564, died 1659.

[2] Not many years after the date of this journal, the chapel was completely destroyed by the blasphemous and traitorous wretches who espoused the same cause as Sir William himself; the materials were used for a private dwelling, which after the restoration was pulled down by Bishop Cosin, who employed the same materials again to assist in erecting the present enlarged chapel.

[3] Thomas Dod, D.D., nephew of John Dod the Decalogist, was chaplain to King Charles I, Archdeacon of Richmond, Dean of Ripon, and Prebendary of Chester, Rector of Astbury 1607, and of the lower moiety of Malpas 1623. He preached before the king at Nantwich in his progress through Cheshire in 1617. He died Feb. 10, 1647-8. He was twice married; in 1604, to Thomasine, daughter of Thomas Coller, his predecessor as rector of Malpas; in 1619, to Dorothy, daughter of Hugh Bromley of Hampton.

made an excellent sermon; great resort hither on Sabbath by the neighbourhood; one sermon in morning and prayers in the afternoon.

Here are three dining-rooms, a fair matted gallery, wherein there was placed on both sides these pictures: Jo. Huss, Hierom of Prauge, Luther, Zuinglius, Cranmer, Latymer, Whittakers,[1] Wickliffe, Calvin, Beza, Perkins,[2] Bullinger, Jewell, Pagius,[3] Ridley, Bradford,[4] Zanchius,[5] Bucer, &c. And none but of this strain.

A dainty stately park, wherein I saw wild bulls and kine, which had two calves runners. There are about twenty wild beasts, all white; will not endure your approach, but if they be enraged or distressed, very violent and furious; their calves will be wonderous fat.

Apud prandium, this 20 *Junii*, a discourse per ipsum Epis., of a petition or supplication presented to the Queen Eliz., by a girl of twelve or fourteen years of age, whose father was injuriously committed to prison by the means and greatness of my L. Hundson, then L. Chamb., who, being committed, sends for a daughter, a child of pregnant wit and parts, and gives her money to pay for her fraught, directs her to take presently a pair of oars to Greenwitch, and to go directly to the Queen, and not to impart

[1] William Whitaker, a strenuous controversialist against the errors of the Church of Rome, was born at Holme in Lancashire, and died in 1595. Bishop Hall said of him, "Never a man saw him without reverence, or heard him without wonder."

[2] William Perkins, of Ch. Coll. Camb., born at Marston, Warwickshire, author of many learned works, which, as he was lame of his right hand, were all written with his left. He was deprived by Abp. Whitgift for puritanism. He died at Cambridge, 1602.

[3] P. Franciscus Pagius was a Jesuit, executed at Tyburn, 30th Ap. 1602, but this can scarcely be the person intended, as he was by no means of a strain with the others mentioned.

[4] John Bradford, one of the most eminent preachers of his time, of exemplary piety, and of true Christian charity, was burnt in Smithfield, July 1, 1555.

[5] Jerome Zanchius, born 1516, a disciple of Peter Martyr, was professor successively at Strasburgh, and Heidelburgh. He died 1590 having the character of being one of the most learned of the reformers, as also one of the most pious, and of the greatest moderation in controversy, combined with proper firmness.

unto any her errand, only she was by her father directed to answer all that questioned her, "I have a supplication to her Majesty." She was brought up into the Presence where the Countess of Oxford personated the Queen and deceived the child; afterwards being brought before the Queen, my Lord Hunsdon present, who, seeing her, said, "This is a pretty supplicator;" who, being commanded to deliver her message, said, "A supplication to your Majesty; my Lord Hunsdon hath committed my father, like a thief, to prison for seeking his own." The Queen, much displeased, said, "My Lord, ex ore infantis you are condemned; let this be reformed." He was thereby set at liberty.

Some other facetious discourses I remember. Archie's[1] answer to Don Olivaries[2] (when there was a solemn procession and great adoration of the Host in the streets), who demanded whether he did not believe that Christ was there really and personally present? He answered, "No; for he had heard it said, that, when he was upon the earth, the whoreson thieves crucified him, therefore he will come no more amongst them." Herewith Olivaries, much taken, asked him another question, "Dost not thou believe that the Pope's Holiness is guided with such an infallible spirit, as that he cannot err, so as if he say, 'Your red coat be black,' you are bound to believe him?" to which he answered, "What saith your Excellence?" He repeated the same question. After he had a little paused, and stammered, he answered: "If the Pope say so, he is ill of eye-sight." These answers reported to the king and queen of Spain, who were much affected therewith, and then was there conferred, and is still continued, a pension of £100 per annum.

I demanded from him,[3] "Whether bowing at the altar were enjoined and commanded by any canon, or left free and arbitrary?"

[1] Archibald Armstrong, court-fool to kings James I and Charles I. He was the last but one who held that official situation. Cromwell had little taste for wit or fun, and the courtiers of Charles II, averse to a monopoly of such articles, became themselves purveyors to his Majesty, and rendered an official fool unnecessary.

[2] Count-Duke of Olivarez, prime-minister of Spain, and favourite with the king at the time of King Charles I's visit to that country.

[3] *i. e.* from Bishop Morton.

He answered, "It was left free and arbitrary; it was not bowing to the altar now in use, but towards the east, as Daniel pray; and it was not to be accounted an altar, but the communion-table."

A certain person seeing some sit above the communion-table in St. Nichol. Church in Newcastle, said, "It was not fit that any should sit above God himself."

This Bishop assured me that fair spring-water, in the morning received into your mouth, and there kept until it be lukewarm, and then swallowed, is an excellent medicine to cure the cholick and stone, and that he himself hath been hereby cured, and also Sir William Blackstone of Gibsett; the reason hereof, by him apprehended, was, that the fasting-spittle was herewith swallowed, which hath an excellent virtue fasting, even to kill a serpent. He said he knew some, who would never part with any spittle, but swallowed it down.

Here we rested the Lord's-day, and were very generously and nobly entertained. Here dined with him this day Mr. Linsley Wren of Winchester, and his wife, a mighty gallant, a fine dainty gentlewoman,[1] if she knew but how to value and prize the perfections God hath given her; whose husband hath impaired his estate in maintaining at so great height.

Junii 22.—Upon Monday morning early, Dr. Dod and myself hence departed, and I delivered unto his servant my packet of letters for Cheshire. I went hence to the city of DURHAM, which is seven miles from Auckland Castle, where I gave, in rewards to the officers, ten shillings and sixpence.

We saw Durham hence, which stands high upon divers hills, and is a stately and delightful prospect, especially the minster and the Bishop's Palace, which is built castlewise, and is a place of great strength, and is in good repair, wherein the bishop doth winter; which is not large as Auckland, but very stately and convenient. He is Bishop of Durham and Earl of Sadberrie. In this there is a very little chapel, and no great hall, and three dining-rooms, and a

[1] See above, p. 78.

little gallery, wherein are the arms of all the gentlemen of this country of Bishoprick.

The minster is as neatly kept as in any in England, built like unto Paul's; wherein are, in the body of the church, on either side, eight great and stately pillars as great as Paul's: herein the daintiest font that I have seen in England, the body or font-stone and foot of pure marble, over which is placed a cover or canopy folding of wood, curiously carved, wherein described the history of Christ's baptism. Herein a stately pair of double organs, which look both into the body of the church and chancel; a stately altar-stone, all of fine marble, standing upon a frame of marble pillars of the same marble of the font. When the communion is here administered, which is by the bishop himself, here is laid upon this altar, or rather communion-table, a stately cloth of cloth of gold; the bishop useth the new red embroidered cope, which is wrought full of stars, like one I have seen worn in St. Dennis in Fraunce; there are here other two rich copes, all which are shaped like unto long cloaks reaching down to the ground, and which have round capes.

In the higher end of the church, above the chancel, stood[1] the shrine of St. Cuttbert, which doubtless was very large and rich, inasmuch as before it, and on either side, you may discern the stones whereupon you tread much worn, and great cavities made by the scraping of those that came to worship and offer to this saint; and, betwixt this shrine and the higher end and wall of the church, there is a cross aisle, which doth also encompass the chancel. Here still appears where there were formerly nine altars, which are now demolished. In the window there is placed the picture of St. Cuttbert praying in the holy isle, the water flowing up to his chin; the picture also in glass of a friar correcting a nun, and turning down the bed-clothes to her middle. Here in the chancel, which is very neat, is a most stately desk of brass, which was the ninth part of a candlestick, which at the dissolution was thrown into an obscure place, and found but of late; this was a most mighty vast candlestick. In the lower end

[1] *i. e.* previous to the Reformation.

of this minster (which is called St. Cuttbert's) is St. Marie's chapel, which was erected and added unto the church by Bishop Langley;[1] herein is now the consistory kept, and herein also is a tomb and monument of Bede: "Hic jacet in fossa Bedæ Venerabilis ossa." In the churchyard is the tomb of him that was the steward, and disbursed the money when the church was erected; of whom it is reported that, all his money being paid over night, his glove was by a spirit every night filled and supplied, so as though it was empty over night, yet was replenished next morning; his hand is made holding a glove stuffed with money; and by this means was this great work built; the name of steward of the work was Hubbapella.

Upon the highest hill within this town is seated this minster and palace, and those parts of the streets of this town which are seated upon the same hill are within the walls, which are encompassed with the wall of the city. This minster is endowed with mighty large revenues, 'tis said no less than £7000 or £8000 per annum. Twelve prebends belong hereunto, worth £200 or £300 per annum. The deanery worth about £1400, and twelve petty canons about £10 per annum. This hill, whereon seated the minster and castle, is almost compassed round with the river Weare, over which there are placed two fair bridges. There are four or five other streets of the town and suburbs, placed straggling one from another upon the hill tops. Some reasonable handsome houses in this city, which is but poor by reason here is no trade. This city is compassed about with much higher hills than it is built upon.

Hence in the afternoon; going toward Newcastle upon [Tyne] we saw Lumley Castle, which belongs to my Lord Lumley;[2] it is

[1] St. Mary's chapel is an addition to the cathedral, situated in front of the west end, and is termed the Galilee. It is said to have been built by Hugh Pudsey, bishop from 1153 to 1195, and to have been repaired and altered by Bp. Langley. Thomas Langley was consecrated bishop of Durham, Aug. 8, 1406, made cardinal June 1, 1411, and twice held the office of lord chancellor of England. He died in the year 1437.

[2] The ancient barony of Lumley became extinct in the year 1609. Richard Lumley, descended from a branch of the family whose succession to the family honours had been barred by an attainder, was knighted by King James I, 1616, and created Lord Viscount Lumley of Waterford in Ireland in 1628. He adhered to King Charles I, and bore arms in his cause, having fortified his residence, Lumley castle.

in reasonable good repair, though of no great strength; near hereunto, and about three mile from NEWCASTLE, there is a town placed, called Chester-in-the-streete. The suburbs of Newcastle on this side the bridge are in the Bishoprick, and it is said that the counties of Bishoprick and Northumberland divide upon the middle of Tine bridge.

This is beyond all compare the fairest and richest town in England, inferior for wealth and building to no city save London and Bristow, and whether it may not deserve to be accounted as wealthy as Bristow, I make some doubt. It is seated upon the river Tine, the mouth of which river affords such a narrow channel at low water, as it is said not to be above forty yards broad; and at the mouth there is a great shelf and bank of sand, so as at a high water also it is most dangerous passage for strangers, inasmuch as they must pass near to that side of the haven which lieth close by and near under the command of Tine-mouth Castle; which is a dainty seated castle, almost compassed with the sea, wherein hath been the fairest church I have seen in any castle, but now it is out of repair, and much neglected: it belongeth to the Earl of Northumberland. This river conveys a navigable channel from the sea to Newcastle, which is about seven miles, and it doth flow about six or seven miles (as I was informed) above the town into the country: this river is very plentifully furnished with salmon,—and over the same, 'twixt Bishoprick and Northumberland, there is erected (except London Bridge over Thames, and the bridge at Barwick over Tweed) one of the finest bridges I have met with in England, consisting of eight arches. London contains eighteen arches; Barwick bridge, fifteen; and this of Newcastle, eight arches. Rochester bridge over Medway hath six large arches, erected with most difficulty, and over the deepest channel; and it is a neat bridge, which hath iron bars placed on both sides.

This town of Newcastle is governed by a mayor, a recorder, a sheriff, and ten aldermen: it hath great revenues belonging unto it (as I was informed), at least £5000 or £6000 per annum, besides great collieries employed for the use and supply of the

commons and poor of the town. Herein are five churches; and St. Nichol. church, which is the fairest, is as neat pewed, and formed with as much uniformity, as any I have found in England, and it is as neatly kept and trimmed. This town was assessed to pay £3570 towards the building of the late ship;[1] and Yorke taxed £1800; and some towns of the country contributed with them, and paid £700, part of £1800 taxed. There is every day a market here kept, and in a dainty market-place. Tuesday and Saturday, a mighty market, and much provision comes out of Northumberland; infinite store of poultry. This town (a great part of it) placed upon the highest and the steepest hills that I have found in any great town; these so steep as horses cannot stand upon the pavements,—therefore the daintiest flagged channels are in every street that I have seen: hereupon may horse or man go without danger of sliding.

Resting here 23 *Jun.* I took boat about twelve clock, and went to TINE-MOUTH and to the SHEELDES, and returned about seven clock; it is about seven miles. Here I viewed the salt works, wherein is more salt works, and more salt made, than in any part of England[2] that I know, and all the salt here made is made of salt-water; these pans, which are not to be numbered, placed in the river-mouth, and wrought with coals brought by water from Newcastle pits. A most dainty new salk-work lately here erected, which is absolutely the most complete work that I ever saw; in the breadth whereof is placed six rank of pans, four pans in a

[1] The tax of ship-money was first imposed in 1630. A writ was directed to the sheriff of every country "to provide a ship of war for the king's service, and to send it, amply provided and fitted, by such a day to such a place." Leave was given to commute this for a sum of money. The tax was abolished in 1641.—*Clarendon*, bk. i. pp. 120, 504.

[2] "As early as 1489, iron salt-pans are mentioned as having been constructed by Lionel Bell, of South Shields. The salt-pans are frequently mentioned in the reign of Elizabeth, and seem betwixt that period and the reign of Charles I to have attracted several settlers to South Shields. In 1667, there appears to have been one hundred and twenty-one salt-pans. In 1696, when the salt trade had reached its height, one hundred and forty-three. From that period this branch of trade has been gradually decreasing, and at present (1820) only five salt-pans remain."—*Surtees' Durham*, vol. ii. p. 95.

rank; at either outside the furnaces are placed in the same manner as are my brother Boothes,[1] under the grate of which furnaces the ashes fall, and there is a lid or cover for both; and by the heat of these ashes, there being a pan made in the floor betwixt every furnace, which is made of brick, for which also there is a cover, there is boiled, and made into lumps of hard and black salt, which is made of the brine which drops from the new-made salt, which is placed over a cistern of lead, which cistern is under the floor of the store-house, which is in the end of the building: these great lumps of hard black salt are sent to Colchester to make salt upon salt, which are sold for a greater price than the rest, because without these at Colchester they cannot make any salt.

These twenty-four pans have only twelve furnaces and twelve fires, and are erected in this manner, all being square and of like proportion. They are placed by two and two together, one against the other: the six pans in the highest rank, the bottom equal with the top of the lower. The highest pans are thrice filled and boiled till it begin to draw towards salt; then a spiggot being pulled out, the brine thus prepared runs into the lower pans, which brings it to a larger proportion of salt than otherwise, gains time and saves fire, because it must be longer boiled in the other pans, and would spend fire, which is saved by reason of the heat which derives from the furnace of the upper pan, which by a passage is conveyed under the lower pan, which passage is about half a yard broad in the bottom, and is, at the top, of the breadth of the pan, which rest upon a brick wall which is of the thickness of one brick at top; and this concavity under the lower pans is shaped slopewise like unto a kiln, narrow in the bottom and broad at the top; and this heat, which is conveyed under and makes the lower pans to boil, comes, together with the smoke which hath no other passage, under these pans through loop-holes or pigeon-holes, which is conveyed into a chimney (a double rank whereof is placed in the middle of this building), betwixt which is a passage for a man to

[1] Sir William Brereton married, for his first wife, Susan, daughter of Sir George Booth, of Dunham. "Brother Booth" was probably William, the eldest son and heir of Sir George, and father of the first Lord Delamere. He died the following year, 1636.

walk in. In the middle of every these chimneys is there a broad iron-plate, which is shaped to the chimney, which, as it stops and keeps in the heat, so it being pulled out abates the heat.

It is to be observed that the twelve lower pans are only to be drawn twice in twenty-four hours, and by that time they are ready to be drawn; the brine in the higher pans will be sufficiently boiled and prepared to be let into the lower, which are only to be drawn, and that twice in twenty-four hours; they yield every of them every draught two bowls, which is worth 2*s.* a bowl, and sometimes 2*s.*4*d.*, so every pan yielding every day four bowls at two draughts, which comes to 8*s.*, all twelve pans are worth every day 4*l.* 16*s.*; so as all the twelve pans in a week make salt worth 28*l.* a week; which in the year amounts unto £1400, accounting fifty weeks to the year. Two men and one woman to get out ashes, and one to pump their brine, manage and tend this whole work. The men's wages is 14*s.* a week, besides he that pumps. This salt is made of salt-water, which out of a brine pit made, which is supplied at full sea, is pumped, and by pipes of lead conveyed into every pan: the wall of this house is stone, and the roof of this and all the rest of the houses wherein are brine-pans, are boards. Touching the proportion of fuel here spent, and some other particulars, Dobson's letter[1] is to be perused, and some further directions are to be received from him.

Here at the Shields are the vastest salt works I have seen, and by reason of the conveniency of coal, and cheapness thereof, being at 7*s.* a chaldron, which is three wain load. Here is such a cloud of smoke as amongst these works you cannot see to walk; there are, as I was informed, about two hundred and fifty houses,[2] poor ones and low built, but all covered with boards. Here in every house is erected one fair great iron pan, five yards long, three yards and a half broad; the bottom of them made of thin plates nailed together, and strong square rivets upon the nail heads,

[1] Dobson appears to have been the agent or manager of some of these salt-works, and we cannot discover that this letter was a published one.

[2] This seems to be a very considerable exaggeration. See note, p. 86.

about the breadth of the batt of your hand: these pans are three quarters of a yard deep; ten great bars there are placed on the inner side of the pan, three square, two inches thick; every of these great pans, as Dobson informed me, cost about 100*l.* and cannot be taken down to be repaired with less than 10*l.* charge. Every pan yields four draughts of salt in a week, and every draught is worth about 1*l.* 10*s.* Spent in coal: ten chaldron of coal at 7*s.* a chaldron, which amounts to 3*l.* 10*s.* in coals; deduct out of 6*l.* there remains 2*l.* 10*s.* besides one man's wages. So as in these 250 pans there is weekly spent in coals 775*l.*, every pan yielding 6*l.* weekly, being 250: total of the worth of the salt made in them amounts to 1500*l.*; gained 735*l.*; deduct of this 120*l.* workmen's wages for making it, 120*l.*; clear gain about 600*l.*[1] a year. A wain load of salt is here worth about 3*l.* 10*s.*, and a chaldron of coals, which is worth 7*s.* is three wain load.

Here, at Newcastle, is the fairest quay in England I have met withal, from Tine-bridge all along Towne-wall, and almost to the glass-works, where is made window-glass. Divers havens of stone wall erected to cast out their ballast upon, and they pay for every ton cast out 6*d.* This is a spacious haven, now naked of ships, but sometimes thronged.

The fairest built inn in England that I have seen is Mr. Carre's, in this town: we lodged at the Swan, at Mr. Swan's, the post-master's, and paid 8*d.* ordinary, and no great provision. He is a very forward man to have a coy here erected.

This town unto this country serves instead of London, by means whereof the country is supplied with money; whereas otherwise so much money is carried out of the country to the lords and land-lords, as there would be neither sufficient money to pay the tenants' rents, nor would the country be supplied with money. This town is also famous for the walls which compass round the town, about which you may walk, and which is strengthened with strong towers placed upon the wall at no great distance. Hence to Car-

[1] There is an error in this calculation. 775 ought to be 875, and 735 ought to be 625; then the clear gain will be £505 a-year.

lisle was there erected the Picts' wall, which was the ancientest monument I have heard of in England. It was the work of the Romans: in some places, it is said to be above twenty yards broad towards Carlisle; the people go to market upon it, and it may well be owned by the Romans, as being the bravest and best deserving work of greatest industry and charge, and the strongest fortification that I have ever met in England, reaching, as here it was reported, from this town to the city of Carlisle, which is said to be sixty miles. It was made against the incursions of the Picts; many inscriptions upon divers of these stones, which perpetuate the fame and memory of the Romans.

Junii 24.—We left Newcastle, and came to MORPETH, which is twelve miles, and is the post-town; and by the way, about seven miles from Newcastle, we took notice of a convenient seat of a coy in Point Island, which belongs unto Mr. Mark Arington.[1] We found at Morpeth a fine little castle, in good repair, which belongs to my Lord William Howard;[2] a market-town, but poor houses. We dined at post-master's, and paid 12*d.* ordinary, and 6*d.* ordinary. Thence to ANWICKE is fourteen miles, where we lodged at the post-master's house; 6*d.* ordinary, and good victuals and lodging. Here we saw a mighty great castle belonging to the Earl of Northumberland, wherein were all houses of office, many of them now in decay; but my lord is repairing the same by degrees. Great revenues paid unto him out of this country; at least eight horse-load of money. He hath four castles in this county, viz. this castle, Warp-weth[3] castle, Tin-mouth castle, and [Prudhowe castle.]

Great lands he hath in York-shire, at and about Toppliffe, where he sometimes lived, whence he rose in the rebellion in the

[1] "Mark Errington married the heiress of Sir Brian Stapleton, who married one of the co-heiresses of Viscount Beaumont. Errington's son took the name of Stapleton, and the Beaumont peerage is now in abeyance between his descendants and the other co-heir."—See Sir N. Harris Nicholas' *Synopsis of the Peerage.*

[2] Lord William Howard was the celebrated Bald Willy or Belted Will Howard, Warden of the Western Marshes. He was great grandfather of the first Earl of Carlisle, and died 1640.

[3] Warkworth.

North,[1] and upon a moor near Burrough-bridges, which belongs unto Mr. Mallorye, of Studdley, there assembled the forces, and there met him the Earl of Westmerland.

Two horrible, and most cruel, detestable murders have of late been committed in Bishopp-ricke and Northumberland. Mr. Lampton of Whittle, near Chester-street, which is three miles from Newcastle, an ancient gentleman of 300*l.* or 400*l.*[2] per annum, is now prisoner in Durham gaol, for poisoning two wives: his first wife was Mr. Heath's, of Kepeir,[3] daughter, by whom he had five sons and daughters. He sent one of her maids to Newcastle to buy mercury, arsenic, and stybium, which, it should seem, by some means, he procured his wife to receive, (a day or two after she was churched); who, as she died suddenly and unexpectedly, so was she as suddenly and secretly buried. He hath

[1] This alludes to the insurrection attempted in 1569 by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who united their forces, amounting to nearly six thousand men, with the expectation of being joined by all the Roman Catholics in England. They issued a manifesto, declaring that they intended nothing against the queen, their sole aim being to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion, and remove evil counsellors. Elizabeth acted with her usual judgment and prudence, and despatched an army under the Earl of Sussex, before whom they slunk away and dispersed. Northumberland was taken, imprisoned, and ultimately beheaded at York, Aug. 22, 1572.

[2] Edward VI granted the possessions of the dissolved house of Kepyear, in Eyton parish, to John Cockburne, who speedily conveyed it to John Heath, who again speedily disposed of a part of it to John Watson of Newcastle. This John Heath was probably ancestor to one of the supposed victims in this sad tragedy. See Surtees' *History of Durham*, vol. ii. p. 267.

[3] Mr. Surtees gives the pedigree of Lambton of Trebley, and sometime of Whitehill:

Susan, d. of John Groves, Ald. of York, sister to Frances, wife of Sir John Conyers, Bart. = Ralph Lambton, of Trebley, Gent. bapt. 14 Jan. 1592-3, living 1657. = Elizabeth, d. of —— Glover, widow of Ralph Sympson, of Piddinghall Garth, Gent. marr. at Pottington 19 May 1633, buried there 4 May 1635

Ralph—John—William—Henry—James. Mary—Elizabeth.

There cannot be any doubt that the above Ralph is the person charged with the murders; but the author was probably misinformed as to the name of the first wife,—for, by the Chester-le-Street register, it appears that Ralph Lambton and Susan Groves were married June 16, 1618, and Mrs. Susanna, wife of Mr. Ralph Lambton, died about 1629.—*Information of Sir Cuthbert Sharp.* Surtees does not make the slightest allusion to the tale here recorded. See Surtees' *History of Durham*, vol. ii. p. 201.

since given to this maidservant, and assured unto her during her life, a pension of 2*l.* per annum. This trusty servant he hath since made use of as an engine to effect and accomplish the like design: and, as is now proved by the apothecary, in Newcastle, of whom the poison was bought, (all whom my Lord Bishop commanded before him by warrant): it appears, by his testimony upon oath, that this maid came divers times unto him, in her master's name, for mercury, arsenic, and stybium, which he refused to furnish her withal: hereupon, Mr. Lampton himself came to the apothecary and expostulated with him. The apothecary answered, except he sent a note under his hand, that he might be assured it was for him, he would send none: hereupon, he sent a note under his hand (which was produced), and mercury, arsenic, and stybium were, by the same maid, sent him the day before his wife's death, who was a rich widow (Raph Simpson's, a grazier wife), who brought him 3000*l.* and 300 or 400*l.* until her son came to age: this 3000*l.* was left unto the younger children; which her eldest son coming to age, and sueing Mr. Lampton, hereupon some dislikes were conceived by him against his wife, who, not being well and having taken physick, and sending for a captain, who was left in trust by her former husband, and sending for ale for him, whereof one bowl full was left undrunk, when she went to bring him down stair: in the meantime, her husband stays in the chamber and puts this poison into the cup, and invites her drink it at his return, which (after she had put sugar into) she drunk, and presently fell into great extremity; accused her husband to have poisoned her; sent for the captain, who, immediately returning, found her at point of death, whose last words were: That she took it upon her death, that her husband had poisoned [her], and withal she related the manner, and so died, desiring that her children and this captain would see her death revenged. After her death, her body was viewed by the physicians, and all of them unanimously affirm that she was certainly poisoned. He is committed to Durham gaol, but pleads himself.

Junii 25.—We lodged at the post-master's, at Anwick, last

night, where we were well-used: 6*d.* ordinary supper, and 4*d.* breakfast; good lodging, and neat. Hence to Bellford, which is next post-town, twelve miles. Here, losing our way, we wandered thence to Fennam, four or five miles; whence, over the sands to the HOLLY ISLAND, is two miles: in this island, there was formerly a fair abbey dedicated to St. Cuttbert, to the abbot whereof belonged great revenues. In this Holly Island, as they here report, St. Cuttbert inhabited in winter, and in the summer season in the islands of Ferne, which you may hence discern, which are reported to breed abundance of fowl. This whole isle, which is seven miles about, though now it is not worth more than 100*l.* a year, besides the warren, which is 40*l.* per annum, all belongs to my Lord Suffolke: this church and abbey ruinated; only the walls and pillars of it remain, and they are very fair pillars, and resemble Durham. There is another little church now used, and in repair, which stands near to the abbey church, whereunto resort the inhabitants of Fennam, a village placed on the other side the island. Here, touching the sea intermitting her course of flowing on the Sabbath-day, 'twixt 9 and 12, and so, in the afternoon, I have heard much and often, and applied myself to enquire the certainty hereof. I spoke with Capt. Rugg, Captain of the Fort, and with Mr. Joanes, an inhabitant here, an intelligent gentleman, an Oxford: as also I did enquire of our host and our guide, and divers other inhabitants of the isle, who all, *una voce*, concurred, no man dissenting, in the assertion that there was nothing supernatural therein to be observed: for although they acknowledged it to be most true that it is always passable over those sands at nine a clock, so as those that live and reside upon the main land may, every Lord's day, come over those sands to church about that hour; this is, by those that are popishly affected, superstitiously applied and imputed to the merit and effect of St. Cuttber's prayers, whereas, indeed, there is nothing extraordinary therein. They give this natural reason: it always so falls out

[1] Theophilus, second Earl of Suffolk, son of Catherine, so celebrated for her beauty and unprincipled rapacity.

that at the change and full of the moon, the flood is at the height at or about three o'clock, and then *par consequence* it is low water, and the sands are dry, at or about nine oclock; so as then it is most easy to pass: when it is full sea at three clock, it must needs be low water at nine clock: and when it is no spring-tide, you may ride over the sands (if you be well acquainted with them, as those are that inhabit near, and resort to church there) at full water, and this is not only ordinary upon the Lord's day, but upon all other days of the week. Thus did our guide affirm that it had been ordinary in his practice; if, therefore, it should so fall out as to be full water upon the Lord's day, at or about nine oclock (which cannot often happen) yet may it then be passed, because it is low and ebb floods as well, and no otherwise than upon other days of the week.

In this island, in a dainty little fort, there lives Captain Rugg, governor of this fort, who is as famous for his generous and free entertainment of strangers, as for his great bottle nose, which is the largest I have seen. This is a dainty little fort, built tower-wise upon the top of a little round hill, which is a rock; this planted with ordinance; below, on very top of the hill, a neat flagged and walled court before the door, where are two brass ordinance, the one brought from Cales, and three iron ordinance; one of them came also thence. There are neat, warm, and convenient rooms in this little fort.

Here in this island was brought unto us a young seal, or, as some call it, a sea-calf, which was this morning left upon the sands dry; they nourish it with milk. It hath an head and eyes like a calf, and hath two fins before like feet, and two behind, which it cannot draw up like fins, whereby also it is enabled to move in a creeping manner, and that slowly, yet constantly and restless; it hath a navel, and cries. Hence to Barwicke, seven miles, whereof three miles is upon the sand.

Junii 25.—We arrived about five clock at Barwicke, where we passed a very fair, stately bridge over Tweede, consisting of fifteen arches, which was built by king James, and, as it is said, cost

£17,000. This river most infinitely stored with salmon, one hundred or two hundred salmons at one draught; but much more was reported by our host, which is most incredible, that there were two thousand salmons taken since Sunday last. This town seated upon the main sea, the Northern Ocean, and seems to be almost environed with the sea.

The haven is a most narrow, shallow, barred haven, the worst that I have seen; it might be made good, a brave and secure haven, whereas now only one little pink of about forty ton belongs unto it, and some few fishing-boats. There being, therefore, no trade in this town, it is a very poor town, many indigent persons and beggars therein. Here were the strongest fortifications I have met with in England, double-walled, and out-works of earth, and the outer walls like unto Chester walls, and without the inner walls a deep and broad moat well watered; the inner walls of invincible strength, stone wall within, and without lined with earth about twenty yards thick, with bulwarks conveniently placed to guard one another, like unto the Buss,[1] Bergen, Antwerpe, or Gravelin: these were begun by Queen Mary, finished by Queen Elizabeth, but something in decay: these walls environ the town.

A stately, sumptuous, and well-seated house or castle was here begun by the last Earl of Dunbar,[2] where the old castle stood; but his death put an end to that work. Here was a most stately platform propounded and begun; a fair long gallery joiced, not boarded, wherein is the largest mantle-tree I have seen, near five yards long of one piece; this leaded over, which gives the daintiest prospect to the sea, to the town, to the land, and the river. This, with much lands hereabout, was bestowed upon him by king James, who left all his lands to his daughter and heir, who married the now Earl of Suffolk. This town is seated on the north

[1] Bois le Duc.

[2] George Hume attended king James from Scotland; was created Lord Hume of Berwick in England, and Earl of Dunbar in Scotland. He died in 1611, leaving only one child, who married Theophilus, the Earl of Suffolk.

side of Twede, and is placed upon the sloping of a steep hill. They speak of three hundred and sixty salmons taken at one draught, and ordinarily about eighty, and one hundred, or one hundred and twenty, at one draught. We lodged at the Crown, were well used; 8*d.* ordinary, and 6*d.* our servants, and great entertainment and good lodging, a respective host and honest reckoning.

26 *Junii.*—Upon Friday we departed from Barwicke, which, though it be seated in Scottland, yet it is England, and is annexed to the crown of England by act of Parliament, and sends two burgesses to the Parliament-house, and here the country is not reputed Scottish, until you come to a town, four miles distant from Barwick, called ATEN,[1] which belongs to the Lord Aten, who hath there a pretty castle placed on the side of an hill; hence you pass (after you leave a few corn-fields near the town) over the largest and vastest moors that I have ever seen, which are now dry, and whereupon (in most parts) is neither sheep, beast, nor horse. Here is a mighty want of fire in these moors; neither coal, nor wood, nor turf; only the cutt and flea top-turves with linge upon them. These moors you travel upon about eight miles, and then come to a village called Apthomas,[2] and not far hence you leave the castle and town of Dunglass[3] on left hand, which is pleasantly seated, and seemeth to be in good repair, and not far hence is there an high-built house or castle, called Anderwick,[4] belonging to Mr. Maxwell of the bedchamber.

[1] Ayton is situated about nine miles from Berwick; but Berwick bounds, which comprise all that is attached to England, extend only about two miles from the town. Of Ayton Castle not a vestige now remains; a modern house was built upon its site, but this too has disappeared, having been consumed by fire in 1834.

[2] Of this Welch-like name I am unable to offer any explanation. I find no Scotch village with a name resembling it, unless perhaps Old Cambus.

[3] The castle of Dunglass was a stronghold of the Earls of Home, and afterwards of the Douglases; it was destroyed by the Protector Somerset in 1548, but afterwards rebuilt and enlarged, so that it was capable of entertaining King James I and his retinue on his way to take possession of the throne of England. This too has been destroyed, and the site is occupied by the beautiful seat of Sir James Hall.

[4] Anderwick is probably Innerwick Castle, at one time a stronghold of conside-

Enquiring the way before, how far to Dunbar, it was answered, it was three miles. I demanded whether so far; he said, "Yes, it was three bonnie mile." About a mile from Dunbar, we observed this husbandry; the grass, weeds and wreck, brought by the sea and with the tide, and left upon the sands, was carried and laid thick upon the ground. This used for corn.

Here is my Lord Rocksburne's[1] house or castle, seated with [in] six score of the main sea, where groweth and prospereth many kinds of wood; the highest thorns that I ever saw; this I admired, because I have observed all the sea-coasts whereby we passed, almost an hundred miles, and could not find any manner of wood prospering near the sea-coast. Here, in the village, we observed the sluttish women washing their clothes in a great tub with their feet, their coats, smocks and all, tucked up to their breech.

We came from Barwicke about seven clock, and came to DUNBARR about twelve, which is twenty English miles: it is not improperly called Dunbarr, because it is so environed with shelfs, bars and sands, as there is no manner of haven, though the main sea beat upon the town, which indeed is not seated upon any river, which might furnish it with an haven or a navigable channel; only here is an haven made of great stones piled up, whereinto at a spring-tide a ship of one hundred ton may enter, but not without much hazard. Six miles hence in the sea (though it be a far shorter cut by land) is the island of Bass,[2] which is here very conspicuous; a mighty high

rable importance, the property of the Stewarts, which afterwards passed into the hands of the Hamiltons, and was destroyed by the Protector Somerset. Sir James Maxwell, father of Sir James, created a baronet by king Charles I, married Isabel, the daughter of Sir Alexander Hamilton, of Innerwick.

[1] Sir Robert Ker, of Cesford, accompanied James I to England, and was created Lord Roxburgh; in 1616, he was promoted to the dignity of Earl of Roxburgh; 1637, made lord privy-seal; adhered to the fortunes of Charles I. Died 1650, aged eighty.

[2] The Bass Island was a very ancient possession of the family of Lauder, who disposed of it, in 1671, to king Charles II, who used it as a state-prison. John Blackadder and Alexander Peden were imprisoned there. It was the last fortress in Britain over which the flag of James II waved; and its defence against the troops of William III was singularly heroic.

rock placed in the sea, whereinto there is only one passage, and that for a single person. This is now fortified, and inhabited by the lord of the Bass. It is about one English mile about. Herein are kept sheep, and some kine and coneys; abundance of fowl breed here, solem-geese, storts,[1] scoutes,[2] and twenty several sorts of fowl, which make such a noise as that you may hear them and nothing else a mile before you come to them. These solem-geese (as it is reported of them), when their eggs are sufficiently sitten, they stamp upon them with their feet, and break them; they breed in the sides of the rocks, and there is fowl (said to be) sold here, taken in this island, worth £200 per annum. Here is excellent fresh water in this isle, a dainty pure spring which is to be the more admired. The isle of May is not hence above three leagues, and it is easy to be discerned, wherein also abundance of fowl breed.

From Dunbarr to Edenburgh we came this day in the afternoon; it is called but twenty miles, but it is twenty-five or twenty-six miles at least; and by the way we observed very many stately seats of the nobles. One we passed near unto, which is the Earl of Winton's,[3] a dainty seat placed upon the sea. Here also is apple-trees, walnut-trees, sycamore, and other fruit-trees, and other kinds of wood which prosper well, though it be very near unto, and within the air of, the sea. In this house the king lodged three nights; and in this earl's chamber at Edenborough, in Mr. William Callis his house in the High-street near the Cross, I lodged, and paid one shilling and sixpence per noctem for my lodging.

About six or seven miles from this city I saw and took notice of divers salt-works in poor houses erected upon the sea coast. I went into one of them, and observed iron pans eighteen foot long and nine foot broad; these larger pans and houses than those at the

[1] Probably the cormorant, which in Scotland is called *scart.*

[2] Scoutes, guillemots, *colymbus troile.*

[3] Seaton House, built by George, third Earl of Wintoun, where he entertained James I and Charles I. He died in 1650, aged sixty-five. Upon the attainder of the last Earl in 1719, the property was sold, the house was allowed to fall into decay, and entirely pulled down in 1790.

Sheildes. An infinite, innumerable number of salt-works here are erected upon this shore; all make salt of sea-water. About four miles hence stands MUSSLEBORROW, touching which they have this proverb: Mussleborrow was a borrow when Edenborough was none, and shall be a burrough when Edenborough shall be none.

About nine o'clock at night we came into EDENBOROUGH, where, by reason of the foot-boy's negligences, we were put upon great straights, and had our lodging to seek at ten o'clock, and in conclusion, were constrained to accept of mean and nasty lodging, for which we paid one shilling and eight-pence; and the next morning, *Saturday*, 27 *Junii*, we went to the Towle-boothe,[1] where are the courts of justice, which are six: 1. The Court wherein meet the Lords of the Privy Council, whereof are most of the eminent nobles of the land. 2. That Court[2] wherein there are fifteen judges sit attired in purple gowns, turned up with velvet of the same colour; hereof the President is Sir Robert [Spottiswoode].[3] As it is here reported, if any of those fifteen be absent hence any day, they incur the forfeiture of, and pay, one pound a day for absence. The Archbishop of St. Andrewe's, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, is the prime man in this kingdom. 3. There is another inferior Court near adjoining hereunto, wherein sits weekly and successively every of these fifteen judges alone; this court takes only cognizance of inferior causes, and of less importance: and, as

[1] The Tolbooth was built in 1561, and was destined for the accommodation of Parliament, the courts of justice, and the confinement of prisoners. From the year 1640, however, when the present Parliament-house was built, till 1817, when it was pulled down, it was used only as a prison.—*Heart of Mid-Lothian*, note to ch. vi. ed. 1831.

[2] The Court of Session was established by king James V, in the year 1532, to consist of fourteen and a president. This office was held by Sir Robert Spottiswoode from the year 1633. He was second son to the Archbishop mentioned below, and secretary of state in Scotland. After the defeat of Montrose in 1646, he was taken prisoner and put to death by the rebellious covenanters, his crime being his having delivered to Montrose the king's commission to be captain-general of Scotland.

[3] John Spottiswoode, the historian of the Church of Scotland, at the very early age of eighteen succeeded his father as parson of Calder, in Mid-Lothian; was made Bishop of Glasgow in 1603, Archbishop of St. Andrew's in 1615. He held the office of lord chancellor of Scotland from the year 1635 to the time of his death in 1639. He was born in the year 1565.

it seems unto me, is erected in favour and ease of the rest fifteen judges; and if any intricate cause or of greater consequence occur, the present judge then propounds unto and consults with the rest of the fifteen judges. In this court I observed the greatest rudeness, disorder, and confusion, that ever I saw in any court of justice; no, not the like disorder in any of our sessions; for here two or three plead and speak together, and that with such a forced, strained voice as the strongest voice only carries it; yea, sometimes they speak about two or three several causes at one and the same time, which makes an extraordinary disorder and confusion, so as no man breathing can hear distinctly or understand any thing so promiscuously spoken. 4. There is an Exchequer, or court of the king's revenue. 5. There is a court below, under the before-named courts, wherein sit the judges touching criminal matters and misdemeanours. 6. The Consistory, which takes only cognizance of ecclesiastical affairs.

In this kingdom the clergy of late extend their authority and revenues. Archbishoprick of St. Andrewes is Lord Chancellor of Scotland and Regent here. And, as I was informed by some intelligent gentleman, it is here thought and conceived that they will recover so much of that land and revenues belonging formerly to the Abbeys, as that they will in a short time possess themselves of the third part of the kingdom.[1] The Duke of Lennox and Marquis Hamilton are possessed of the largest proportion of Church-land: it is expected that they should resign and deliver up their interests and rights therein to the Church, whose example it is thought will induce the rest of the nobility to do the like. And to the end that they may carry some sway in Parliament, it is now endeavoured (as some here informed

[1] Sir W. Brereton seems to have here fallen into the society of spirits congenial to his own, and to have listened credulously to the falsifications and exaggerations of some not kindly disposed to the Church. To the Archbishop's praise be it spoken, that he did endeavour to regain some of the property of which the Church had been sacrilegiously deprived. That it was not personal wealth he sought for, may be safely presumed, as it was upon his own petition that the property of the see of St. Andrew's lying south of the Forth was appropriated to the endowment of a new Bishoprick, to be seated at Edinburgh.

me, Mr. Calderwood[1] and Dr. Sharpe) to restore abbots, and to invest them in the revenues and seats of abbeys: hereof they say there are forty-eight which are intended to be established, who are all to sit and carry voices in Parliament; which, if it can be effected, then there will be always in the parliament-house so strong a party for the king, considering those officers that have an immediate dependance upon him and the bishops and abbots, as that they will be able to sway the whole house. Divers of the clergy incline this way, and many also are mighty opposite and averse hereunto.

This *Saturday*, after dinner, I took a view of the castle here, which is seated very high and sufficiently commanding, and being able to batter the town; this is also seated upon the top of a most hard rock, and the passage whereunto was (as they there report) made through that hard and impregnable rock, which cannot be touched or hewed, and it is indeed a stately passage, wherein was used more industry, pains, art, and endeavour, than in any place I have found amongst the Scotts. It is but a very little castle, of no great receipt, but mighty strength; it is called Castrum Puellarum, because the kings of the Picts kept there virgins therein; upon the wall of the castle, towards the top, is this insculpsion, part thereof gilt,—a crown and sceptre, and dagger placed under it cross-wise, with this superscription: "Nobis hæc invicta miserunt 106 Proavi:" the same arms and inscription is placed upon the front of the abbey, which is the king's house. Out of the court of this high-seated castle, there was one that watched (a soldier in his turn) in a little wooden house or cabin, which by a whirlwind was taken and thrown down both together over the castle wall and to the bottom of this high and steep rock, and the man not hurt or bruised, save only his finger put out of joint. Hence you may take a full view of the situation of the whole city, which is built upon a hill nothing oversteep, but sufficiently sloping and ascending to give a graceful ascent to the great street, which I do take to be an English mile long, and is the best paved street with bowther

[2] Calderwood was a strenuous opponent of king James's efforts in favour of the Church. He published, in 1623, a celebrated work called "Altare Damascenum, seu Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ politia Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ obtrusa," &c. He died in the reign of Charles I.

stones[1] (which are very great ones) that I have seen: the channels are very conveniently contrived on both sides the streets, so as there is none in the middle; but it is the broadest, largest, and fairest pavement, and that entire, to go, ride or draw upon.

Here they usually walk in the middle of the street, which is a fair, spacious, and capacious walk. This street is the glory and beauty of this city: it is the broadest street (except in the Low Countries, where there is a navigable channel in middle of the street) and the longest street I have seen, which begins at the palace, the gate whereof enters straight into the suburbs, and is placed at the lower end of the same. The suburbs make an handsome street; and indeed the street, if the houses, which are very high, and substantially built of stone (some five, some six stories high), were not lined to the outside and faced with boards, it were the most stately and graceful street that ever I saw in my life; but this face of boards, which is towards the street, doth much blemish it, and derogate from glory and beauty; as also the want of fair glass windows, whereof few or none are to be discerned towards the street, which is the more complete, because it is as straight as may be. This lining with boards (wherein are round holes shaped to the proportion of men's heads), and this incroachment into the street about two yards, is a mighty disgrace unto it, for the walls (which were the outside) are stone; so, as if this outside facing of boards were removed, and the houses built uniform all of the same height, it were the most complete street in Christendom.

This city is placed in a dainty, healthful, pure air, and doubtless were a most healthful place to live in, were not the inhabitants most sluttish, nasty, and slothful people. I could never pass through the hall, but I was constrained to hold my nose; their chambers, vessel, linen and meat, nothing neat, but very slovenly; only the nobler and better sort of them brave, well-bred men, and much reformed. This street, which may indeed deserve to denominate the whole city, is always full thronged with people, it being the market-place, and the only place where the gentlemen and merchants meet and walk, wherein they may walk dry under foot,

[1] Bowlder stones, fragments of rock rounded by the action of water.

though there hath been abundance of rain. Some few coaches are here to be found for some of the great lords and ladies, and bishops.

Touching the fashion of the citizens, the women here wear and use upon festival days six or seven several habits and fashions; some for distinction of widows, wives and maids, others apparelled according to their own humour and phantasy. Many wear (especially of the meaner sort) plaids, which is a garment of the same woollen stuff whereof saddle cloths in England are made, which is cast over their heads, and covers their faces on both sides, and would reach almost to the ground, but that they pluck them up, and wear them cast under their arms. Some ancient women and citizens wear satin straight-bodied gowns, short little cloaks with great capes, and a broad boun-grace[1] coming over their brows, and going out with a corner behind their heads; and this boun-grace is, as it were, lined with a white stracht cambric suitable unto it. Young maids not married all are bare-headed; some with broad thin shag ruffs, which lie flat to their shoulders, and others with half bands with wide necks, either much stiffened or set in wire, which comes only behind; and these shag ruffs some are more broad and thick than others.

This city of Edenborough is governed by a lord provost (which is equivalent to a lord mayor) and two or three bailiffs, who execute the office of sheriffs, who, as they assume no extraordinary state, only some few officers attending them, so they do not maintain any great houses and hospitalities; and when any occasion of greater consequence and importance occurs, they then call unto them and consult with, as assistants, some of those that have been formerly lords provosts. The people here are slothful, that they fetch not fresh water every day, but only every other day, which makes their water much worse (especially to drink), which when it is at best is bad enough. Their houses of office are tubs or firkins placed upon the end, which they never empty until they be full, so as the scent thereof annoyeth and offendeth the whole house.

I was this day with an intelligent, understanding man, who told

[1] *Bongrace* was a sort of hood, or the broad band in front of the hood, which projected far, and preserved the face from being sunburnt.

me there were above sixty back-lanes or streets, which were placed in the side of this street, and went out of it; narrow and inconvenient straight lanes, some wider, some narrower, some built on both sides, others only on one side; and enquiring what number of persons might be in this city, I found that it was generally computed that they were no more than sixty thousand persons, because there are only four parish churches in this city, and it is observed that there are no more than about four thousand communicants in every parish. Here is a dainty hospital erecting, not yet finished.[1] I took notice here of that common brewhouse which supplieth the whole city with beer and ale, and observed there the greatest, vastest leads, boiling keeres,[2] cisterns and combs,[2] that ever I saw: the leads to cool the liquor in were as large as the whole house, which was as long as my court.

Junii 29.[3]—We went this morning to behold and take a view of LEITH, where is the haven belonging to this city; which is a pretty little haven, neither furnished with near so many ships as it is capable of, nor indeed is it a large haven capable of many ships. There are two neat wooden piers here erected, which run up into the river, but not one ship saw I betwixt them. There are two churches in this town, which belongs unto and is subordinate to the city of Edenborough. This town of Leith is built all of stone, but it seemeth to be but a poor place, though seated upon a dainty haven: the country 'twixt this and Edenborough, and all hereabout this city, is corn, is situate betwixt the hills and the sea.

[1] Heriot's Hospital. George Heriot, goldsmith and jeweller to kings James I and Charles I, died in 1624, leaving great wealth, the residue of which, after many bequests to relations, friends and servants, he left to the magistrates of Edinburgh, to found and endow a hospital "for the maintenance, relief, and bringing up, of so many poor and fatherless boys, freemen's sons of the town of Edinburgh, as the same should be sufficient for." This building, one of the most interesting ornaments of the city of Edinburgh, was begun in 1628, after designs of Inigo Jones, and was not completed, as we see here, in 1635. In 1650 it was nearly finished, and used by Cromwell as a hospital for his soldiers; at length, Monk removed the soldiers, and in 1659 it was opened for its original purpose, and the building was completely finished in 1660.

[2] *Keeve*, a large vessel, in which the liquor is placed to work. *Comb*, a large wooden vessel or tub; a measure of four bushels of corn is in some districts called *a comb.*

[3] Junii 27.

Upon the top of the Toole-bowthe stands the head of Gawrie. Here are pies (whereof I have had some this day to dinner) which are sold twelve for a penny English. Here upon the Tole-boothe stands the head of Earl Gawrie.[1] Many Highlanders we observed in this town in their plaids, many without doublets, and those who have doublets have a kind of loose flap garment hanging loose about their breech, their knees bare; they inure themselves to cold, hardship, and will not diswont themselves; proper, personable, well-complectioned men, and of able[2] men; the very gentlemen in their blue caps and plaids.

The sluttishness and nastiness of this people is such, that I cannot omit the particularizing thereof, though I have more than sufficiently often touched upon the same: their houses, and halls, and kitchens, have such a noisome taste, a savour and that so strong, as it doth offend you so soon as you come within their walls; yea, sometimes when I have light from my horse, I have felt the distaste of it before I have come into the house; yea, I never came to my own lodging in Edenborough, or went out, but I was constrained to hold my nose, or to use worm-wood, or some such scented plant.

Their pewter, I am confident, is never scoured; they are afraid it should too much wear and consume thereby; only sometimes, and that but seldom, they do slightly rub them over with a filthy

[1] The Earl of Gowry was one of the chief conspirators who seized James I in 1582, and kept him under constraint for about a year, when he escaped. The conspirators were, upon submission, pardoned; but the Earl of Gowry was tried the following year upon some new charges, and executed. It was probably not the head of this earl which then remained upon the Tolbooth, but that of his son, who, in the year 1600, conspired with his brother to lure king James to his house at Perth, and then assassinate him. The plot so far succeeded, as to draw the king to the house, and even into a private chamber, where the earl's brother and a servant were prepared to commit the bloody deed. The king contrived to struggle with the assassins, and to rouse his attendants, who rushed to his assistance, and put both the earl and his brother to death upon the spot. Though this occurred upon the 5th of August, their bodies were brought to the Parliament-house on the 15th of November following, when they were hanged upon a gibbet, dismembered, and the heads cut off and affixed upon the top of the prison-house.—Abp. Spottiswoode, *Hist. of Scotland*, pp. 320, 462.

[2] Sic in MS.

dish-clout, dipped in most sluttish greasy water. Their pewter pots, wherein they bring wine and water, are furred within, that it would loathe you to touch any thing which comes out of them. Their linen as it is sluttishly and slothfully washed by women's feet, who, after their linen is put into a great, broad, low tub of water, then (their clothes being tucked up above their knees) they step into the tub and tread it, and trample it with their feet (never vouchsafing a hand to nett[1] or wash it withal) until it be sufficiently cleansed in their apprehensions, and then it looks as nastily as ours doth when it is put unto and designed to the washing, as also it doth so strongly taste and smell of lant[2] and other noisome savours, as that when I came to bed I was constrained to hold my nose and mouth together. To come into their kitchen, and to see them dress their meat, and to behold the sink (which is more offensive than any jakes) will be a sufficient supper, and will take off the edge of your stomach.

Julii[3] 28.—*Lord's day.* Touching the government and orders of the church here established. It is governed by pastors, elders, and deacons; there are about twelve elders, eight deacons, and two pastors in every parish, (as Mr. Wallis, a judicious merchant informed me:) these deacons, their employment and office is to provide for the poor; the elders take notice and cognizance of all misdemeanors and offences committed in their parish, unto every of which elders there is proportioned and allotted a part of the parish, which is under their care and charge, who take notice of all fornications, adulteries, thefts, drunkards, swearers, blasphemers, slanderers, extortioners, and all other scandalous offences committed in their parishes: these (by virtue of their offices and strict vows, and protestations,) are to present all these offenders unto the minister and church-officers, who proceed to ecclesiastical censure; it is the duty of these to provide bread and wine for the parishioners at the communion, and this upon the parish charge; these also are assistants to the pastors in the administration of the sacrament. All

[1] *Nett*, to clean, from the French *nettoyer*. [2] *Lant*, chamberlye, urine. [3] *Junii* 28.

these officers are yearly changed, and chosen by the parishioners, and are proclaimed in the church, to be designed for those places a year before they are invested with those places, that so if any just exception can be made against them, they may be put by that office and others elected.

Once every week, the pastors and elders, and sometimes the deacons, assemble and meet together, to consult upon and consider of the affairs of the parish; they are most strict in their censures against fornicators and adulterers; those that commit fornication under colour of intended marriage, and after promise of marriage, are enjoyned to sit upon the stool of repentance one day. This stool is a public and eminent seat, erected towards the lower end of the church about two yards from the ground, either about some pillar, or in some such conspicuous place, where the whole congregation may take notice of them; this seat is capable of about six or eight persons. Here this day, 28 *Junii*, I was at sermon in the Gray Friors, where there stood three women upon the stool of repentance, who are admitted to sit during the sermon. Those other fornicators are enjoined three days penance on this stool; adulterers are censured to stand every Lord's day upon this stool during twelve months in a sheet of hair, and this enjoined them in divers churches. This day, after sermon, the preacher admonished some who had persevered in a course of impenitence and uncleanness, and had often been admonished and enjoined to give testimony of their repentance, and to make satisfaction to the congregation; this hath been delayed, and is not performed. He said, he wondered that people were not ashamed to sin against God and against their brethren, and against their own souls, and yet they were ashamed to make satisfaction unto the church, which had conceived just matter of offence against them, for so great scandal thereby given. He added, that they had proceeded with much remissness against them, and forborne them not one year but two, but if at the next meeting they did not make their appearance, the next Lord's day they would publish their names to the congregation. They proceed in their ecclesiastical censures with all meekness, endeavouring a reformation first by those means, and

very rarely, not once in many years, do they denounce any excommunicate. There are some officers made choice of to take notice of, and to apprehend all those that loiter in the streets upon the Lord's day, during service and sermon-time; these are punished by being committed to the Toll-bowth; and if any are found in any house tippling, or gaming in church-time, they are committed to prison. Those also called to account that are met walking fromwards the church, and are detained in durance until they be brought before the bailiffs of the town, who punisheth them severely.

Good provision is here made by the deacons, the church officers, for the poor, a collection and contribution every Lord's day before sermon; every well-affected parishioner doth receive the alms and bounty of those who come to church (all which give something), in box; hereunto they are chosen and designed by the church officers; this they receive at the church door, and there is also a monthly taxation and assessment laid upon all the inhabitants of the parish, towards the relief of the poor, so as none beg, nor are suffered to wander upon and down the parish; but though many poor people swarm and abound here, and more than I have met with in any part of the world, yet these most abound here, and the most miserable creatures in the world.

Bought in Edenburgh; Thanksgiving Sermon upon birth of Prince, and the Itinerary of Scotland and Ireland: two pair of pistols, which cost eight rix-dollars, which is £1.18*s.* 4*d.*, a dudgeon-hafted dagger and knives, gilt, 3*s.* 8*d.*

Divers earls' and lord's houses here in Edenburgh, as mean buildings as gentlemen's and knight's in London and England. Here I saw the Earl of Trequheres' house, who is deputy treasurer under my Lord Morton; he was made earl when the King was last here. I paid here for my horses two rix-dollars, and for our

[1] Sir John Stewart was appointed treasurer-depute, and created lord steward of Traquair, April 1628. In 1636, he was appointed high treasurer of Scotland, having been before raised to the dignity of Earl of Traquair, Lord Lintown and Caherstoun, June 1633, when king Charles I. was at Holyrood. He was of a very timid disposition, but firm in his allegiance to his sovereign, in whose service he suffered an imprisonment of four years, and upon his liberation returned home, and lived in extreme poverty until his death in September 1659.

lodging for six persons, three beds, every night 1*s.* 6*d.*; for victuals Saturday 7*s.* 2*d.*, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, breakfast about £1. 5*s.*; washing, 1*s.* 8*d.*; rewards to the maid and cook, 2*s.*

The College of Edinburgh, called King James his college, was founded by the citizens about seventy years ago, by the direction of Mr. Rollock, the first principal thereof, and minister of the college church. The order that is observed in the worship of God is this; upon the Lord's day, they do assemble 'twixt eight and nine hour in the morning, and spend the time in singing psalms and reading chapters in the Old Testament, until about ten hour; then the preacher comes into the pulpit, and the psalm being ended, he reads a printed and prescribed prayer, which is an excellent prayer; this being ended, another psalm is sung, and then he prays before sermon, and concludes his sermon betwixt eleven and twelve hour; and during the intermission, many continue in the church until the afternoon's exercise, which begins soon after one, is performed in the same manner as in the morning, save the chapters then read out of the New Testament, and they conclude about four hour. I was in the morning at the Gray Friors, where I heard a very worthy man, Mr. James Sherley: in the wall of the yard of this church, I observed very fair tombs and monuments, erected in memory and honour of divers merchants and others interred in this church-yard; which custom, if they continue, in the revolution of a short time the whole wall will be most gracefully adorned with

[1] In 1580, application was made to king James VI to grant a charter for the foundation of a university at Edinburgh, and the whole arrangements were completed in 1582. The college was built, and the various offices maintained, at the expense chiefly of citizens of Edinburgh. Robert Rollock commenced his education under Mr. Thomas Buchanan, and prosecuted his studies at St. Andrew's. In 1583, he was made first Principal and Rector of the university at Edinburgh, where, by his lectures of divinity in the schools, and his sermons to the people, he came to be greatly esteemed. He was a person of great worth and learning. He wrote commentaries on the Psalms and some of the prophets; and some sermons and pieces of devotion were also published by him. A rare example of holiness he was, both in his life and death. He was much weakened by his exertions in the troublous times in which he lived; he was naturally of an infirm body, and grievously pained with the stone, whereof at last he died in February 1598, in the forty-third year of his age.—*Abp. Spottiswoode, Hist.* p. 455.

tombs, which are most stately ornaments round about the same. In the afternoon I went to the College Kirk, where I heard a blind man preach, much to be admired. Here I saw the sacrament of Baptism administered in this manner:—the preacher standing in the pulpit, and there being placed and fastened into the same a frame of iron, shaped and proportioned to a basin, wherein there stands a silver basin and ewer; here the minister useth an exhortation of gratitude for God's great goodness, in admitting them to this privilege, &c., and demanding from the witnesses (which are many, sometimes twelve, sometimes twenty), according to a printed form of Baptism, the parent receives the child from the midwife, presents the same unto the preacher, who doth baptize it without any manner of ceremony, giving a strict care of Christian and religious education, first unto the parent, then to the witnesses.

When the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is administered, a narrow table is placed in the middle aisle, the whole length of the aisle, about which the most of the receivers sit, as in the Dutch and French churches, but now the ceremonies of the Church of Enggland are introduced, and conformity is much pressed, and the gesture of kneeling is also much pressed.

About twenty years last past, by virtue of an Act of Parliament made in this kingdom, there was every year once assembled a national council, consisting of one burgess for every burough, one baron or elder in every presbytery, and two or three ministers or pastors for a presbytery; but these meetings were dissolved and taken away about twenty years last past, and now that Act of Parliament is made void and abrogated.

The discipline of the Church of England is much pressed and much opposed by many pastors and many of the people. (Quære touching aire 77.) The greatest part of the Scotts are very honest and zealously religious. I observed few given to drink or swearing; but if any oath, the most ordinary oath was, "Upon my soul." The most of my hosts I met withal, and others with whom I conversed, I found very sound and orthodox, and zealously religious. In their demands they do not so much exceed as with us in England, but insist upon and adhere unto their first demand for any commodity.

I observed few bells rung in any of their churches in Edenborough, and, as I was informed, there are but few bells in any steeple, save in the Abbey Church steeple, which is the king's palace. Herein is a ring of bells erected by king Charles immediately before his coming into Scottland, anno Dom. 1635, but none here knew how to ring or make any use of them, until some came out of England for that purpose, who hath now instructed some Scotts in this art. In most of the eminent churches in this city, the king hath a stately seat placed on high, almost round about some pillar opposite to the pulpit.

June 30.—About twelve hour we left Edenborough, and came to LIGHT-GOAW, twelve miles from thence. This seems to be a fair, ancient town, and well-built, some part of it of stone. Here is a fair church, and a dainty conduit in the middle of the street. Here the king hath a very fair palace, built castle-wise, well-seated, so as it may command the whole town, which is governed by a provost and bailiffs, who have power to punish with death offences committed within their liberties. By the way, I observed gentlemen's (here called lairds) houses built all castle-wise. We lodged this night at FAIL-KIRK, whence about seven miles distant (which we discerned as we came) is seated the best house or castle of his Majesty in this kingdom, called Sterlin, which is placed upon an high commanding rock and hill, and not far from the fair navigable river Frithe, near adjoining whereunto this is situate. Here is another of his Majesty's houses, an abbey called Drumfarmalin, which is not above ten miles distant hence; and his Majesty's most pleasant and gallant houses are Falkeland, and Sterlin, and Luthgow; and there is also another palace in the abbey of Scune, where the kings formerly were crowned.[2]

[1] The palace of Dunfermline is said to have been the birthplace of King Charles I. That monarch, during his visit to Scotland in 1633, held a court here; and in this palace Charles II signed the Solemn League and Covenant. It has since that time been neglected and alienated; and scarcely a vestige remains beyond one chamber, called the king's kitchen.

[2] The last coronation at Scone was that of King Charles II, in 1650.

All along the shore of Frithe are placed, even almost to Sterlin, from beyond Mussleborough, salt-pans, wherein a mighty proportion of salt is boiled, which cannot be estimated and guessed, because the works are not easily to [be] numbered, which are placed all along the shore, at least thirty English mile. The conveniency of coals gives greatest encouragement to the erection and pursuit of these works; coals abound all along the shore, yea, it is conceived that the vein lies all under the river, seeing it is found on both sides as it were reaching towards the other. Here the chief charge is the getting, which is not easy, seeing the vein lies sometimes sixteen or twenty fathom deep. The greatest part of salt here made is transported into Holland. Here now are some of their ships, which are also supplied with coals hence, now the rather, because the custom of 4*s.* upon a chaldron being increased, they decline the trade there, and none or few of them are there to be now found. Coals are sold for 3*s.* or 3*s.* 6*d.* chaldron, and carriage 2*s.* 8*d.* Here was (about seventeen hundred years since) a great stone and earth wall, called Grhames Wall,[1] leading from Forth, six mile below Leith, over the main land to Dumbarton, which is upon the West Sea; which wall was thirty-two miles long, and gave bounds to the kingdoms of Scots on the south and Picts on the north; at every mile's end was there erected a tower for the watchmen, and a castle at every two miles' end, wherein was a strong garrison.

About half mile hence was there a cruel battle fought betwixt the English and Scotts, in anno 1298, in Julii 22.[2] Then was there slain, which here are buried in the churchyard, and whose monuments are still extant, Stewart of Butts[3] (out of which house

[1] Antoninus' Wall, or Grahame's Dyke or Grime's Dike.

[2] The battle of Falkirk, where the Scottish army was so signally defeated by Edward I.

[3] Sir John Stewart, styled of Bonkyll, from his marriage with Margaret, the heiress of that name and place, was second son of Alexander, high steward of Scotland, who died in 1283. In the battle of Falkirk, while giving orders to his archers, he was thrown from his horse and slain; and his archers crowding round his body, perished with him. The want of entire confidence in the pedigree of the Stewarts, which seems to

it is said his majesty that now is hath descended) and Sir John Grahames,[1] both brave men. About fourteen miles hence is a meare or lake called LOEMUND,[2] in Perth, wherein are the flitting islands, which move (my host, Mr. Fleemeing, affirmed he hath seen it): it is most rough in calm weather; the fish are without fins. There is in CARICKE a rock three yards long and one broad, upon which if you tingle with your knife, it will ring like brass pan: this is called the Ringing Rock, and is near the highway, about sixteen miles from Port Patrick. Strange footsteps[3] in the cave of Caricke, wherein (as my host here affirmed that he had often seen it) are always to be seen and found the prints and footsteps of men, women, and children, of dogs, cats, sheep, kine, horses, deer, and all manner of beasts; yea, he further protested that he had seen it, that though the sand were overnight sifted, yet these impressions were to be found next morning. And whereas some write and some report of a deaf rock, it is but a fable, so I was informed by very judicious men. Here we paid 6*s*. English supper for seven persons, and lodged in Mr. Fleemeing's house, who is a very intelligent, proper, complete, and well-bred man.

There is a great Earl of this country; his name is Fleemeing,

have existed in the time of Sir W. Brereton, long continued; and with a view to settle the disputed point, Mr. And. Stuart, in 1798, published his *Genealogical History of the Stewarts.*

[1] Sir John Graham was second son of the third Sir David Graham. He was the faithful friend and companion of Wallace; and, being slain in the battle of Falkirk, was buried in the chapel of that place, with the following epitaph, which still remains:

"Mente manuque potens, et Vallæ fidus Achates,
Conditur hic Græmus, bello interfectus ab Anglis."

[2] Loch Lomond was long proverbially famed for three wonders, "Waves without wind, fish without fins, and a floating island." Waves without wind, or at least without wind apparently enough to create the swell which sometimes occurs in lakes, is not very uncommon; the fish without fins are supposed to be vipers, which are said to be occasionally seen swimming from one island to another. The floating island is a wonder which has been ascribed to other lakes, and variously accounted for. One account states that it was artificially constructed about the fifth century, of huge pieces of timber, strongly united together by one Keith Macindoile, and then covered with soil, and planted.

[3] Page 122.

and his title Weghkton,[1] whose house or palace we saw; but there was so much wood encompassed the same, as we could not discern the same. Here we were shewed by Mr. Guordon a meadow of his, reputed the fairest meadow in Scotland. I would not give in exchange for it the Broad Meadow, though it be much larger; one acre of the Broad Meadow worth two of this. I paid for hay here 6*d.* per noctem, and 12*d.* peck per oats.

Julii 1.—Hence I departed, and about twelve miles hence there is a town called Cuntellen. * *

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Here by the way, we were showed the relics of a stately wood cut down, which belonged to this Earl of Weghkton. There is very little or no timber in any of the south or west parts of this kingdom, much less than in England. I have diligently observed, but cannot find any timber in riding near one hundred miles; all the country poor and barren, save where it is helped by lime or sea-weeds. Limestone here is very plentiful, and coals; and where there are no coals, they have abundance of turves. Poorest houses and people that I have seen inhabit here; the houses accommodated with no more light than the light of the door, no window; the houses covered with clods; the women only neat and handsome about the feet, which comes to pass by their often washing with their feet.

About one hour we came to the city of Glasgoaw, which is thirty-six miles from Edenburgh, eighteen from Failkirke. This is an Archbishop's seat, an ancient university, one only college consisting of about one hundred and twenty students, wherein are four schools, one principal, four regents. There are about six or

[1] John Fleming, Lord Fleming, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Wigtoun by King James VI, in 1606.

seven thousand communicants, and about twenty thousand persons in the town, which is famous for the church, which is fairest and stateliest in Scotland, for the Toll-boothe and Bridge.

This church I viewed this day, and found it a brave and ancient piece. It was said, in this church this day, that there was a contribution throughout Europe (even Rome itself contributed), towards the building hereof. There is a great partition or wall 'twixt the body of the church and the chancel; there is no use of the body of the church, only divine service and sermon is used and performed in the quire or chancel, which is built and framed church-wise; and under this quire there is also another church, which carries the same proportion under this, wherein also there is two sermons every Lord's day. Three places or rooms one above another, round and uniformed, like unto chapter-houses, which are complete buildings and rooms.

The Tole-boothe, which is placed in the middle of the town, and near unto the cross and market-place, is a very fair and high-built house, from the top whereof, being leaded, you may take a full view and prospect of the whole city. In one of these rooms or chambers sits the council of this city: in other of the rooms or chambers, preparation is made for the lords of the council to meet in: these stately rooms. Herein is a closet lined with iron; walls, top, bottom, floor, and door, iron; wherein are kept the evidences and records of the city: this made, to prevent the danger of fire. This tole-booth said to be the fairest in this kingdom: the revenues belonging to this city are about 1000*l.* per annum. This town is built: two streets, which are built like a cross, in the middle of both which the cross is placed, which looks four ways into four streets, though indeed they be but two straight streets; the one reaching from the church to the bridge, a mile long,—the other which crosseth, that is much shorter.

Two archbishops; of St. Andrewes, Spotswood, Chancellor,

[1] This under church was in the crypt, which was appropriated as a parish church, in 1560, to the Barony parish, which was created out of a district in Glasgow. It continued to be used as such till about the year 1801, when a new parish church was built.

Regent: the other of Glasgoaw, Dr. Lindsey. Bishops, above twenty.[1]

The prime cities in Scottland: Edenborough, St. Andrewes, Dondye, Aberden, Glasgoaw, Perth or St. Johnstone, Lightgow; Aire, Sterling, Dumbarton, Erwing, Don Frise,[2] Haddington, Dunbarr, Erwin, Elgin, Murray, Banffe, Enverness, Boughan.

Fairest bridges in Scottland: 1. Done, which is in the north, under which, as Mr. Guerdon informed me, that a ship of fifty or sixty ton may pass with her sails full spread. This is but one arch, placed on a high rock, upon either side much above the water. A very fair bridge at Glasgoaw, over Cleyd the river; St. Johnstones is a gallant bridge, stands upon Tay; Aberden. Glasgoaw is a fair bridge, consisting of seven or eight fair arches, which are supported and strengthened with strong buttresses: this river is now navigable within six miles of this city; it ebbs and flows above the bridge, though now the water is so shallow, as you may ride; under the horse belly. Beyond this river there is seated pleasantly a house, which was Sir George Elvinstones, and is to be sold to pay his debts: the revenue thereunto belonging is above £300 per annum. The price offered by this city, who are about to buy it, is £6000, the suburbs and privileged places belonging unto it induce them to buy it.[3]

[1] The bishopricks in Scotland were not so numerous as stated by Sir W. Brereton. There were two archbishops and twelve bishops. Archbishops: St. Andrew's and Glasgow. Bishops: Edinburgh, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray, Brechin, Dunblane, Ross, Caithness, Orkney, Galloway, Argyle, The Isles. These were all deprived after the rebellion of 1688, by the new government. Dr. Patrick Lindsay was translated from Ross to Glasgow, 1633. He was deprived by the Covenanters in 1638, and retired to Newcastle, where he died 1641.

[2] Dumfries.

[3] The Gorbals are a suburb of Glasgow, lying on the opposite side of the river Clyde; in early times it was the compulsory retreat of persons affected with leprosy, and peculiar privileges were attached to it. The right of barony and regality belonged to the archbishop of Glasgow, who in 1607 alienated it to Sir George Elphinstone. The treaty mentioned in the text does not appear to have been concluded before 1647, when the authorities of Glasgow purchased from the representatives of Sir George Elphinstone this property, with all the rights, privileges, jurisdictions, and powers of baron and superior.

We lodged in Glasgoaw, in Mr. David Weyme's house; his wife's name is Margrett Cambell (the wives in Scotland never change, but always retain, their own names), no stabling hereunto belonging; in the town we were constrained to provide stabling, I paid 5*d.* for pease straw, for my straw; no hay would be gotten. We paid for victuals, dinner, and breakfast, seven persons, two rix-dollars.

There is a good handsome foundation propounded and set out, to to add a good fair and college-like structure to be built quadrangular; one side is already built, and there hath been collections throughout Scotland towards the building of this college, and much more money is collected than is needful to the building hereof.[1] Here the library is a very little room, not twice so large as my old closet; that part of it which is now standing is old, strong, plain building. This college is governed by one principal, four regents, and about one hundred and twenty students. Here the scholars may be distingnished from others by gowns (in Edenborough they use coloured cloaks), though coloured, some red, some gray, and of other colours, as please themselves.

Here I visited the Archbishop of Glasgoaw's palace, which seems a stately structure, and promises much when you look upon the outside. It is said to be the inheritance of the Duke of Lennox, but the archbishops successively made use of it.[2] Here I went to see the hall and palace, and going into the hall, which is a poor and mean place, the archbishop's daughter, an handsome and well-bred proper gentlewoman, entertained me with much civil respect, and would not suffer me to depart until I had drunk Scotch ale, which was the best I had tasted in Scotland, and drunk only a draught of this ale in this kingdom. One fair house is here lately built, he that built it died before he finished it. Upon the way hence to

[1] The university of Glasgow was founded about 1460, and had undergone several vicissitudes before 1577, when, being in a very low estate, it was revived by a royal grant of lands, a new constitution, and considerable private subscriptions; in consequence of which, the new buildings alluded to were undertaken. We suppose them to have been the buildings which were taken down in 1811, to make room for the range then erected from the designs of Peter Nicholson.

[2] This building was very near to the cathedral; but little, perhaps nothing, of it now remains, and the site is occupied by the infirmary.

Erwin, we discerned many islands, and, amongst the rest, the great isle of Arran, belonging to the Marquess Hamilton.[1] Many more islands hence appear, and indeed the isles, belonging and annexed unto this kingdom, are said to be more land than half the main land of this kingdom. Mr. Guerdon informed me that they were above three hundred in number.

One more remarkable isle, hence shows itself at forty miles' distance; this is placed in the sea about sixteen miles from shore. It is a mighty high rock, seeming very steep and high, round at the top; the name of it is Ellsey, and it belongs to my Lord Castle:[2] not inhabited, but with abundance of fowl, and two eareis of goose-hawks, this year stolen by some Highlanders. This rock or island was in our view three days, whilst we travelled betwixt sixty and seventy mile, and when you are at a great distance, it presents itself in shape like a sugar-loaf, and when you approach nearer, it seems lower and flatter at the top, but it is a much-to-be-admired piece of the Lord's workmanship. In this isle of Ellsey, which is my Lord Castle's, there breed abundance of solemne (solan) geese, which are longer necked and bodied than ours, and so extreme fat are the young, as that when they eat them, they are placed in the middle of the room, so as all may have access about it; their arms stripped up and linen cloaths placed before their clothes, to secure them from being defiled with the fat thereof, which doth besprinkle and besmear all that near unto it.

Julii 1.—I came from Glasgoaw about eight hour, and came to Erwin about twelve hour, which is sixteen mile. We passed through a barren and poor country, the most of it yielding neither corn nor grass, and that which yields corn is very poor, much

[1] James, Marquis of Hamilton, created Duke of Hamilton in 1643. In 1648, the army he commanded was put to flight, and himself compelled to become prisoner upon articles of capitulation. On the 9th of March 1649, he was murdered, at Westminster, by the self-styled high court of justice.

[2] Ailsa is a very rocky island, about two miles in circumference, and nine hundred and forty feet high. The proprietor at this time was John, sixth Earl of Casselis, a man of great honour and integrity, of uncompromising loyalty to Kings Charles I and his successor. He died 1668.

punished with drought. We came to Mr. James Blare's in Erwin, a well affected man, who informed me of that which is much to be admired: above ten thousand persons have within two years last past left the country wherein they lived, which was betwixt Aberdeen and Ennerness, and are gone for Ireland; they have come by one hundred in company through this town, and three hundred have gone hence together shipped for Ireland at one tide: none of them can give a reason why they leave the country, only some of them who make a better use of God's hand upon [them], have acknowledged to mine host in these words; "that it was a just judgment of God to spew them out of the land for their unthankfulness."

This country was so fruitful formerly, as that it supplied an overplus of corn, which was carried by water to Leith, and now of late for two years, is so sterile of corn as they are constrained to forsake it. Some say that, these hard years, the servants were not able to live and subsist under their masters, and therefore, generally leaving them, the masters being not accustomed, nor knowing how to frame,[1] to till, and order their land, the ground hath been untilled; so as that of the prophet David is made good in this their punishment: "a fruitful land makes He barren, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein;" for it is observed of these, that they were a most unthankful people: one of them I met withal and discoursed with at large, who could [give] no good reason, but pretended the landlords increasing their rents: but their swarming in Ireland is so much taken notice of and disliked,[2] as that the Deputy hath sent out a warrant to stay the landing of any of these Scotch that came without a certificate. Three score of them were numbered returning towards the place whence they came, as they passed this town.

[1] *To frame* does not seem to be used by mistake for *to farm*, which expression, as we now use it, was perhaps scarcely known at this time, but means to arrange the course of cultivation in a methodical manner.

[2] Our traveller seems to have been misinformed; this emigration had been encouraged by James I and Charles I, and by their successive governors in Ireland, above all by Strafford, with a view to the gradual introduction of obedience to law, and the encouragement of art and industry.

Some of them complain of hard years (the better to colour and justify this their departure), but do withal acknowledge that corn is as cheap with them as in this town; but in the distraction and different relation of themselves, there may be observed much matter of admiration; and, doubtless, *digitus Dei* is to be discerned in it.

Here we were well used, and paid about 4*s.* 4*d.* for our dinners. Here I exchanged Mr. Hobbye's nag with Mr. James Blare, for the white nag, and paid £1. 6*s.* 8*d.* to boot.

This town of Erwin is daintily situate, both upon a navigable arm of the sea, and in a dainty, pleasant, level, champaign country; excellent good corn there is near unto it, where the ground is enriched and made fruitful with the sea-weeds or lime: the other ground which lies at too great distance to be thus helped, either very poor corn, if it be sown; or if it lie, no grass at all. The minister of this town is Mr. David Dike, a worthy man; and upon further conference with my host, I found him a right honest man of approved integrity, who is also part owner of the best ship belonging to this town, wherein I spoke with a merchant, who came lately from West Chester, and performed the journey in five or six miles (days), being about one hundred and eighty miles:—from hence to Don Frise forty-four miles; thence to Carlile twenty-four, and so to Pereth, &c. Hence to Dublin by sea is about forty hours' sail with a good wind. Hence they trade much into Bourdeaux in France, and are now furnished with good wine. Not far hence, about two miles, lives the Earl of Egglington, at Killwining, he hath a dozen or sixteen halls or houses hereabouts, and sways much in these parts.

[1] Sir Alexander Seton became sixth Earl of Eglinton, upon the death of his cousin in 1612. He attached himself to the Parliamentary party, and was present at the battle of Marston Moor. He was, however, extremely dissatisfied at the murder of the King, and suffered imprisonment and sequestration for the cause of Charles II. He was restored in 1660, but survived only a short time, dying Jan. 7, 1661. The sixteen halls or houses were attached to the family estates by his predecessor, who obtained a grant for erecting the property of the dissolved abbey of Kilwining into a temporal lordship, with the patronage of the churches of Kilwenny, Irvine, Dunbarton, Kilmarnoch, Loudon, Androssan, Kilburny, Daley, Dunlop, Beith, Stewartoun, Stevenson, Dreghorn, Pearston, Kelbride, and Kilmachornal.

Hence we came to AIRE, which is eight miles upon the sea coast, a most dainty pleasant way as I have ridden, wherein you leave the sea on your right hand; here we taught our horses to drink salt-water, and much refreshed their limbs therein. Coming late to Aire, we lodged in one Patrick Mackellen's house, where is a cleanly neat hostess, victuals handsomely cooked, and good lodging, eight[1] ordinary, good entertainment. No stable belonging to this inn; we were constrained to seek for a stable in the town, where we paid 8*d.* a night for hay and grass for an horse, and 1*s.* a peck for base oats. This also is a dainty, pleasant-seated town; much plain rich corn land about it; and better haven, there being a river, whereon it is placed, which flows much higher than the bridge, which is a great and fair neat bridge, yet nevertheless it is but a bare naked haven, no pier, nor defence against the storms and weather. Better store of shipping than at Erwin. Most inhabiting in the town are merchants trading unto and bred in France.

Enquiring of my hostess touching the minister of the town, she complained much against him, because he doth so violently press the ceremonies, especially she instanced in kneeling at the communion; whereupon, upon Easter day last, so soon as he went to the communion-table, the people all left the church and departed, and not one of them stayed, only the pastor alone.

Julii 2.—Hence we went to the cave of CARICK, which is about eight miles from Aire, where there dwells a laird, Sir Alexander Kendrick of Cullen,[2] who hath a pretty pleasant seated house or

[1] Sic in MS.

[2] Cullen or Colzean Castle, in the early part of the fifteenth century, was the property of the Kennedy (not Kendrich) family, afterwards ennobled under the titles of Kennedy and Cassilis. The rocks underneath the castle are penetrated with several deep caves, which the natives have peopled with fairies. Burns, in his *Halloween*, commemorates their pranks:

"Upon that night when fairies light
On Cassilis downans dance,
Or owre the lays, in splendid blaze,
On sprightly coursers prance;
Or for Colzean the route is ta'en
Beneath the moon's pale beams,
There up the Cove to stray and rove
Amang the rocks and streams
Unseen that night.

castle, which looks full upon the main sea; hereinto we went, and there found no hall, only a dining-room or hall, a fair room, and almost as large as the whole pile, but very sluttishly kept, unswept, dishes, trenchers and wooden cups thrown up and down, and the room very nasty and unsavoury. Here we were not entertained with a cup of beer or ale; only one of his sons, servants and others, took a candle, and conducted us to the cave, where there is either a notable imposture, or most strange and much to be admired footsteps and impressions which are here to be seen of men, children, dogs, coneys, and divers other creatures. These here conceived to be Spirits, and if there be no such thing, but an elaborate practise to deceive, they do most impudently betray the truth; for one of this knight's sons and another Galloway gentleman affirmed unto me that all the footsteps have been put out and buried in sand over night, and have been observed to be renewed next morning. This cave hath many narrow passages and doors, galleries also, and a closet and divers rooms hewed with mighty labour out of an hard limestone rock. Herein are two dainty spring wells, whereof I tasted; a foul, slippery, dark passage is thereinto, and it was first framed and intended for a stronghold or place of defence, no way to be offended or annoyed by any assault, if the port be made good; though one door looks towards and conveys light from the seaward, yet these seas are so guarded with rocks all along the shore of Caricke (such terrible rocks and stones I never saw) as no ships dare nor do frequent those seas.

This day we were exceedingly punished for want of drink and meat for ourselves and our horses, and could not meet with any good accommodation in riding forty long miles; the entertainment we accepted, in a poorer house than any upon Handforth Green, was Tharck-cakes,[1] two eggs, and some dried fish buttered; this day, as many days before, I drunk nothing but water, and divers of our horses; and Will. Baylye almost fainted for lack of relief. This day we passed up and down many high and steep hills, which

[1] *Thar-cakes*, oat-cakes.—*Cole's Dict.*

you cannot ride, and very much hard and stony beaten way, exceeding much moorish barren land.

We came into GALLOWAY about six miles from the chapel, and therein observed one of the widest, broadest, plainest moors that I have seen; it is much moss, but now so dry, as it is good hanking.[1] Coming off this moor, we observed an eminent stone, and tried it with our knives, and it did ring and sound like metal. About eight hour we came to this long desired chapel,[2] the town is thence denominated and so called. This is situate upon a long loch, four miles long, wherein the sea ebbs and flows. Here we found good accommodation (only wanted wheat bread) in Hughe Boyde's house; ordinary 6*d.*, good victuals, well-ordered, good wine and beer, lodging, and horse meat. This house is seated four miles from the Port Patrick, whence it is to Carlingworke[3] 32 miles; best lodging there is Tho. Hutton; thence to Don-Frise 28 miles; best lodging is John Harstein; thence to Carleil 24.

Julii 4.—We went from hence to the PORT PATRICK, which is foul winter way over the mossy moors, and there we found only one boat, though yesternight there were fifteen boats here. We hired a boat of about ten ton for five horses of ours, and for five Yorkshiremen and horses; for this we paid 1*l.* and conditioned that no more horses should come aboard, save only two or three of an Irish laird's, who then stayed for a passage, and carried his wife and three horses. His name is Levinston,[4] laird Dun Draide.

[1] *To hank* is to form into hanks, and hanks are withys or any rude material twisted into a double loop, to fasten gates. This word may possibly have had more general signification, which we have been unable to detect.

[2] By the epitome of Sir W. Petty's survey by Philip Lea, it appears that chapel now bears the name of Stranraer; later maps and modern directories omit to notice this change of name.

[3] Carlinwark, a small town, now called Castle Douglas, situated on the borders of a lake between Kirkcudbright and Dumfries.

[4] Sir William Livingston, of Kilsyth, had charters of the lands of Duntreath, the place perhaps here called Dundraide. He died in 1627, and was succeeded by his grandson, who was included by name in the grant of the above lands. He suffered in the royal cause, and was created Viscount of Kilsyth and Lord Campsie in August 1661, and died in September following.

Here we shipped our horses two hours before we went aboard. It is a most craggy, filthy passage, and very dangerous for horses to go in and out; a horse may easily be lamed, spoiled, and thrust into the sea; and when any horses land here, they are thrown into the sea, and swim out. Here was demanded from us by our host, Thos. Marsh-banke, a custom of 2*s.* an horse, which I stumbled at, and answered that if he had authority to demand and receive it, I was bound to pay it, otherwise not; and therefore I demanded to see his authority, otherwise I was free to pay or refuse: herewith he was satisfied, and declined his further demand. Here is a pretty chapel lately built by Sir Hugh Montgomeries,[1] laird of Dunskie on this side, where he hath a castle, and of Newton de Clanyboyes on the Irish side, where he hath a market-town.

The boatman that carried us in a bark of about fifteen ton, his name was David Dickie, who hath a dainty, fine, pretty, nimble boy to his son, who will make a good sailor. The boat is a good sailing vessel, and good expert mariners, but not manned with sufficient number of men. She took in four horses more than we covenanted, and was so much overthronged with passengers, as we had not every man his own length allowed to lie in at ease. Our horses were shipped about two hour, the wind being north-west; but turning into the south-west, or rather west-south-west, we went not aboard until after three hour; the wind then being so much averse and so directly against us, as that we could not get out of the haven, so as they were constrained to haul out with a cock-boat a good way. We were got clear out of the haven about four hour; and before we had sailed a league, the wind was more averse; but presently favouring us something more with a full gale of wind, we had so speedy a passage as that by six hour we were within sixteen miles of the coast of Ireland. The wind then failed, and was sometimes

[1] The family of Montgomery were large landed proprietors in Scotland and in Ireland, and were ennobled by the title of Earl Mount Alexander in Ireland, which became extinct in 1758. Sir James Hunter Blair married the heiress, and his representatives now possess the Scottish portion of the property, including Dunskey Castle, situated about half a mile from the town of Port Patrick.

very weak and poor, and sometime due west and directly averse, yet we passed on though slowly, and about eight or nine mile from the coast of Ireland we passed the Strangawre, which is a mighty high running channel, where there is a concurrence and confluence of three strong tides, which run about nine or ten mile in length, and about two mile in breadth; these occasioned by the islands and points of land; but when we passed them, the wind was so weak, as it was there more calmed and less troubled than in any other part of our passage. We had no sooner passed the Stranegawre, but (although when we went aboard it was very calm and like to be fair weather, which gave encouragement to them to hazard a passage by night) the wind failed us, and we were much affected with the apprehension of the inconvenience of lying at sea all night, because the tides are so strong as they would carry us with the ebbing water down towards the isles of Scottland, the wind also being either so averse as to bring us back to the shore of Scottland, or to concur with the tide to carry us down towards the isles of Scottland; but then suddenly arose a strong wind and storm of rain, which did come out of the west and from the landward, which did much perplex the sailors, so as they were constrained to take down, and did in all haste take down the lower part of the mainsail and the fore-sail, which they call the main bowline or main bonnet. Two or three of these showers and storms did follow one another, which though they did increase and renew our fears, yet it pleased God (who knows better what might conduce unto our safety than ourselves) to make these storms the instruments of bringing us to harbour about two hour upon the coast of Ireland, under the Black Rock, which is in the island of Mague;[1] hereby we were sheltered all night from most cruel, violent, and tempestuous storms, which did much affect and discourage us, though we lay at anchor and under the shelter of a high hill. Here we took up our lodging in this open boat, and suffered a wet cold lodging, yet it pleased God that I took no cold, nor did any other distemper

[1] Magu.

seize upon me, save only a faintingness when I came on shore, and an extreme purging, although the sea wrought effectually and plentifully with me, and purged me more by vomit only when I was at sea, than ever formerly, so as my stomach was not only cleared and discharged of phlegm, but also of abundance of choler and green stuff.

'Twixt Erwin in Scottland and Colrane[1] in Ireland are the highest running seas about the sound of Raughrick,[2] which is an island belonging to the Earl of Antrem.[3] The shortest passage 'twixt Scottland and Ireland is from Mule Kenteir,[4] a rock or point of the Highlanders in Scottland, which is sixteen mile to the Faire-head or Marble-head in Ireland: this is only a passage for the Highlanders: from Port Patrick to Carick-Fergus is about nineteen leagues, and to Donoh-a-Dee[5] or Groomes Port about fifteen leagues, as one of the sailors informed me.

At our landing in Ireland, the ship came as near the shore as she durst, and all the horses were thrown into the sea, and did swim to land, and climb a great steep rock.

Julii 5.—Upon the Lord's day in the morning we went ashore the coast of Ireland, in the Isle of Mague, where we were landed upon the rock, whence we found a difficult and tedious passage; and at the top of the hill we were very civilly and courteously entertained by a Scotch gentleman, who lives in a mean, poor house, hath good store of corn, milk, calves, and kine: hence we went to Carick-Fergus, corruptly called Knock-Fergus, which is four miles, and came thither about two hour. Took up our inn in Mrs. Wharton's house, who is a Chester woman, a neat woman in her house; good lodging and usage, 6*d.* ordinary, 4*d.* a night hay and oats, 6*d.* peck provender.

This town, so called from one Fergus, who built the castle, and from Carick, which in Irish signifies a rock; and indeed the town may well take his denomination from the castle, which is seated

[1] Coleraine.
[2] Rathlin.
[3] John, second Earl and only Marquess of Antrim, born 1609, died 1682.
[4] Mull of Cantire.
[5] Donaghadee.

upon a rock, and commands both town and haven. Almost all the houses in this town were built castle-wise, so as though the Irish made spoil of and burnt the town, yet were they preserved unburnt. This is but a pretty little town within the walls of a very small extent and capacity; the only grace of this town is the Lord Chichester's[1] house, which is a very stately house, or rather like a prince's palace, whereunto there belongs a stately gate-house and graceful terrace and walk before the house, as is at Denton my Lord Fairfax house.[2] A very fair hall there is, and a stately staircase and fair dining-room carrying the proportion of the hall: fine garden and mighty spacious orchards, and they say they bear good store of fruit. I observed on either side of his garden there is a dove house placed one opposite to the other in the corner of the garden, and 'twixt the garden and orchards; a most convenient place for apricots or some such tender fruit to be planted against the dove-house wall, that by the advantage of the heat thereof they may be rendered most fruitful, and come sooner to maturity, but this use is not made thereof. Very rich furniture belongs unto this house, which seems much to be neglected, and begins to go something to decay. It is a most stately building, only the windows and rooms and whole frame of the house is over-large and vast; and in this house you may observe the inconvenience of great buildings, which require an unreasonable charge to keep them in repair, so as they are a burthen to the owners of them.

There is maintained in this town two companies of soldiers, the one a troop of horse, the other of foot, consisting of fifty in either company, under the command of my Lord of Chichester's eldest

[1] Sir Edward Chichester, second Baron and first Viscount Chichester in Ireland, a very worthy and eminent person, well accomplished for peace or war, and very serviceable in the wars in Ireland. He died 1648. This magnificent house, called Joymount, was built upon the site of a ruined monastery, by Sir Arthur Chichester, the first peer, and several times Lord Deputy of Ireland.

[2] Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax, an eminent leader among the Parliamentarian generals, and father of the still more eminent Sir Tho. Fairfax. He died of a gangrene in his foot, in 1648.

son.[1] The troop of horse were lately sent to attend my Lord Deputy, in this progress very completely furnished, well horsed, and in red coats all suitable.

It is reported of this town that they have been always loyal and faithful to the state of England. This is seated upon a loch which comes from the sea, and is navigable with the tide for small vessels to the quay. This loch runs all along to BELLFAST, which is eight mile from Carick-Fergus, and is thither also navigable; it is about three or four miles broad, well furnished with fish, and also with fowl in winter. Here upon that part of this loch next to Bellfast I observed a convenient seat.

From Carickfergus to Bellfast you ride all upon the Lock-side; it is most base way, and deep in winter and wet weather, though now it is hard and dry.

July 6.—This town of Carick-Fergus is governed by a mayor, sheriff, and aldermen, endowed with great privileges, and is the shire town. At Bellfast my Lord Chichester hath another dainty stately house (which is indeed the glory and beauty of that town also) where he is most resident, and is now building an outer brick wall before his gates. This not so large and vast as the other, but more convenient and commodious, the very end of the Loch toucheth upon his garden and backside; here also are dainty orchards, gardens, and walks planted. Near hereunto, Mr. Arthur Hill (son and heir to Sir Moyses Hill[1]) hath a brave plantation, which he holds by lease, which still is for thirty years to come; the land is my Lord Chichester's, and the lease was made for sixty years to Sir Moyses Hill by the old Lord Chichester. This plantation is said doth yield him a £1000 per annum. Many

[1] Arthur, the eldest son of Viscount Chichester was, in March 1647, created Earl of Donegal in his father's lifetime for his fidelity to his prince, affection to his country, and activity against the rebels. He was born in 1606, and in 1627 succeeded Lord Valentia in the command of his troop of fifty horsemen. He died in 1675.

[2] Sir Moyses Hill was associated with the Earl of Essex, in 1573, to suppress O'Neile's rebellion, and was subsequently made governor of Olderfleet Castle, which guarded the harbour of Larne. He then served under Arthur, the first Lord Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland; and in 1603 was made first Provost Marshal of Carrickfergus. He died Feb. 1630.

Lanckashire and Cheshire men are here planted; with some of them I conversed. They sit upon a rack rent, and pay 5*s.* or 6*s.* an acre for good ploughing land, which now is clothed with excellent good corn. From Bellfast to Linsley Garven is about seven mile, and is a paradise in comparison of any part of Scotland. Linsley Garven is well seated, but neither the town nor country thereabouts well planted, being almost all woods, and moorish until you come to Drom-moare.[1] This town belongs to my Lord Conoway,[2] who hath there a good handsome house, but far short of both my Lord Chichester's[3] houses, and this house is seated upon an hill, upon the side whereof is planted a garden and orchard, and at the bottom of which hill runs a pleasant river which abounds with salmon; hereabouts my Lord Conoway is now endeavouring a plantation, though the land hereabouts be the poorest and barrenest I have yet seen, yet may it be made good land with labour and charge.

From Linsley Garven to Drom-more is about seven mile. Herein we lodged at Mr. Haven's house, which is directly opposite to the Bishop of Drommore[4] his house, which is a little timber house of no great state nor receipt. His chaplain's name is Leigh, born in Manchester. This is a very dear house, 8*d.* ordinary ourselves, 6*d.* our servants, and we were over-reckoned in beer.

This town, as it is the seat of the bishop of this see, so he is lord of it, and it doth wholly belong unto him. In this diocese, as Mr. Leigh his chaplain reported, this is the worst part of the kingdom, and the poorest land and ground, yet the best church livings, because there are no impropriations.

At my coming to Carick-Fergus, and being troubled with an extreme flux, not as yet come to so great height as a bloody flux, my hostess, Mris. Wharton, directed me the use of cinnamon in

[1] Dromore.

[2] Edward, second Viscount Conway, succeeded his father in 1630, and died in 1655, leaving an only son, at whose death in 1683 the title became extinct.

[3] See page 127.

[4] Theophilus Buckworth occupied the see of Dromore from 1613 to 1652.

burnt claret wine, or rather red wine, as also the syrup and conserve of sloes well boiled, after they have been strained and mingled according to discretion with sugar; they are to be boiled with sugar until they be cleared, having been first boiled in water until they be softened, and then strained.

But a more effectual strong medicine, which is to be used with discretion and caution, lest it beget a contrary distemper:—Take three or four ounces of the bark of oak, the outside being scraped clean, and boil the same in spring water until half be consumed; then strain it through a fine cloth, then add to that quart another quart of red wine, and add thereunto one ounce of cinnamon punned[1] to powder and half a pound of sugar. Boil all these together until half be consumed, then put this liquor into a stone-bottle, wherein it may be kept close so as it take no wind, nor lose not its strength, and take evening and morning about four or five spoonfuls; if you be in extremity, then it must be taken the oftener, two or three times a day.

I found by my own experience burnt aquavitæ and papes-milk,[2] well sodden with wheat flour, three or four eggs, and cinnamon; these did me much good, but by reason of taking too liberally of burnt usquebaugh, here called aquavitæ, which was but twice, and not above the half of a gill at either time, there was occasioned unto me, for two or three days after, great pain and torment in parting with my urine. To cure this I found new milk the best medicine I used. This flux, though it did not hold me above three days at first when I landed, yet it brought a great weakness and indisposition upon me, the rather the more by reason my body was sufficiently purged by vomit at sea, which wrought with me more effectually than it ever did formerly in my whole life. During my stay in this kingdom my body was always disposed and inclined to be laxative and soluble, so as always every night it caused me to rise once about three hour. But all these formerly prescribed medicines did but a little avail me when it seized upon me the second time, which was

[1] *Punned*, from *to pun*, to pound.

[2] *Papes-milk.* By this is probably meant white juice of poppies, whose narcotic qualities might be beneficial.

upon Friday last Jul. 18; and, as I conceived, it was occasioned by reason of drinking milk over-liberally at Ermerscorffie and at Mr. Hardye's at Parke; I purged exceedingly at Sir Adam Cocliffe's, more than two parts of a close stoolful of thin watery stuff, which came from me like a stream gushing; this continued with me two or three days, and although I used all the medicines I could learn, as claret wine well burnt with cinnamon, milk well boiled with rice, cinnamon and eggs, yet all these did nothing help to stay it; I did forbear all drink save claret wine, and was as curious in my diet as was possible.

These things by experience I found hurtful: fruit, gross or raw meat, milk, drink, especially Irish, cold, any violent exercise or motion; riding moderately is good, but when the body is weakened, I found nothing more hurtful unto me than going on foot from the ferry to Waterford, which did me much hurt, and weakened me exceedingly; winberries made me subject to fainting also, and are churlish things for the stomach.

The best things I found were these: usquebaugh with the yolk of an egg first and last, fast two hours after it; cinnamon water is also good and diacinamomum;[1] but I found cinnamon water did so distemper me in parting with my water as put me to much pain and torment. The best thing to drink is French barley boiled in spring water; to every pottle of water there being put one ounce of the powder of cinnamon, this an excellent drink; hereof you may drink sufficient, as much as you please; you may add some sugar to relish it, and the juice of almonds bruised. Sr. Marmaduke Lloyde[2] prescribed barley boiled in a bag as hot as may be to be placed in your close stool or under you when you go to stool, the fume hereof hath an excellent virtue; this was old Dr. Buttler's[3]

[1] *Diacinnamomum* is a medicine into which cinnamom largely enters, but the exact prescription would not much interest the reader, had we been able to discover it.

[2] Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, second Justice of Chester at this time, afterwards Chief-Justice of South Wales.

[3] Dr. William Butler, born at Ipswich 1535, died at Cambridge 1618, aged 82, and therefore well entitled to be called "Old Dr. Butler." He practised at Cambridge, but was occasionally consulted by King James when at Newmarket. His sagacity in judging of distempers was very great, and his method of cure sometimes extraordinary,

direction to him, and to ride as far and as fast as he possibly could endure for a whole day. Sr. Urian Leigh[1] affirmed the fume of sage burnt upon a chafing-dish of coals often renewed placed in the close stool to have cured many.

Jul. 7.—We left Dromemoore and went to the NEWRIE, which is sixteen miles. This is a most difficult way for a stranger to find out. Herein we wandered, and being lost, fell amongst the Irish towns. The Irish houses are the poorest cabins I have seen, erected in the middle of the fields and grounds, which they farm and rent. This is a wild country, not inhabited, planted, nor enclosed, yet it would be good corn if it were husbanded. I gave an Irishman to bring us into the way a groat, who led us like a villain directly out of the way and so left us, so as by this deviation it was three hour before we came to the Newrie. Much land there is about this town belonging to Mr. Bagnall,[2] nothing well planted. He hath a castle in this town, but is for most part resident at Green Castle; a great part of this town is his, and it is reported that he hath a £1000 or £1500 per annum in this country. This is but a poor town, and is much Irish, and is navigable for boats to come up unto with the tide. Here we baited at a good inn, the sign of the Prince's Arms. Hence to

being both bold and singular in his practice. Fuller calls him the "Æsculapius of our Age." "Compliments would prevail nothing with him, entreaties but little, surly threatenings would do much, and a witty jeer do any thing. Neatness he neglected into slovenliness, and accounted cuffs to be manacles; he may be said not to have made himself ready for some seven years together." When called upon to attend Francis Tresham, he put a piece of pure gold in his mouth, and upon taking it out pronounced him poisoned.

[1] Sir Urian Legh of Adlington, near Macclesfield, Cheshire, knighted by the Earl of Essex at the siege of Cadiz in 1592, and said to have been the hero of the ballad of the Spanish Lady's Love. He died in 1628. See *Percy's Relics.*

[2] In Newry was a Cistercian monastery, which was conferred by Edw. VI. upon Sir Nicholas Bagnal, and with adjoining property was styled *jurisdictio de viridi ligno*, whence probably the name of Green Castle. His son was Sir Henry Bagnal, who was for many years marshal of Queen Elizabeth's armies in Ireland, and for his services received very extensive grants of lands. He was killed in an attack upon a fort at Black Waller, 1598, and succeeded by his son Arthur, the person here mentioned, who died in 1643.

Dundalke is eight mile; stony, craggy, hilly, and uneven, but a way it is nothing difficult to find. Before you come to Dundalke you may discern four or five towers or castles seated upon the sea side.

This town of DUNDALKE hath been a town of strength, and is still a walled town, and a company of fifty soldiers are here in garrison under the command of Sir Faithfull Fortescue.[1] This town is governed by two bailiffs, sheriffs, and aldermen; the greatest part of the inhabitants of the town are popishly affected, and although my Lord Deputy, at the last election of burgesses for the Parliament, commended unto them Sir Faithfull Fortescue and Sir Arthur Teringham,[2] yet they rejected both, and elected a couple of recusants. One of the present bailiffs is popish. Abundance of Irish, both gentlemen and others, dwell in this town, wherein they dare to take the boldness to go to mass openly. This town seated upon the sea so as barks may come within a convenient distance with the flood; much low, level, flat land hereabouts, which is often overflowed in the winter, and here is abundance of fowl, and a convenient seat. Here we lodged at one Mris. Veasie's house, a most mighty fat woman; she saith she is a Cheshire woman, near related in blood to the Breretons;[3] desired much to see me; so fat she is, as she is so unwieldy, she can scarce

[1] Sir Faithful Fortescue was a conspicuous character during the great rebellion. He was trusted and employed by Lord Strafford, came to England to solicit succours for Ireland, had a troop of horse raised for him, and was ordered to join the Parliamentary army as major to Sir William Waller. At the commencement of the battle of Edgehill he took over his whole troop and joined the royal army. After the murder of King Charles I, he accepted a regiment under Cromwell, which he brought over to Charles II, at Worcester. With the king he fled, and returned at the restoration, was made a gentleman of the privy chamber, and was always about his Majesty's person till his death.

[2] Sir Arthur Tyringham was of considerable influence in Ireland, and upon the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland in 1641, was commissioned with Arthur, afterwards first Earl of Donegal, to command in chief within the county of Antrim.

[3] Sir William seems to have been ignorant of the exact connection between this fat landlady and his own family, and the county pedigrees do not throw any light upon the subject.

stand or go without crutches. This reported one of the best inns in north of Ireland; ordinary 8*d.* and 6*d.*, only the knave tapster over-reckoned us in drink.

Jul. 8.—We left Dundalke and came to TREDAUGH,[1] which is accounted sixteen mile, but they are as long as twenty-two mile. About five mile hence we saw Sir Faithfull Fortescue's house or castle, wherein for most part he is resident, which he holds by a long lease upon a small rent under my Lord Primate of Armath. This is a dainty, pleasant, healthful, and commodious seat, and it is worth unto him about . During ten miles riding from this town, much rich corn land, and the country well planted; the other six miles towards Tredaugh, until you come near unto it, not so rich land, nor so well husbanded.

This town, as it is the largest and best built town I have yet seen in Ireland, so it is most commodiously seated upon a good navigable river, called Boyne, whereinto flows the sea in so deep a channel (though it be very narrow) as their ships may come to their doors. This river is built on both sides, and there is on either side a convenient quay; a stone wall built all along the river, so as a ship may lie close unto this quay, and may unload upon her. It is like the quay of Newcastle, and those channels I have seen in Holland in their streets. This town commodiously also situated for fish and fowl. It is governed by a mayor, sheriffs, and twenty-four aldermen; most of these, as also the other inhabitants of the town, popishly affected, insomuch as those that have been chosen mayors, who for the most part have been recusants, have hired others to discharge that office. One man (it is said) hath been hired by deputation to execute that place thirteen times; the present mayor also is but a deputy, and the reason why they make coy to execute that office is because they will avoid being necessitated to go to church.

I observed in this city divers fair, neat, well-built houses, and houses and shops well furnished, so as I did conceive this to be a rich

[1] Drogheda.

town; the inhabitants more civilized and better apparelled. But this is graced with nothing more than my Lord Primate's palace, which is seated near unto the East gate. This is a neat, handsome, and convenient house, built within this twenty years by Primate Hampton.[1] The building is four square of wood, rough-cast and not high; an handsome, plain, though long and narrow hall, two dining-rooms; one little neat gallery which leads into the chapel, which also pretty little plain and convenient chapel, whereinto there lead two ways, the one at the great door out of the hall or court, the other, which is more private, out of the gallery; there is a little pair of organs herein. Whilst Dr. Usher (my Lord Primate that now is) is here resident, he preacheth constantly every Lord's-day in the morning in the church. There is a sermon therein in the afternoon, and after the same is ended, one of my lord's chaplains repeats his sermon in his own chapel, whither not only all his own family resort, but also (the common door being open) those of the town that please may resort thereunto. In one of the dining-rooms is this conceit, the arms of this see and bishoprick, and Bishop Hampton's own arms or coat enquartered together, and underneath is this inscription or motto: "Fac tu similiter." Here is a pretty neat garden, and over against the window in the gallery end, upon a bank, these words, in fair great letters, are written: "O man, remember the last great day." The bank is bare, the proportion of the letters is framed and cut in grass. In this palace the Primate is most resident, when he is not at Dublin.

In this town are two churches; one placed on the one side the river, the other on the other, over which is a wooden bridge. In the great church my Lord Primate preacheth every Sabbath. In the body of the church, over against the pulpit, the communion table is placed lengthwise in the aisle; the body of the church is kept in good repair; the chancel, as no use is made of it, so it is wholly neglected and in no good repair; only herein is a fair monument

[1] Christopher Hampton, Primate from 1613 to 1624, when he was succeeded by the celebrated James Usher, who died in 1655.

for my Lord Moore,[1] his lady, Sir Edw. Moore[2] and Sir Tho. Moore,[3] his sons, and their wives and children; amongst these is one erected for the Lady Salisburie now living at Chester. On the other side, opposite hereunto, is Sir Frauncis Roe's monument, who died when mayor; he is pictured in his scarlet gown.

Jul. 9.—From Tredaugh we came to the SWORDES, which is fourteen miles thence, and six from thence to Dublin. Here we lodged at the sign of the Boot, a tavern, and were well used, and found far better accommodation in so mean a village than could be expected. The way from Tredaugh hither as dainty fine way as I ever rid, and a most pleasant country, greatest part corn upon the very sea-coast, almost Wirrall-like,[4] and very good and well-eared corn; the barley now beginning to turn, and will be ripe before the rye. Upon the left hand, about three mile from Tredaugh, my Lord N[5] hath a pleasant seated house or castle, the prospect whereof commands the sea, and a most plain, rich-champaign corn country towards the land.

About two or three mile from Swordes my Lord Chief Baron[6] hath a dainty, pleasant, high-built wood house, and much rich and brave land about it, this placed on the right hand; his name is . On the other hand, about half mile, Sir hath a gallant pleasant seat, also . Here I saw very fair large English kine;

[1] Sir Garnet Moore was created Baron Moore 1615, and Viscount Moore of Drogheda 1621; he died Nov. 9, 1627. His lady was Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Colley of Castle Carbery in the county of Kildare.

[2] Sir Edward Moore, eldest son of the preceding, died in his father's lifetime; his lady was Elizabeth, daughter of Walter Vaughan, of Golden Grove.

[3] Sir Thomas Moore, second son of Sir Ganet, died 1623, and was buried in St. Patrick's, Dublin. His lady was Sarah, second daughter of Richard, first Earl of Cork. She afterwards married Robert, Lord Digby. Upon this Sir Thomas the manor of Roes, &c. was settled by the Sir Francis Roe mentioned below.

[4] Wirral, a hundred of Cheshire, north-west of Chester, between the river Dee and Mersey.

[5] The only nobleman of Ireland at this time with this initial was Viscount Netterville, whose handsome residence was at Dowth upon the banks of the Boyne.

[6] Sir Richard Bolton, Attorney-General of the Court of Wards, Lord Chief Baron from 1625 to 1639.

I enquired the price, which about 2*l.* or 2*l.* 10*s.* or 3*l.* These worth in England double the price. Land here sold for about twenty years purchase, set some for 5*s.* or 6*s.* an acre, and meadowing for 2*l.* an acre, some for 1*l.* Some land about Dublin is set for 2*l.* 3*l.* and 4*l.* an acre.

We came to the city of DUBLIN, *July* 9, about 10 hour. This is the metropolis of the kingdom of Ireland, and is beyond all exception the fairest, richest, best built city I have met with in this journey (except Yorke and Newcastle). It is far beyond Edenborough; only, one street in Edenborough (the great long street) surpasseth any street here. Here is the Lord Deputy[1] resident in the castle, and the state and council of this kingdom. There is also an Archbishop of Dublin, which is the second in the kingdom. Archbishopricks in Ireland: 1. Armathe; 2. Dublin; 3. Casiell; 4. Tuam. Bishopricks in Ireland about eighteen, as they are now united.[2]

This city of Dublin so called, it is seated upon the river Liffie, which is not navigable above the bridge, nor far, nor flows not above one mile higher. The river is no good channel, but full of shelves and sands, and here is a very vile barred haven, over which few ships can pass that carry four hundred ton or thereabouts. The harbour here is very naked, plain, and the least shelter and protection from storms that I have found in any haven; the most ships ride by the Ringe's end, which is a point which runs into the sea, but it is so low, as it is very poor and bare shelter and little defence against the violence of the storms, so as the king's ship which lies here to scour the coasts (which is said to be the Ninth Whelpe, and the Bonaventure, a tall stout ship[3]) is constrained to remove for harbour, sometimes under the Head of Howard,[4] sometimes under the opposite shore.

[1] Earl of Strafford.

[2] There appear to have been nineteen Irish bishops at that time: Ardfert, Clogher, Clonard, Clonfert, Cork, Derry, Downe and Connor, Dromore, Elphin, Ferns, Kildare, Kilfenora, Killala, Killaloe, Kilmore, Limerick, Ossory, Raphoe, Waterford.

[3] See page 164.

[4] For Head of Howard, read "Hill of Howth."

As I came from Dublin to Hacquett's town, I saw the head of the Liffie, where she breaks out of the mountains; this is not above seven miles from Dublin, and yet fetcheth a course of forty mile before it come to Dublin.

There are about thirteen churches in this city: Christ church, a cathedral, where the lord deputy and state frequent; the chancel is only made use of, not the body of the church, wherein are very great strong pillars, though very short; the chancel is but plain and ordinarily kept; the body of the church a more stately building. St. Patricke's church is a cathedral, and prime church in this kingdom. It is denominated from St. Patricke, the tutelar saint and protector of this kingdom. It is in best repair, and most neatly whited and kept of any church I have seen in Scottland or Ireland, especially in the chancel, wherein it is curiously and very artificially arched and whited overhead. The body of the church is a strong, ancient structure, wherein are great and strong pillars, but this is not floored overhead. This structure affords two parish churches under one roof, in either of which there is a sermon every sabbath. In a corner, a small part of the middle aisle, there is a pretty, neat, convenient place framed, wherein there is a sermon every sabbath at 10 hour; and this, though it be very little and narrow, yet it is sufficiently enlarged to receive a great congregation, by reason of capacious galleries round about, wherein are abundance of seats placed one above another, with great advantage of room. There is also at one hour in the afternoon a sermon in the quire. In the higher end whereof was a very famous, sumptuous and glorious tomb of my Lord of Corke's:[1] this by the commandment of the Deputy is taken

[1] This monument originally stood where the communion table now is, and by the exertions of the Earl of Strafford, at the instigation of Laud, it was removed to the south side of the choir, where it now stands. The descendants of the Earl of Cork, and Lord Chancellor Weston, were grievously offended at the removal, and the latter especially is said to have revenged the supposed insult when Strafford was on his trial. The Earl of Cork had previously to this quarrel, given up many lay-impropriations at the suggestion of Laud; these, he now refused to surrender; so that the dispute was, in its results, most unhappy. Archbishop Bramhall, however, then Lord Strafford's chaplain, speaks warmly to the purity of his Lordship's intentions.

down, and is now to be erected in the side of the same quire; the marble whereof this was made was gotten within two miles of this city.

St. Warburr's[1] is a kind of a cathedral; herein preacheth judicious Dr. Hoile[2] about ten in morning, and three in afternoon; a most zealous preacher, and general scholar in all manner of learning, a mere cynic. St. Owen's[3] is the parish wherein my Lord Primate was born; and here in this church doth he preach every Lord's-day at eight hour, whilst he is in town. I heard him upon Sabbath last, the most excellent able man, and most abundantly holy, gracious man that I have heard. St. Bride's, where Mr. Jerom preacheth.

Jul. 10.—This day I dined with my Lord Primate of Ireland, Dr. Usher, who is a tall, proper, comely man, about fifty-six years of age; a plain, familiar, courteous man, who spends the whole day at his study, except meal time. He seems to be a man of pregnant parts, who hath good intelligence; he is well read in antiquities. His entertainment good and plentiful, but nothing curious nor excessive. He is a most holy well-affected bishop, a good companion, a man of good discourse. Having some conference with him about the reading of the book which gives liberty for recreation upon the Lord's-day,[4] he used this expression: that

[1] St. Werburgh, daughter of Wulherus, king of Mercia. Part of her shrine now forms the bishop's throne in the cathedral of Chester. St. Werburgh's church was twice destroyed by fire. The beautiful spire, which was a great ornament to Dublin, was taken down, from a needless alarm, about the beginning of this century, instead of receiving an effectual, safe, and cheap repair.

[2] Joshua Hoyle, D.D., born at Sawerley, Yorkshire, educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, removed to Dublin, became fellow of Trin. Coll. and Professor of Divinity. In 1641, the horrors of the rebellion drove him from Ireland, and he became vicar of Stepney; he sat in the Assembly of Divines, he witnessed against Laud, and in 1648 was appointed Master of University Coll. Oxford, in the chapel of which college he was buried, 1654. He was abused by W[illegible]ker, praised by Wood, and respected by Usher. See below, p. 144.

[3] St. Andoen's or St. Owen's; the present church occupies only a part of the western end of the former building, three-fourths at least being complete ruins. The steeple was blown down in 1668, but replaced immediately by a new one.

[4] *The Book of Sports*, first published by King James in 1618, and subsequently by King Charles, Oct. 18, 1633. The effect of the order was, doubtless, at the time, felt as a great boon by the people.—*Vid. Heylyn's Life of Laud*, p. 241.

there was no clause therein commanding the ministers to read the book, but if it were published in the church by the clerk or churchwardens, the king's command is performed; this was his sense and opinion.

Here was this day at dinner Doctor Richardson,[1] Bishop of [Ardagh] a Cheshire man born, an able man, and good scholar; he was born near Chester, and married Sir Hen. Bunburie's daughter, whom I went to visit after dinner; a tall, handsome, fat woman. This bishop is an intelligent man, and gave me good resolution and satisfaction in many things.

Hence I went to the Castle, wherein my Lord Deputy resides, within which are both the Houses of Parliament, whereof I took a view; much less and meaner than ours. The Lords' House is now furnished with about sixty or seventy armours for horse, which are my Lord Deputy's: this a room of no great state nor receipt. Herein there sat the first session about eighty lords, not so many the latter.

The Commons' House is but a mean and ordinary place; a plain, and no very convenient seat for the speaker, nor officers.[2] The Parliament men that sat in this house were about 248. There are about 30 or 32 shires, which send 60 or 64 knights for the shire, the rest are burgesses.

Herein this castle we saw the council-chamber, wherein stands a very long table, furnished with stools at both sides and ends. Here sometimes sit in council about 60 or 64 privy councillors. Here we saw the hall, a very plain room, and the dining-room, wherein is placed the cloth of estate over my Lord Deputy's head, when he is at meat. Beyond this is the chamber of presence, a room indeed of state; and next unto this is there a withdrawing chamber, and beyond that, a pretty, neat short gallery, which leads to the council chamber; this was lately built by my Lord Falkland, whilst he was here

[1] He was a grave man and good divine. Educated in the University of Dublin, born 1584, died 1658, aged 74. He was the author of "Choice Observations and Explanations upon the Old Testament," fol. 1655. His lady was Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Henry Bunbury, by his first wife Anne, daughter of Geoffry Shakerly; they were married at Stanney in Cheshire, Aug. 10, 1612.

[2] In 1729 was commenced the magnificent buildings, which were enlarged from time to time for the accommodation of both houses of parliament, and which are now occupied by the bank of Ireland.

Deputy; the lower part of it is built arch-wise and very gracefully, so as it is a great ornament to the castle, about which there are very high walls and of great strength, and a drawbridge which is pulled up every night.

The command which this castle hath over this city is from some of the leads and towers above on the top of the castle, whereupon there is ordinance planted; and one fair brass piece of ordinance is placed in the court before the gate. Parker committed a forfeiture here in taking out the stopple, for which he was seized upon, and I paid 6*d.* to redeem him. Here my Lord Deputy hath lately erected a gallant, stately stable as any I have seen in the king's dominions; it is a double stable, there being a strong wall in the middle, to either side whereof stand the horse's heads. Thirty horses may stand at ease on either side, the stalls being very large; these are exceeding high, at least five or six yards, and very near the same breadth; no planks made use of, but Holland bricks placed upon the edges, whereon the horses lie and you walk; these as easy to walk upon as to lie upon, and these are made of Holland earth, which is harder and more durable much than our clay: with these the streets are paved in Holland.

Jul. 11.—We went to Sir Thomas Rotheram[1] (who is a privy-councillor), who used us respectively, and accompanied me to the Castle, and showed me the courts of justice, which are conveniently framed and contrived, and these very capacious. The Star-Chamber, the Chancery, the King's Bench and Common Pleas,—these rooms as useful as ours in England, but here is not such a stately structure or hall to walk in as Westminster Hall. I saw also the church, which was erected by the Jesuits, and made use by them two years. There was a college also belonging unto them, both these erected in the back lane. The pulpit in this church was richly adorned with pictures, and so was the high altar, which was advanced with steps, and railed out like cathedrals; upon either side thereof was there erected places for con-

[1] Sir Tho. Rotheram was descended from Tho. Rotheram, Abp. of York, who died of the plague in 1500, at the advanced age of 76. He was second son of George Rotherham of Somery, and lord of the manor of Luton in Bedfordshire.

fession: no fastened seats were in the middle or body hereof, nor was there any chancel; but that it might be more capacious, there was a gallery erected on both sides, and at the lower end of this church, which was built in my Lord Faulkland's[1] time, and whereof they were disinvested, when my Lord Chancellor and my Lorde of Corke executed by commission the Deputy's place. This college is now joined and annexed to the College of Dublin, called[2] , and in this church there is a lecture every Tuesday.

We saw also St. Stephen's Hall, wherein are disposed about eighteen scholars, who are also members of the college, whereunto this hall is annexed. This sometimes was a cloister for the Capuchins, who said mass, and preached in a pretty little chapel or chamber; this was likewise taken from them about that time, and now there is prayers in it twice a day. My Lord of Corke allowed 40*l.* per annum to maintain this lecture in the Jesuit's church, but now hath withdrawn this exhibition. In this street, which is called the Bridge-street, almost opposite to this hall, there died this day an Irish merchant; and as we passed by, we heard either his wife or sister roaring out as though she were violently distracted; this they say is very ordinary with the Irish, and is their custom. I went this day to view the College, which is called Trinity College, and was erected by queen Elizabeth, and endowed with about 1400*l.* per annum. There is a provost hereof, Dr. Chappell,[3] a vice-provost, and six senior fellows, whose fellowships are worth 9*l.* per annum, besides their diets: there are eight junior fellows, whose fellowships are worth, besides their diet, 3*l.* per annum: poor scholars about sixty, whose scholarships are only worth their diets. There are about sixty poor scholars, and about fifteen fellow commoners. In the chapel is a monument for Dr. Challoner,[4] sometimes provost of this College, and father to my Lord

[1] Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland, was chief-governor of Ireland from Sept. 1622 to May 1623, and again from 1625 to 1629. From that time to 1633 the office was held in commission by the Lord Chancellor, Viscount Ely, and Richard, Earl of Cork.

[2] Trinity College.

[3] Dr. Chappell was appointed Provost in 1634, consecrated Bishop of Cork and Ross 1638.

[4] Dr. Luke Chaloner was one of four original fellows of this institution, and trea-

Primate's wife. Hereunto belongs a pretty little convenient garden. This house is seated in a good air, out of the city, and near the sea. They glory much in their library, whereof I took a full view, and there were showed unto me many manuscripts: one they highly esteem, which they call Friar Bacon's work; and say the same is not any where extant save with them; but he must have a stronger faith to believe it than mine, for it is new bound, a very fair manuscript without any blot or blemish; it treats of all manner of learnings; but that it is Friar Bacon's work doth not appear either in the frontispiece, title, or any part of the book, as also the subject seems unto me, and the style not to be Friar Bacon's work; but here it is so received and reported. This library is not large, well-contrived, nor well furnished with books. They say it is to be disposed of to some other uses, and a new library and schools to be erected.

Jul. 12.—I heard my Lord Primate at eight hour at St. Owen's church, which is his parish, wherein he was born, where he preacheth every sabbath whilst he is in Dublin. I never heard a more powerful and convincing sermon, and indeed he is a most holy and heavenly man, and as pregnant witted as any I have heard. He doth most industriously apply his study, which he hath placed at a good distance from his house, to prevent distraction and diversion by the access of any company to visit him, who are not admitted to disturb his studies. This his course and order is so public, as that few come to him at any time of the day, save at the hours of relaxation, which is from eleven to one, and so about supper time: the rest of the day, from five in morning until six in the evening, is spent ordinarily in his study. I dined with him also *Jul.* 13, and then he was much more free and familiar with me. I had much private conference with him, and after dinner he took me into his closet, where although there be not very many books, yet those that are, much used and employed. Herein he shewed me

surer of the fund for building it, but never Provost. On his death-bed he recommended his only daughter, Phœbe, to Usher for a wife. He died 1612.

the whole books of the Waldenses, which are very rare; they cost him 22*l.* sterling; they are in octavo, about ten or twelve vol. The language wherein they are printed is a miscellaneous language, twixt French and Spanish; these were sent him from a counsellor in France, as also a copy of the plots and designs and proceedings of the inquisitors in France. He shewed me his Articles of Religion, printed 1563; but I left mine with him, which was more ancient and orthodox than his. He did enforce me to take away and read a packet of news (which came unto him there) before himself had cast an eye upon it.

At ten hour this Lord's day I heard Dr. Hoile[1] preach at St. Warburrs, and at three in afternoon in the same church. He is a most holy man, full of zeal and grace, a general scholar, but not sufficiently furnished with words to express that fulness of matter which aboundeth in him; who is a mere cynic to the world, but doubtless a gracious man in the sight of God. You may with much ease and conveniency hear four sermons every Lord's day, and, as I was informed, six sermons may be heard on one day. This city of Dublin is extending his bounds and limits very far; much additions of building lately, and some of those very fair, stately and complete buildings; every commodity is grown very dear. You must pay also for an horse hire 1*s.* 6*d.* a day: here I met with an excellent, judicious and painful smith. Here are divers commodities cried in Dublin as in London, which it doth more resemble than any town I have seen in the king of England's dominions.

Jul. 14.—Upon Tuesday, *Jul.* 14, I left Dublin and came to HACQUETTS TOWN, about eleven hour at night. It is accounted twenty-seven miles, but it is as long as thirty-seven. After you pass four miles from Dublin, you travel through the mountains, which are dry land, and some of them good pasture for cattle that are young, and sheep, but these are not sufficiently stocked. Towards evening we passed through troublesome and dangerous

[1] See above, page 139.

ways and woods, and had wandered all night, had we not hired an Irish guide, by whose direction we arrived at eleven hour at Hacquett's Town, where we lodged in a little, low, poor, thatched castle. Here Mr. Wattson, a Lanckashire man, hath a plantation. As we passed this way, I observed the head of the river Liffie, which comes under the bridge at Dublin, whence it is made navigable by the flood, which goeth a mile above the bridge, and little further; I passed also, about eighteen miles from Dublin, by the head of the Slane, which runs to Waxford, and is there navigable, and twenty miles above Waxford.

This town, called in Irish Haggerstowne, is built upon my Lord of Ormond's land, which he holds by lease for about fifty years; this is in the province of Leinster, and in the county of Catherloe.[1] It is lately made a market-town (a poor one); it is most inconveniently seated amongst the mountains, a barren dry soil, and not easily improved and made rich; a branch of the river of the Slane runs below this town, wherein are but a few straggling houses. Some land is here set by Mr. Wattson at 2*s.* and some at 3*s.* 4*d.* an acre, as to John Torkinton, and for thirty years. Here is good butter made as in England, and they say good cheese, but I tasted none. This is in the diocese of Loghlein, and so is Sir Morgan Kavenagh[2] his estate; the Bishop hereof was lately Dean of Limbreck,[3] Dr. . Here Mr. Wattson hath erected a dainty new church, and maintains a good minister, Mr. Roote's wife's brother. He allows him £40 pension per ann. and his house, and a competent provision of ground. He paid for the purchase of this lease above £500 fine, and he pays also an £100 rent. He hath already improved it unto more worth than £400 per annum, and hath much prejudiced his plantation by insisting upon overhard conditions and demands. Here we were very courteously and kindly entertained

[1] Carlow.

[2] This was probably Morgan Mac-Bryan Cavanagh, Chief of the Sept, called Sleight-Dermot, of Polomonty, in the county of Carlow, who died at Borrass, June 1636, and was buried at St. Molach.

[3] George Andrew was promoted from the deanery of Limerick to the bishoprick of Ferns and Leighlin in 1635; he died 1648.

all night by Mr. Needam, and who married Mr. Wattson's sister.

Jul. 15.—We went hence through Mr. Wattson's woods, wherein is very little good timber, the most small, old and decayed, and those trees which seem best are shaken and unsound at heart. When we went out of his grounds, we entered upon Mr. Chambers' land, and saw abundance of woods, more than many thousand acres; and some of those parts through which we travelled, the ground was so thronged and pestered with wood which was fallen and lay upon the ground, as the ground was thereby made of no use. Out of this part of the wood the best hath been made use of for pipe-staves, which were sold for £6 a 1000; upon every 1000 of these there is now a custom imposed of £3, which doth so much deduct as there is no valuable advantage, the charge of hewing being £1. 10*s.*, besides conveying them down by water to Ennerscoff, which is twelve miles, at which time there is required the aid and endeavour of a hundred men to conduct and guide them in this narrow, shallow and crooked river, which runs through this wood.

Before we passed this wood and river, we passed by Minmoare, a little Irish town, where a brother of Chambers dwelleth. Two miles hence is Carnue, the town wherein Mr. Chambers his castle is erected, and which is a neat, rough-cast, and well contrived convenient house. Here calling to drink a cup of beer (the weather being extreme hot), Mr. Chambers overruled us to stay all night, where we had very free and courteous entertainment. Two of his daughters, now married, are with him, my Lord Brabseon's lady, and Mr. Sandeforde's wife. Here is now Mr. Odell, who doth commend and magnify beyond all measure the park belonging to this house, which is about seven miles in compass, and wherein are

[1] Calcot Chambre, of Denbigh in Wales, and of Carnew in the county of Wicklow. He left a son and two daughters: Elizabeth, married to Francis Sandford; and Mary, married in 1632 to Edward, Lord Brabazon, afterwards the second Earl of Meath, who was drowned, 1675, between Holyhead and Beaumaris. Upon this lady and her heirs the Wicklow estates were settled.

both fallow and red deer good store. Here is good butter and cheese made, and they say fair English cattle are here bred, though the ground seem but barren and poor, and moorish hereabouts; but here he hath a brave, large scope of ground, and it is of the best sort that this county of Wickley yields. Not far hence, about a quarter of a mile, he hath erected an iron-work, which is called a . Herein the sows[1] of iron which are brought from Bristow are melted into iron-bars. They stand in *5l.* a ton, being laid down at the door, and are worth in bars xxlb. a ton.

Jul. 16.—We left Carnue about seven hour, and went thence into the county of Wexford to CLAGHAMAN, my Lord of Baltamoare's[2] town, where he hath a brave house, but of no great strength, nor built castle-wise. Here I saw lime burnt, wherewith they use to enrich their ground. This town is seated upon the bank of river Slane, which doth hence carry down to Ennerscoffe, and so to Wexford, all pipe-staves, boards and other timber which grows in the woods near adjoining. We passed through Sir Morgan Kavennah's woods, wherein (we were informed in the morning at Carnew) there were lurking about sixteen stout rebels well appointed, every of them with his pistols, skene, and darts; they have also four long pieces, but we saw none, only we had one lusty young fellow in jealousy[3] in the wood. Herein there hath been good store of good timber, though now there remains little timber useful save to burn, and such as cumbreth the ground, but they say he hath better timber in his more remote woods from the river. This is a commodity which will be much wanting in this kingdom, and is now very dear at Dublin. In this wood, there runs a little river which divides the counties of Wexford and Catherloe, over which when we had passed we went to Clen-

[1] We know not whether "sow" is a term now used amongst iron manufacturers, or whether the modern word "pig" is used as more delicate, or expressive of a different form or weight of rough metal.

[2] Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore, to whom Charles I. granted the province of Maryland, with very extensive powers, in 1632.

[3] *Jalousie*, i. e. *lattice* or *grate*, from behind which any one may unperceived watch another.

moullen, the castle[1] and seat of Sir Morgan Cavenagh, who seems to be a very honest, fair dealing man, and his lady[2] a good woman, but both recusants. Here we were entertained with good beer, sack and claret, whereof he was no niggard. He demands a £1000 per annum and a £1000 rent for twenty town lands, and, as he saith, it is about 12,000 or 13,000 acres, but I cannot conceive it less than 20,000 acres; much hereof mountain wood, and the rest but poor land, all overgrown with ferron and brachon, and not to be improved, but with great charge and trouble.

Here he shewed me a convenient seat for an iron-work, which may be supplied with sufficient water and charcoal; for this respect I do believe he doth set a far higher valuation and price upon his lands, which he doth much overvalue and esteem. In this wood I observed and tasted of the dew which fell upon the oak leaves, which glistered and shined and tasted like honey; doubtless this kingdom is a most fruitful place for bees. This castle and seat of Sir Morgan Kavenah is an old, high, narrow and inconvenient building; the stairs leading up into the dining-room and chambers being narrow and steep, like a steeple stair; this also seated in a most solitary, melancholy place, woods on two sides, and plains on the other; these are moors and mountains, whereon they say there are wolves. This also is in the Dufferie,[3] which hath always been reputed a thievish place, but Sir Morgan, being demanded, said that the sixteen rebels before-named were most conversant about Ross and in the county of Kilkennie.

In the way to Ennescorffie, about two miles thence on the other side the Slane, I went to survey (over the river) the manor of the Ollort, in the county of Wexford, in the parish and diocese of Fernes and Loghlein, which is to be sold with these parcels following: Taencurrye, Taenknock, Rahennemonye, Bollincahine, and Sherewelch.

[1] Clonmullen Castle appears by the Ordnance survey of Ireland to be situated in the parish of Banagh, Co. Carlow.

[2] This lady was Eleanor, third daughter of Edmund, second Lord Mountgarret.

[3] The Dufferie appears to have been an ancient Irish district or division, but it, as well as Clonmullen Castle, appears to have entirely escaped the notice of all gazetteers, &c. The name is preserved in Duffry Hall, a seat of the Colcloughs, in the parish of Templeshanbo, Co. Wexford.

Hereunto belongs a court-leet, a court-baron, and one fair. It is mortgaged by one Mr. Darbie Cavenah, in Irish called Dormaunt Mac-Doullin. This land is now in mortgage to one Turner, an apothecary in Dublin, for £800, and may be redeemed whensoever the money is paid. This land adjoins to Sir James Caroll's new and stately house, which hath almost sunk him by the charge of building the same. It is called Ballyeskerne. This land lies upon the bank of the Slane, which is plentifully furnished with salmon and trouts; down this river abundance of timber is conveyed down to Waxford, so to be transported by sea. Upon this river bank many pleasant convenient seats for houses or towns may be found out. Here are coneys belonging hereunto. It will keep cattle, and good sheep and horses; these I saw, though by reason of the most extreme, violent drought, both that land and all this country is burnt up and no grass, so as you cannot look upon this land but with much disadvantage, yet it seems to be a good sweet-natured earth, but it hath been overtilled, and much wronged by the Irish husbandry. It is given in for 1,000 acres, but it is by those who know not how to guess at 1,000 acres; for doubtless there is no less than 1,000 acres of arable and pasture land, which may be made rich land by lime, which may be conveniently provided very cheap for 2*d.* a barrel, and may be conveyed by water at a small charge. Our host, Mr. Plummer (who lives in Ennerscoffie, and is a Scotchman; his wife, an Englishwoman) affirmed that the third part of the corn (for so the Irish tenants sow their landlord's grounds, and allow them the third sheaf, and take two sheaves for their pains) which grew last year upon that ground, was sold for £120. There is meadow land and bog, which being guttered, ditched and drained (which may be done with £20 or £30 charge) will be good and rich meadow; this is no less than 500 acres. Of commoning also, which yields ferron and gorse, and would be made good land with a small charge, there is about 800 acres. Here is woodland belonging hereunto, but how much I am uncertain. Little good timber I saw; some part of the wood may easily be cleared of the oullers[1] and underwood, and make good meadowing. Here is as

[1] Alder trees.

handsome an Irish hall upon this ground as ever I saw in this kingdom, and if Sir James Carroll will part with his house, it stands most conveniently to be occupied herewith; and it is generally believed that both house and lands may be purchased upon easy terms. This were a brave seat for a younger brother, but this will not be sold, for Mr. Darbye Cavenah himself came to me at Washford, and would have made a lease for 21 years or for 200 years, paying in the interim ten shillings an acre, which was a most senseless demand, and as much as the lands can be improved unto at the end of the 200 years; hereupon we brake off.

This kingdom is now divided into four provinces: 1. Linster, 2. Munster. 3. Ulster. 4. Connaught. Linster containeth these counties: 1. Eastmeath; 2. Westmeath; 3. Dublin; 4. Kildare; 5. Louth: these five called within the English pale; 6. Longford; 7. King's County; 8. Queene; 9. Kilkennie, one of the finest counties in Ireland; 10. Carloe; 11. Wexford; 12. Wickley. Munster divides itself into these shires or counties: 1. Waterford; 2. Tiperarie and Cross Teperarie; 3. Corke, greatest in Ireland; 4. Kerrie, furthest point of Ireland, south-west; 5. Limbreck, the richest land; 6. Toemond. Ulster: 1. Denegell, furthest north-west county; 2. Enneschelyn, or Fermanough; 3. Cavan; 4. Monohain; 5. Tyrone; 6. Londonderie; 7. Armath; 8. Downe Patrick; 9. Antrim, wherein stands Carick-Fergus. Connaught: 1. Gallaway; 2. Mayeo; 3. Rosscommon; 4. Letrim; 5. Sligoe.

We lodged on Thursday, *Jul.* 16, at Ennerscorffie,[1] at one Andrew Plummers, a Scotchman, his wife an Englishwoman, where we paid 1*s.* ordinary for ourselves, and 6*d.* for our servants. Here is a neat little castle in good repair. This and the town and the lands hereabout belong unto Sir Henry Walloppe,[2] who hath a

[1] Enniscorthy.

[2] Sir Henry Wallop, of Farley Wallop in Hampshire, was knighted in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was possessed of very extensive property in that county, in Shropshire, and other places; and had great political influence. He and his son sat together in several parliaments. From James I he received a grant of the tithes of

very brave command and royalty and revenue hereabout. This town is seated upon the fair river Slane, which ebbs and flows even to this town, the greatest part of all the wealthy inhabitants whereof (there cannot be many) are wood-merchants. Here our host informed us that Mr. Chambers had now at least, there landed and coming down the water, an hundred thousand pipe-staves, &c. which were worth at Wexford ten [shillings] an hundred: there his money to be received, out of which he cannot gain less than half in half.

July 17.—Here I bought of John Torkinton a little white mare; the price was 2*l.* 4*s.* He said if I returned her to Hacquetts Town when I had finished my journey, I should not abate above 3*d.* a day. I hired also a grissell gelding, for which I deposited 4*l.*2*s.*6*d.* and covenanted in this manner: that if I returned the horse within thirty days, I was to receive my money back again, allowing an abatement of 1*s.* a day for so many days as I had the horse; only by this agreement I was to keep the horse ten days at least, so as if I returned him next day, I must abate 10*s.* of the 4*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* This horse was one Mainwareing's,[1] steward to Sir Henry Walloppe: he descended out of Caringham house, and is uncle to Mr. Mainwareing that now is. This money was left with Mr. Andrew Plummer, who undertook the performance of conditions.

Here we parted with Mr. Needam, who appointed with me to

Enniscorthy, and confirmation of his lands in Ireland, in which was comprised the castle of Enniscorthy, of which he was governor. He is said to have been a very learned gentleman, and of exemplary morals, a judicious manager of his estates, and to have kept a very hospitable house, in all respects suitable to his fortune, one of the largest among the commoners of his time. He died Nov. 1642, aged 74.

[1] Roger Mainwaring, fourth son of Henry Mainwaring of Kermincham or Carincham, sheriff of Cheshire, 1575, was appointed in 1612, by Sir Henry Wallop, constable, governor, and keeper of Enniscorthy Castle, with all jurisdiction and privileges, and general receiver of all his rents, &c. with the yearly fee of 20*l.* English money. He died without issue. Carincham is now held by Mr. Uniacke, descended from an heiress of the Mainwarings; but the name of Mainwaring was assumed, in 1809, by sign manual, by another descendant, in the female line, of the same heiress. Sir W. Brereton afterwards calls him cousin, but the pedigrees do not show this exact alliance. There were at an early period intermarriages which might have occasioned the use of a word which is sometimes applied in a very general way.

meet me on Tuesday morning next at Carick, where my Lord of Ormond lives. Hence I sent to Dublin by John Torkinton the two horses there hired, which were promised to be delivered there the day following, which I made use of, and was to pay for five days, for which I paid in Dublin twelve shillings beforehand.

We went hence towards Wexford, which is accounted eight mile, but they are very long miles. We crossed the water at Ennerscoffie on horseback, and at the Carick, a mile from Wexford, we passed over a narrow ferry: all the grass in the country is burnt up, and here they complain of drought, and affirm they never felt such extreme scorching hot weather in Ireland. Here are divers of the Roches, which have much land about Wexford, and who would willingly set or sell; their land lieth very convenient for a Cheshire man.

About a mile hence lies a farm called the Park, which is now leased unto one Mr. Hardye, an Englishman, who lives upon it, and hath an estate in it about thirteen years. The landlord is one Mr. William Synode of the Lough, a man that needs money. This land is almost an island, and the rent which Mr. Hardye pays is about 16*l.* per annum. He saith it contains about three hundred acres, others say two hundred acres, and that it will keep twenty or thirty milch kine, yield sufficient corn for a small family, affords abundance of rabbits, whereof here there are too many, so as they pester the ground, and here may be more fish and fowl provided than to keep a good family, for on three sides it is compassed with great loughs a mile or two broad, so as the flood being in it flows to the very bank sides; when the flood is out, the shore being mud is bare and dry; when the tide is out, the depth of the mud is half a yard or a yard; but I could not find the mud bare, and this was the reason given by Mr. Hardye: that so long as the wind blows west, it clears it of water, but now the wind being at east keeps the tide in; when the flood is in, it is said to be not above one yard deep of water (except at some extraordinary spring tides). I cannot believe but that this mud will much fertilize and enrich the ground: this I do believe is a place of much

security to such cattle or goods as are therein kept, and they affirm that they have not lost any since they came thither, which is about eight years. Here is the best feeding for fowl that I ever saw. This grass which comes from the mud is good food for them, and there is good store of it, and here is a little grove of oaks, wherein is no good timber, but it so stands as it is most strong shelter to the fowl that feed or frequent under it.

Here is the most commodious and convenient seat for a c[oy] that ever I saw, but there is no more room whereupon to erect a c[oy] betwixt the water and an high bank of the wood than four or five rood in breadth, but sufficient in length, so as you must either make so much of the mud firm land, whereupon to build your c[oy], or else you must only make good one side with two pipes, or you must erect your work upon a point of land which lieth much eastward, and is in view of the town, and much more inconvenient, or you must carry away abundance of earth to make a pond, and pipes in some ground, as yet much too high at the north-west end of the wood. Here grow ollers[1] sufficient to plant a coy, and here is sufficient wood to cleave into stakes for all uses; and, as I am informed, reed may be provided out of Sir Thomas Esmond's lands which is on the other side the water, and all necessaries may be supplied by water from the Slane. Mr. Hardye demands for his interest, which is for thirteen years, 55*l.* and will abate nothing.

And herein grow good cherries, and all wood here planted flourisheth well. Mr. Turner, father-in-law to Mr. William Synode, demanded an 100*l.* fine for a lease of eighty years in reversion after the determination of the thirteen years now in being: of the unreasonableness of which demand being convinced, he sent next day a messenger and letter to his son-in-law Mr. Synode, who desired to know what I would give. I would offer nothing, but Mr. Mainwareing offered 20*l.* per lease for eighty (years). Mr. Turner replied that 40*l.* would not be accepted, and an augmentation of the rent 4*l.* per annum from 16*l.* to 20*l.* Upon this we broke off.

[1] Alder trees.

We lodged at WEXFORD at the sign of the Windmill, at the house of Paul Bennett. This town is seated upon a brave spacious harbour, capacious of many thousand sail, but it is much prejudiced and damnified by a most vile barred haven, which notwithstanding is far better than formerly. Two narrow banks of sand run along on both sides the channel into the sea, betwixt the points whereof is the channel or passage. Trade much decayeth in this town, and it is very poor by reason of herring fishing here failing. They report here of an incredible multitude of herrings ordinarily taken in one night in this large and vast harbour by five or six men in one boat of ten ton burthen, sometimes to the value of 20*l.*, sometimes 30*l.*, sometimes 40*l.*, sometimes more. This was informed me and affirmed by one that ordinarily fished here and took this proportion. Now of latter times, the herrings having forsaken this coast, this town is much impoverished and decayed. Their quays go to ruin, and are in no good repair; there belonged sometimes unto every great merchant's house seated on the shore either a quay, or a part interest in a quay, or a private way to the quay. Their haven was then furnished with five thousand sail of ships and small vessels for fishing, and is now naked.

Jul. 18.—This day I went to the court (the assizes being now here held for this county of Washford,[1] which began on Wednesday last, and ended this day) where is their shire hall. The judges that ride this circuit are Sir George Sherley, Lord Chief-Justice of Ireland, and Sir John Fillpott, one of the Judges in the Common Pleas, a little, black, temperate man. The one, viz. my Lord Chief-Justice, sits upon Isie-prices,[2] the other upon matters of misdemeanours and trials for life and death. Here I saw four justices of peace sit upon the bench with Sir John Philpott,[3] amongst which was one Devereux[4] and my cousin Mainwareing, uncle to

[1] The name of Wexford frequently so written.

[2] Nisi prius.

[3] Sir John Philpot, one of the justices of the Common Pleas from 1621 till his death in 1637.

[4] Nicholas Devereux, of a family of high respectability, was settled at Ballymagar, in the county of Wicklow.

Mr. Mainwareing[1] of Caringham that now is, a courteous, grave, civil gentleman, who came from the bench, and saluted me in the hall, and accompanied me to the tavern, and bestowed wine upon me. He is agent unto Sir Henry Wallopp, and is a justice of peace of this county, and was a burgess for the parliament. He told me there were three rebels condemned, as also he advised me rather to go by Ballichack and by the way of the Passage than by Ross, because of the rebels which frequent thereabouts; hereof, he said there were about six or eight, and these furnished with some pieces, pistols, darts, and skenes, and some of them most desperate spirits, and so cruel, that the inhabitants of the country dare scarce travel that way; these are proclaimed rebels, and such as are to be hanged, drawn and quartered, so soon as they are apprehended. So also are those to be dealt withal, who are now to be executed. One of them I saw in the streets returning towards the castle, and the women and some other following making lamentation, sometimes so violent as though they were distracted, sometimes as it were in a kind of tune singing; one of these ('twas said) was his wife. This is the Irish garb.[2] This town is governed by a mayor and two bayliffs or sheriffs, and ten or twelve aldermen.

Beyond the bar also, it hath a very safe harbour and shelter for ships to ride at anchor in, who want tide to bring them into the haven. Sir Adam Cotcliffe[3] told me that he had dined at Milford in Wales and supped in this town, which is about twenty-four hours' sail from Bristoll, and as much to Dublin. By reason of the assizes here, the inhabitants of the country resorted hither in greater numbers and better habits (Irish garments I mean) than I have yet seen. Some gentlewomen of good quality here I observed clothed in good handsome gowns, petticoats and hats, who wore Irish rugs, which have handsome, comely, large fringes, which go about their necks, and serve instead of bands. This ruggy fringe

[1] See before, page 151. [2] Habit, practice, custom.

[3] Sir Adam Colclough, of Tintern Abbey in the county of Wicklow, was created a baronet in 1628; he married Alice, daughter of Sir Rob. Rich, Knt., master in Chancery in England. In his grandson, the title became extinct.

is joined to a garment which comes round about them, and reacheth to the very ground, and this is an handsome, comely vestment, much more comely as they are used than the rug short cloaks used by the women upon festival days in Abbleveile, Bullein, and the nearer parts of Picardie in Fraunce. The most of the women are bare-necked, and clean-skinned, and wear a crucifix, tied in a black necklace, hanging betwixt their breasts. It seems they are not ashamed of their religion, nor desire to conceal themselves; and indeed in this town are many papists.

Jul. 19.—The present mayor, Mr. Mark Cheveu, attended the judges to the church door, and so did the sheriff of the shire, both which left them there, and went to mass, which is here tolerated, and publicly resorted unto in two or three houses in this town, wherein are very few Protestants, as appeared by that slender congregation at church where the judges were. This morning I went unto and visited both the judges, and was respectively used by them; the mayor, a well-bred gentleman, an inns-of-court man, who is a counsellor, a gentleman that hath an estate in the country, and was knight of this shire for last parliament, invited me to dinner, as also to supper, with the judges. He is an Irishman, and his wife Irish, in a strange habit, a threadbare short coat with sleeves, made like my green coat of stuff, reaching to her middle; she knew not how to carve, look, entertain, or demean herself. Here was a kind of beer (which I durst not taste) called Charter beer, mighty thick, muddy stuff, the meat nothing well cooked nor ordered. Much discourse here, complaint and information given against the rebels, the captain whereof is called Simon Prendergrasse, whose brother also will be brought in trouble for relieving, &c. Three carriers were robbed betwixt Ross and this town on Friday last, and two other travellers, and one in his lodging, by three of these rebels well appointed, who said if they could have taken my Lord of Kildare,[1] who passed through them nakedly

[1] George, sixteenth Earl of Kildare, succeeded to the title and estates, when not quite nine years of age. He was a person of considerable trust and influence, and upon

attended, he should have procured their pardon. There was a letter sent and read this night at supper, advertising a gentleman in town that last night they came to his house with a purpose to take away his life, because he prosecuted against them, and informed that they had taken from him to the value of £200. The judge here said, if all the justices of peace did not wait upon them to Ross to guard them from these rebels, he would fine them deeply. The junior judge told me of a very wise demeanour of the now mayor of Ross, who being informed that three of these rebels lay asleep near the town, and being required to send out some ten or twelve with him to apprehend them, he answered that he would provide for the safety of his town, commanded the gates to be shut, the drum to be beat, and pieces, warning-pieces, to be discharged, whereby they awaked, and took notice thereof and escaped.

Jul. 20.—We left Washford, and the Lord provided a good guide for us, and directed us to a better course than we intended; for instead of going over the passage (which was this day so much troubled and so rough as my Lord of Kildare was in great danger there, and himself and servants constrained to cut the sail ropes and tacklings) we took up our lodging at Tinterden,[1] a dissolved abbey, where now Sir Adam Cocliffe lives, and where we were exceedingly kindly and courteously entertained. Now my disease began to increase upon me. This a very fair, large, stately house, and of great receipt. He keeps a good house, and hath a great estate here, and his lady is dainty, complete, well-bred woman. She is Sir Rob. Rich his daughter. The land on this side Washford about four or five mile and so to Ballichack is much better land than that which I saw in any other part of this county. This day we had more rain than upon any day since we came from

the breaking out of the rebellion in 1641, was made governor of the county of Kildare. He died about the year 1660.

[1] Tintern, or Kinneagh, an abbey founded by William, Earl of Pembroke, who placed in it Cistercians from Tintern Abbey in Monmouthshire. It has long been in possession of the family of the Colcloughs.

home. Here they say no rain fallen this two months, all extreme dry, but nothing so much burnt up as in the other side of this county.

Jul. 21.—We went hence about eight hour, and came to Ballihack, a poor little village on this side the passage over the river of Waterford, which here is the broadest passage said to be in Ireland, and a most rough, troubled passage, when the wind is any thing high. Here last day the boat, wherein my Lord of Kildare came over, was in danger to be run under water by carrying too much sail, and running foul upon the passage boat. Down this river come all the shipping for Waterford. Here we saw the 9th Whelp lying at anchor, to guard the fleet which now is ready to go hence to Bristoll fair. Sir Beverley Newcombe is captain of her, and is now at Waterford. They say there are about fifty sail to go to St. James fair at Bristoll. The Irish here use a very presumptuous proverb and speech touching this passage. They always say they must be at Bristoll fair,—they must have a wind to Bristoll fair; and indeed it is observed they never fail of a wind to Bristoll fair; yea though the fair be begun, and the wind still averse, yet still do they retain their confident presumption of a wind. It is most safe here to hire a boat to pass over in, not with horses, which is rowed over with four oars. I paid for the hire of it 2*s*. This is a full mile over. The passage boat which carries your horses will not carry at one time more than two or three horses. Here is far better coming into the boat and landing than at Port Patricke, but less and worse boats. On Munster side is good lodging and accommodation.

This day we passed over the land of a gentleman whose name is . He died about seven days ago of a gangreen; his fingers and hands, toes and feet, rotted off, joint by joint. He was but a young man, of above 1000*l.* per annum, and married an old woman, a crabbed piece of flesh, who cheated him with a 1000*l.* she brought him, for which he was arrested within three days after his marriage.

We came to Waterford about three hour, and baited at the

King's Head, at Mr. Wardes, a good house, and a very complete gentlemanlike host. This town is reputed one of the richest towns in Ireland. It stands upon a river (called Watterford river) which maintaineth a sufficiently deep and safe channel even to the very quay, which indeed is not only the best and most convenient quay which I have found in Ireland, but it is as good a quay as I have known either in England, or observed in all my travels. A ship of three hundred may come close to these quays. This quay is made all along the river-side without the walls, and divers fair and convenient buttresses made about twenty yards long, which go towards the channel. I saw the river at a spring tide flow even with the top of this quay, and yet near unto the quay a ship of three hundred ton full loaden may float at a low water. Upon this river stand divers forts and castles which command it. At the mouth of the river is there a fort called Dunkannon, wherein lieth my Lord Esmond's company, consisting of fifty good expert soldiers. Here is also a company of fifty soldiers, which are under the command of Sir George Flowre,[1] an ancient knight. These are disposed of in the fort, which is placed without the gate towards Caricke, a pretty little hold, which stands on high and commands the town. There stands upon this river the Carick twelve miles hence, and Clanmell about eight mile thence; hither (as I have heard) the river flows. There is seated upon this river also Golden Bridge, and there is a passage by water from Cullen and Limbrecke. This is no barred, but a most bold haven, in the mouth whereof is placed an eminent tower, a sea mark, to be discerned at a great distance; yet this river runs so crooked as without a W.

[1] Sir Geo. Flower was an active officer employed against the rebels in Ireland in 1600, and commanding a body of troops of from 1200 to 2000 men. In 1601 he was made serjeant-major of his Majesty's forces, and performed many gallant, daring, and successful achievements, for which he received the honour of knighthood. In 1627, he was appointed governor and constable of the fort then newly erected at Waterford, and appointed one of the commissioners to execute martial law within the province of Munster. Soon after this he died. See *Lodge's Peerage of Ireland*, vol. v. p. 284. He appears, however, to have been alive, though "an ancient knight," in 1636.

or N.W. Hence went a great fleet to Bristoll fair, who staid long here waiting for a wind.

This city is governed by a mayor, bailiffs, and twelve aldermen. Herein are seven churches; there have been many more. One of these, Christ Church, a cathedral; St. Patrick's, Holy Ghost, St. Stephen's, St. John,—but none of these are in good repair, not the cathedral, nor indeed are there any churches almost to be found in good repair. Most of the inhabitants Irish, not above forty English, and not one of these Irish goes to church. This town trades much with England, Fraunce and Spaine, and that which gives much encouragement hereunto is the goodness of the haven. This town double-walled, and the walls maintained in good repair. Here we saw women in a most impudent manner treading cloathes with their feet; these were naked to the middle almost, for so high were their clothes tucked up about them. Here the women of better rank and quality wear long, high, laced caps, turned up round about; these are mighty high; of this sort I gave William Dale money to buy me one. Here is a good, handsome market-place, and a most convenient prison that I ever saw for the women apart, and this is a great distance from the men's prison. Herein dwells a judicious apothecary, who hath been bred at Antwerpe, and is a traveller; his name is (as I take it) Mr. Jarvis Billiard, by whose directions and good advice I found much good, and through God's mercy recovered from my sickness. After I had dined here, I went about four or five hour towards Caricke, where I stayed at a ferry about a mile from Watterford a whole hour for the boat, wherein we and our six horses were carried over together.

Hence to Caricke is accounted nine miles, good large ones, but very fair way, and very ready to find. We came to Caricke about nine hour. We lodged at the sign of the Three Cups at Mr. Croummer's, where is a good neat woman. Here my disease increasing, I wanted good accommodation. Here is my Lord of Ormond's[1] house, daintily seated on the river bank, which flows

[1] James, twelfth Earl and first Duke of Ormond, whose talents and virtues are too well known and appreciated to require or admit of notice here.

even to the walls of his house, which I went to see, and found in the outer court three or four hay-stacks, not far from the stable-door; this court is paved. There are also two other courts; the one a quadrangle. The house was built at twice. If his land were improved and well planted, it would yield him a great revenue; for it is said he hath thirty-two manors and manor-houses, and eighteen abbeys. This town of Carick is seated upon the bank of a fine, pleasant, navigable river, but it is a most poor place, and the houses many quite ruinated, others much decayed; here is no trade at all. This hath been a town of strength and defence; it is walled about, and with as strong a wall, and that to walk upon, as is West Chester; the church in no good repair, nor any of the churches in this country, which argues their general disaffection unto religion. Here in this town is the poorest tavern I ever saw—a little, low, thatched Irish house, not to be compared unto Jane Kelsall's of the Green at Handforth. 'Twixt Waterford and this town are many spacious sheep-pastures, and very fair large sheep as most in England, the greatest part of the land hereabouts is converted unto this use.

Jul. 22.—From this town I returned back to Waterford, fearing indeed lest the country disease should so far prevail upon me as to disable me to endure, whereas indeed immediately after my departure I did begin by degrees to recover, and was within a few days, and before my departure out of that kingdom, perfectly recovered, and my body rather inclined to be costive, but yet this did not continue with me above two days; and whereas I feared faintings by reason of sea-sickness, I thank God I was nothing subject thereunto, though I was never well at sea. Here, by promise, Mr. Needam of Hacquett's Town stood engaged to meet me, and sends in his stead Mr. Robert Cooke, an English gentleman who lives about one or two miles from this town, upon a farm called Tibruchne (as I take it) which is my Lord of land; he is my Lord of Ormond's uncle; he pays £120 rent for this farm, and paid an £100 fine: his term in it is twenty years or thereabouts; the quantity of the ground hereunto belonging, as

he valueth and esteems it to be, about 1000 acres English measure; but, upon my view and survey thereof, I could not judge it to be less than 1200 or 1400 acres. This is all good land, and a great part marsh land lying along the river in common and not enclosed, which, if it were but divided and enclosed, would yield more than the rent of the whole, and this would be a small charge to make only ditches; this is commodiously, sometimes and not over often, watered and enriched by this navigable great river, which runs all along this ground a mile or two.

Here I observed a very convenient seat . This was this day overflowed with the tide, by reason of a strong east wind concurring with this high St. James' flood; here abundance of fowl in winter. Here is a very fair, handsome English stone house new built, and also a castle, to both which there comes up at every tide in a deep lough or channel sufficient water to carry a boat, and when the tide is gone out this is dry; so as if a net be placed in the mouth of it (which is but narrow) you may be thereby furnished with salmon, flookes,[1] and other fish sufficient. There is now an Englishman tenant, who lives in the Castle, who keeps a dairy and rents thirty kine from him, who keeps them summer and winter; for every cow he is to pay 1*l.* 10*s.* per annum, and half of the calves, all which are to be reared. I tasted of their milk, butter and cheese, and it was excellent good; I never drunk so good butter-milk. Here the milk is so good, as they churn that in the evening which was milked in the morning, so as the butter-milk is much sweeter and wholesomer; they never yet sold any cheese, only butter at 4*d.* a pound. Here I saw abundance of cheeses. Here is a town hereunto belonging, inhabited by Irish, who have no longer estate than from year to year; they pay neither here nor elsewhere no rent in money, only plough the ground to the parts, and allow the landlord a third part; this is so slothfully and improvidently ordered, as the ground is much impaired, and yields much less than if well husbanded. But these

[1] *Flookes*, flounders.

unprofitable commodities may be removed at pleasure, and without any manner of inconvenience, exclamation, or exception. Mr. Robert Cooke, who now dwells here, affirmed that this farm would keep 120 kine, and their increase, sufficiently plentifully, both summer and winter. There is one now tenant upon another part hereof, who will take the whole one half of the farm, so much as is grazing ground for cattle, and will pay £90 per annum, and indeed Mr. Cooke is so honest a gentleman, as I cannot but believe his report. He saith it will also keep five or six hundred sheep, as good fair sheep as are Leicestershire or Northamptonshire, and sufficient good corn land may be reserved as will employ two ploughs; besides, the moor, which is a rich marsh like Saltney,[1] will keep abundance of young cattle, horses and colts, and in my judgment this marsh land cannot be less than 400 acres. Herein although the salt water this day overflowed in my view, yet owlers[2] grow and prosper well; hence you may go conveniently enough to Caricke to church, the church in this town being in decay. Mr. Cooke will part with his interest herein, and demands his £100 fine and the rent of £120 per annum; the reason why he will part with his interest is because he hath a kinsman of his name partner with him, who fails in the payment of his part of the rent, for which his cattle was distrained.

Jul. 23.—This day I rested at King's Head at Mr. Warde's, and prepared barley-water, cordials and perfumes, to take to sea, to preserve me from fainting, whereunto I was nothing subject (I thank God) at sea or land. Herein I made use of and spent most of the afternoon with Mr. Jarvis Billiard, the apothecary, who showed me the best Mercator[3] that ever I saw in my life; and

[1] Saltney Marsh was an extensive salt marsh, within the county of Flint, in the immediate neighbourhood of the city of Chester; it consisted of nearly 5000 acres, and under the powers of acts of parliament a new channel for the river Dee was cut through it, and a very large tract of land rescued from the encroachments of the sea. To accomplish this object a company of adventurers was formed and incorporated under the name of the River Dee Company.

[2] Alders.

[3] Gerard Mercator, a German, who died in 1594, invented a chart or projection of the earth, which after him was called a Mercator.

indeed, before my departure hence, I was freed from that indisposition.

24.—Next morning I went down to the passage, which was so thronged as I could not be furnished with convenient lodging; hard bed, without curtains, air or casements, a corn room. We lodged at Bell, 6*d.* ordinary, a most unquiet house at this time. The wind stood well for them (if they could have gotten out to sea) two or three days before, but it was so strong as they durst not adventure out of the river, for fear of being thrown upon some of the crooked points in this river.

25.—But upon St. James day, the wind was sufficiently calmed, and stood fair, and they in The Whelp discharged a piece of ordinance to summon us aboard very early, so I was constrained to go aboard without my breakfast. There I bought half a mutton, cost 3*s.* and eggs seven a penny, and three pullets at 3*d.* a piece, but wanted a stomach to make use of any save some eggs and pullets. About six hour I went aboard one of the king's ships, called the Ninth Whelp,[1] which is in the king's books 215 ton and tonnage

[1] The occasion of the building of this vessel, and the fate of some of its companions, we learn from the following extracts. Our traveller is not always very correct in his statements when measures of weight or distance are concerned, and his estimate of the tonnage of this vessel does not agree with that of the shipbuilder. The name *whelp* was probably given them facetiously in reference to their designation as barks.

"1627. The 26th of February, attending the officers of the navy at Sir Sackville Crowe's house by Charing Cross, Sir John Penington came thither to acquaint them with a warrant from the Lord Duke (of Buckingham) directed to him and myself, for present bargaining with the yard keepers of the river for the building of ten small vessels, for the enterprise of Rochel, of some 120 tons a piece, with one deck and quarter only, to row as well as sail. The 28th day of the same month we concluded our bargains with the general yardkeepers, and drew covenants between us and delivered to them accordingly. In this business I was employed till the latter end of July that the ships set sail to Portsmouth. My son John was placed captain in the sixth Whelp, built by my kinsman Peter Pett. Having liberty from the Lord Duke to make choice for him amongst them all, I chose that pinnace before the rest, supposing she would have proved best, which fell out afterwards cleane contrary. The 4th September my son John took leave of me in the evening, and went on board his ship, whom I never saw after, being unfortunately cast away in the return from Rochel.

"1628. In this interim I received certain intelligence of the great loss of my son John, his ship and all his company, who foundered in the sea about the Seames in a

in king's books. She carries sixteen pieces of ordinance, two brass sakers, six iron demiculverin drakes, four iron whole culverin drakes, and four iron demicannon drakes. They are called drakes. They are taper-bored in the chamber, and are tempered with extraordinary metal to carry that shot; these are narrower where the powder is put in, and wider where the shot is put in, and with this kind of ordinance his Majesty is much affected. This ship is manned with sixty men; the captain is Sir Beverley Newcomen;[1] lieutenant, John Newcomen; master, William Brooke; master's mate, William Purser, who hath lost an arm,—a temperate, well-governed, and well-affected man; master gunner, Joseph Dudley; boatswain, corruptly called boseon, John Green; purser, Thomas Morgan; serjeant, Nathaneell Gilson; and indeed the most of the better sort of the rest civilized and well-governed men, and divers of them I observed attentive and diligent at prayer. We had (through God's mercy) a quick, pleasant, and dainty passage, for within twenty-six hours after we parted with Ireland, the utmost point I mean of Irish shore, we were landed at MINEHEAD in Somersettshire. This is a most dainty steady vessel, so long as she carries sail, and a most swift sailer, able to give the advantage of a top-sail to any of the rest of this fleet, for whom we made many stays, and yet could not keep behind them, so as they did not put up all their sails as they otherwise might, but suited their course to the pace of this fleet, whom they waited upon to waft over from Waterford to Bristoll fair, and to guard them from the Turks, of

great storm about the beginning of November; not one man saved to bring the doleful news, nor no ship near them to deliver the certainty but a small pinnace belonging to the fleet that was within ken of her, and saw her shoot nine pieces of ordinance, hoping of succour."—*Journal of Phineas Pett*, MSS. in Brit. Mus. 9298.

"At the return of this fleet (from Rochel) two of the Whelps were cast away, and three ships more, and some five ships who had some of those great stones, that were brought to build Paul's, for ballast and for other uses within them, which could promise no good success, for I never heard of any thing that prospered which being once designed for the honour of God was alienated from that use."—*Howel's Letters*, sect. v. lett. 9.

[1] Sir Beverley Newcomen, Bart. of Kenagh in the county of Longford, probably grandson of Robert, on whom that honour was first conferred in 1623.

whom there was here a fear and rumour that they were very busy upon the coast of Fraunce. These are full of men, ordinance and small shot. This day we caused match to be made ready and prepared, and looked for them about Lundye next morning, but saw none, only it was the captain's care to see all the sail before him; for which end staying often, the vessel then (as also when she wanted sail) tottered and rolled intolerably; this did make me vomit extremely, and much more sea-sick than otherwise.

Here the captain's cabin was taken up by Alderman Joanes of Dublin, and Dr. [1] Dean of Christ Church in Dublin, who came in her by sea from Dublin to Waterford, and so thence for Bristoll; and the captain himself lodged in the master's cabin, so as I could not be accommodated with any more convenient cabin that the master gunner's cabin in the gun room, but I could not endure under hatches, nor was I any longer in this cabin than about four hours in the night, during which time I could not rest, the ship tossed so exceedingly, so as I thought it had been tempestuous, and yet was it very calm, fair and moon-shine night; and sometimes the waves flashed into the ship at the loop-holes at stern, so as I could not endure in bed longer than one watch, from ten to two hour, and then I arose and went to the hatches, and presently we discovered Lundye, which seems like a high rock in the sea, and is an island: this is accustomed to be the pirates' harbour and shelter, but now we could not discover any.

The remarkable points, shores, sands, rocks and islands, in this passage, are these: on Washford side, Dunkannon, which is a fort, wherein my Lord Esmond's company is disposed; and a low point whereon is placed the tower of Waterford, a white, eminent, conspicuous sea-mark: hence about four leagues are two islands called the Saltes. On Waterford side is Croydenhead, and the utmost point is called Horselippes, so called from a shelf of sand. Hence to Lundye is about thirty leagues: this is an island which belongs to a Devon gentleman, lying N. and S., and in length about three

[1] Randolph Barlow, Archbishop of Tuam 1629, held the deanery of Christ Church in commendam.

mile, and in breadth about a mile; this is plentifully furnished with fowl and coneys, and good grass for cattle. Turks and men-of-war often commit spoil here, but, there being but one passage or entrance, ten men may repulse fifty. Though this seem an high rock, yet it is nothing so high as Elsey or the Bass. In the midst and fair way to this island are certain sharp rocks called the Smalls, very dangerous; and about six leagues to the N. lies St. David's point, and not far from thence is the poor city of St. David's, a village for a few fishermen: if there come any ships near to these rocks, there are strong tides which will hazard violently and forcibly to carry the ship upon them; these your expert mariners take care commonly to leave at a sufficient distance on the left hand, except the wind be north, then they haul close to the coast of Wales, Pembrokeshire, near to Millford Haven, a most capacious gallant haven, which is about twenty-five leagues from the tower of Waterford.

This island of Lundye lieth in the middle of the mouth of Severn, which is there about fifteen leagues broad betwixt the isle of Caldye in Pembrokeshire and Hartland Point in Devonshire; and this river runs all along to Bristoll about twenty-eight leagues, and thence to Gloucester. This Hartland Point is the westward point of the bay of Barnstable, and seventeen leagues hence on Devon side is a dry haven called Illfordcombe. Hence to Minehead in Sommersettshire, seven leagues: thence to Wattchett, two leagues; to Bridgwater, four leagues. On the coast of Wales, from Milford Haven to Tinbye,[1] which is in the isle of Caldye, is three leagues; thence to Caermarthen in Caermarthenshire; then to Burroe,[2] without which lieth a point called the Wormes-head; to the east lie Neith and Swanzie, Barrie and Sillie in Glamorganshire, all four dry creeks, whence comes much coals into Sommersettshire. From Sillie to the Holmes, about two leagues; to the north of these is Pennart Point, where alabaster is digged; this

[1] Tenby is on the main land, opposite to Caldy Island.

[2] Burry river, on the bank of which is Gower land, having Wormshead for its extremest western point.

about three miles from Cardiffe, which is thirty mile from Bristoll. Cardiffe stands in the mouth of river Tavye. Thence to Newport in Monmouthshire eight mile; this is placed in the mouth of the river Uske; upon the same river, three miles higher, stands Carlion, where King Arthur kept his court. Thence to Chepstow in Monmouthshire twelve miles; this stands in the mouth of the river Wye; all which rivers of Tavie, Uske, and Wye, are swallowed by the river Severn, and lose their name. From Chepstow to the Passage twixt Bristoll and Wales three mile; this passage is called Aust on English side, and Beateslay[1] on the Welsh side; it is two mile over. Here runs one of the strongest tides in the world, as Mr. William Purser, a judicious mariner and master's mate of the ninth Whelp, informed me.

In this passage I have omitted to take notice and tell you that about nineteen leagues from Bristoll in Severn, there are two islands, called the Holmes; in the one of them, which is to the north, grows good corn, and is lead ore gotten; which is in circumference about two miles; the other of these islands is called the Steepeholmes, an island of little value. Thence to Kingroade seven leagues, where now rides the ninth Whelpe at anchor, and which is about five mile from Bristoll. I must not forget how fortunately it pleased God to dispose touching my horses for the carriage over, whereof I had no warrant (and without a warrant none permitted to be transported), but meeting with Mr. Styles at Waterford, who had a warrant under my Lord Deputy's hand for transporting six horses, he was pleased to allow me under that warrant (which cost him 1*l.* 10*s.*), to transport a couple, paying proportionably unto him 10*s.*; and at my coming to passage, I found a barque fraught with cattle of Mr. Augustine's, a justice of peace, who was contented to allow my horses therein to be transported, for the carriage whereof I paid 2*l.* and 5*s.* for William Bayley, and 2*s.* or 3*s.* more; so my horses, beyond my expectation, came to me at Minchead, where I paid 2*s.* 4*d.* custom for them.

[1] Beachley.

But before I conclude this discourse of this sea-passage, I cannot but account well deserving to be committed to record all those names and terms which mariners use, which my memory is able to supply unto me. The fore part of the ship is called the fore-castle, wherein is placed the beak-head; the hinder part is called the stern, wherein is placed the rudder. This carries four masts: 1. the main-mast, which is placed almost in the middle of the ship; 2. the fore-mast, which is placed nearer to the forecastle; 3. the bow-sprit or sprit-sail, which stands sloping even over the beak-head, and which hangs so much aslope as I have sometimes observed to touch the water; 4. the mizen, which is placed in the stern, almost over the helm. Upon the mainmast and foremast there is also placed two other masts, that is, the maintop mast and topgallant, and the foretop mast and topgallant; and every of these hath a sail belonging to them called by the same name; as also it is to be observed that there belongs unto the mainsail and topsail, the main bonnet and top bonnet, which you may take off, or put on at pleasure, as occasion is offered; if the wind blow over stiff, you may take them off, lest they overset the ship, and in a short time also you may lace them on again. As the forepart of the ship is called the forecastle, and hinder part the stern, so the right side is called the starboard side, and the left side the larboard side. Terms of steerage: port, that is, put the helm to the starboard side, which turns the ship and makes her go clean contrary way; starboard, that is, to the right hand; larboard, that is, to the left hand. No near and bear up, that is, come no nearer the wind with the ship's head. Wear no more, that is, fall not off or aloof. Observe, that is the rudder which is without board, and is placed in the very end, which, being moved by the tiller and whipstaff, directs and turns the ship. Observe also, that the helm consists of rudder, tiller, and whipstaff, and except the ship move and make way, the rudder is of no use.

For wine, beer, and meat, you may have good accommodation. The captain keeps a good table, where is always fresh meat. Here is a good cook, who will make ready any thing desired. I gave

1*l.*10*s.* and Mr. Downes 10*s.*, in toto 2*l.*, which we gave to be disposed by the master and his mate and the gunner amongst the sailors; only I directed 10*s.* to be given the gunner for cabin, and 2*s.* to his man, and 2*s.* 6*d.* to cook, and 5*s.* to two of the captain's men; the residue was referred to their disposition. They have prayer twice a day performed by the chaplain, and oftentimes in the night, when the watch is set, some of the officers sing a psalm and pray.

Observe, touching the watch, this course is observed; the one half of the officers and sailors keep above hatches constantly, and during four hours they attend; then at the end of the four hours, another watch is set, and the residue of the officers and sailors succeed; and thus the whole time both of day and night is by them disposed in good order.

Jul. 26.—About 12 hour, upon 26 *Julii*, we left the ship and were carried ashore in the long boat, wherein we were more tossed, and in more apparent danger than in all the passage, the waves swelling and being mighty high and great upon and near the shore, so as we were glad to be landed upon any land, and were set ashore a mile from Minehead upon the sea coast, and near unto an house in Sommersettshire, which is said to be enchanted, wherein none dare lodge in the night, so as it is not inhabited. Here we found boys and others attending the orchard, which is well furnished with apples, which the fairies sufficiently guard in the night time.

This town of MINEHEAD is no market town, the greatest part of it said to be Mr. Lutterell's[1] land. It is a long, straggling-built village, whereinto there is great recourse of passengers for Ireland. We lodged at the sign of the Angel, and had 6*d.* ordinary. Hence I sent by boat, in a barque of 80 ton, Geo. Parker, Robin and Will., together with the cloak-bags, who went aboard about 11 hour at night, and landed at the King Road about 6 hour on Monday evening, who paid 1*s.* a-piece for their passage. Here is an high, strong pier, and a good, wide, open haven.

[1] Thomas Luttrell, of Dunster Castle, succeeded to the estates of his family in 1630, and died in 1647. Minehead was frequently represented in parliament by some member of this family.

27. Myself and cousin Downes departed from Minehead about 6 hour. Hence not far a fine, pleasant castle is seated of Mr. Lutterell's, who is an ancient gentleman, and of great revenue; they report he hath £2000 per annum, and £400 hereof is old rent of assise. In this country they ordinarily give eighteen or twenty (years) purchase for a lease for three lives. This gentleman hath two fair parks together. About four miles hence there is a little haven town, called Watchett. Thence to BRIDGWATER about fourteen miles; here we baited at one Mr. Peter Smethwick's house, a Cheshire man, and were well used. This town placed upon a navigable stream, deep and narrow like Bristoll: a pretty, sweet town, wherein is a fine market place, and a neat market house: these are the havens on Sommersettshire coast. On the other side of the land on Devonshire coast, Barnstable is the utmost haven; then Bidiford, both mayor towns; Appledoore, Melcombe,[2] haven towns.

In this town of Bridgwater, which is also a corporate town, wherein are a mayor, recorder, sheriffs, and twenty-four aldermen. Here Mr. Harvie, a counsellor, is repairing a castle and beautifying it exceedingly, whereunto belongs large orchards and gardens, and pleasant walks upon the wall. By the way I observed a stately house of Mr. Angell Graye's at Stoye,[1] which house and town was purchased lately of the last Lord Audley, who was beheaded; a fine seat, and well watered with pleasant springs. Mr. Robert Brereton lived at Sandford, a mile hence, died without issue male, left two daughters and heirs. Sir Frauncis Rogers of Camugton is an eminent housekeeper as any in the country. Esquire Heale, of Wenborough in Devon, hath 7 or £8000 per annum. From Bridgwater to Woollavington four miles, thence to Marcke four mile, to Rodney-Stoake five mile. About half a mile hence is Orion's coy, which is placed very near a highway. This is a large, spacious coy pool, wood prospereth exceeding well; by

[1] Stowy.

[2] No such haven in Devonshire; Ilfracombe, or Combe Marlen, may be the place intended.

reason of the drought here was a great want of water, until it was replenished and supplied with some late found out springs; earth is herein laid to the cherry-tree roots to keep them alive, and this seems but like mud. There are five pipes in this coy as in mine; the seatings within the coy are overgrown with wood; abundance here is of tame fowl; drake, pellstarts and smeathes I saw, but no ducks. The coy-house is larger than mine, both higher and longer. Herein I observed bees prosper very well, and took notice of the hives, which were made of straw after the Dutch fashion; a little hole square almost in the middle, through which the bees enter into the hive; this not so wide as a crown-piece of silver. He advised me, if it were possible, to bring a spring into my coy, by the means hereof they took good store of fowl last storm. I observed most part of the ground betwixt the pipes planted with withens,[1] except one orchard of cherry-trees. Here were three dogs of different colours, none so little, nor seeming so nimble as my coy-dogs. Here much oats is used as in my coy; very few ducks bred here this summer come to good.

Jul. 28.—Hence I went towards GLASSENBURYE ABBEY about half seven. This is eight miles hence distant, and here we hired a guide per solid. and gave him 1*s.* 6*d.* We lodged at George at Mr. Stroude's, but could not be accommodated either with good lodging or victuals. Next morning we took a full view of the town, which is a good, fair, large town, seated upon the lower part of a hill, which is rich corn land; and on the other hand are very large, capacious, fruitful marshes, and very spacious, dainty, fruitful meadows as ever I saw, wherein, near the ditches, willows are planted in good order, which prosper excellently, and yield a very pleasing prospect. In this town are still two churches constantly upon the Lord's-day made use of; the one of them hath a very stately, high, flat steeple, wherein I heard one bell of excellent rich metal. This is a neat little uniform church, and the pulpit is placed towards the lower end of the church. This is a market-

[1] Willow trees.

town, and is £400 old rent of assise, which now is the king's, but formerly belonged to the abbot of Glassenburye, who as I take it was one of the greatest abbots, and possessed greatest revenues of any abbot in this kingdom. Some here speak (but I believe hyperbolically) that he had as great revenues as the king of England. Mr. Stroude, mine host, reported unto me that he possessed in this county fifty manors and ten parks, the land of which parks, being now inclosed and improved, is more worth than £15,000 per annum, and this town was one of these fifty manors, which is also £400 old rent. It is said there was in this abbey, besides the lord abbot, one hundred and sixty monks. This was a most large, spacious structure; the walls which enclosed it were at least a thousand paces, an English mile about, and these were very neat, handsomely hewn freestone, and those towards the street, which are almost the whole length of the street from the gate (which leads to the holly thorn) to the market-house (which is a dainty one): this wall is as high a stately wall as I have seen, either at Glasgoaw or Winchester, or have met with in all my travels; this was then adorned with many rich and stately pictures cut in stone and placed in the wall, and within this wall are many corn fields and other large and vast grounds; so as indeed I am most certain that I have never met with so large a sumptuous, spacious cloister neither in England, Fraunce, nor in the king of Spayne's dominions.

Here was a most large, fair and stately church, called St. Marie's, all which is utterly demolished, save some small parcels of the walls at the sides and ends, which represent the dimensions and proportion of it, and as yet continue surviving monuments of that ruinating, large, and stately fabric. Here was a dainty chapel, called St. George's, under which there was a fair, capacious tomb, wherein they say Joseph of Arimathæa was interred; still it appears there was a fair tomb there. Here was a very fair, large hall, and under it they say was the abbot's wine-cellar, a mighty, vast, capacious cellar as I have seen, and a neat piece. If the beer-cellar were shaped and proportioned accordingly, it must needs be

a most huge, vast, capacious room, but I saw it not. Here the last abbot, whose name they say was Whiteing, built a neat round kitchen (which still stands entire) wherein were four chimneys opposite unto one another, and in the middle of this structure there was a stone-ascending, tower-like building, almost like your lanthorns in college halls, but that it is all of stone, and higher, narrower at top, and wider shaped at the bottom, where it is also round; this edifice still stands, nothing demolished nor ruinated. Hereunto belonged a prison, and also authority to exercise all judicial power within themselves, even to hang and put to death all those that offended within their limits, and deserved death; and their limits and territories very large, including a great part of the country as well as the town.

Captain Brooke (for as I take it he is so called) lives in this abbey, in a neat, convenient stone house, and it is said he hath a lease thereof from the king for three lives, but a great part of the ground, which was formerly built upon, is now overgrown with ellers,[1] weeds, and the like; for all the cells and cloisters which belonged unto the monks are utterly demolished and ruinated. It is reported there groweth a walnut-tree within this abbey, which still blossoms about Christmas-day, but this I saw not. The holly thorn, which is so famous and so much visited and frequented on the day of Christ's nativity, grows about half a mile from the town, near unto the highway, upon the right hand as you go to Bridgwater; hereof I took a special view, brought away many branches and leaves, and left the first letters of my name thereon upon record; the tree and bark is much decayed (as I conceive) by this practise of those that visit it. Many of the boughs and branches are much broken off, and it is much blemished hereby, as being very naked; none almost resort thither without making bold with a branch; hereof no care is taken (as were fit), nor are there any who do regard and endeavour to preserve this tree, which is affirmed by so many persons of good credit to bud and blossom

[1] Elder-trees.

at or about Christmas day, and no blossoms to be found upon it after the twelve days, nor throughout the year, as I cannot but believe the truth hereof. A minister, a neighbour hereunto, who hath lived here many years, affirmed the truth hereof from his own observation and experience many years, who hath often been an eye-witness hereof, and who carrieth about with him some of the leaves hereof in his table-book. Divers branches have been taken from this tree, and engrafted; one there is at a tavern near the George, whereof they affirm also that it buddeth and blossometh upon Christmas-day: hereof also I bought away with me some branches. Here they report that although there be many grafts of the old thorn engrafted, yet all (save this) degenerate from this much-to-be-admired budding and blossoming at this time: this by the unanimous vote and consent of all with whom I conversed is affirmed (and I did not expostulate with a few) *nemine contradicente.* There is an oak in the New Forest, whereof the same is reported. And it is generally reported and here received that there grew a walnut-tree in one of the courts of this cloister or within the walls thereof, which blossomed or budded at the same time as did the thorn aforenamed.

Jul. 28.—Hence I went to WELLS, a city dainty, neat, pleasant, uniform, dry-seated town as most in England. Here is a fair spacious market-place, which is square almost, and in the middle of it a fair, stately market-house. On the one side of the street from this place to the palace is a neat, complete, uniform pile of building consisting of many houses. Herein stands the minster, which is a fine, little, neat and cleanly kept minster, little inferior and unlike to Durham or Canterburye. In the outside of that end wherein stands the great door, there is curiously carved in stone work the history of the creation. Our Lady's chapel in this minster is lately decked and adorned, and there is morning prayer said herein at six hour; this work done since Easter last. Therein are the monuments of these bishops: Beckington,[1] Lord Chancellor of England;

[1] Thomas de Beckington, bishop from 1443 to 1464. His tomb was built by himself on the south side of the presbytery. Beckington was never Lord Chancellor, that title

Wresley; Boubeth;[1] Harwell,[2] and March;[3] and there are six or seven more, whose names are not remembered. It is thought at the dissolution of Glassenburye abbey, some of the ancient monuments in that fair church were brought hither. Here is a pretty, neat chapter-house, with a pillar in the middle supporting the same. It is much less than Yorke or Salisburye, otherwise much resembling them, wherein there is represented (as is also in them) the history of the Bible, in painted glass window, which compasseth round about this structure. There are herein about fifty-two counterfeit marble pillars, proportioned to the number of the ecclesiastical persons belonging hereunto, which are fifty-two, which all, when they are summoned to a meeting in this chapter-house, sit every one betwixt two pillars, and do so furnish the whole house about. Hereunto belongs a dean and seven canons, called residents, and about forty-four prebends; the deanery hereof said to be about £700 or £800 per annum, the canons about £200 or £300 per annum. From this town to Glassenburye is seven miles; and indeed this is a sweet, neat town. Here we dined, and were well used. Hence we went to Bristoll, which is fifteen mile, and by the way we passed some poor lead works upon the moors, which belong either to the bishop of Bath and Wells, or to him of Bristoll; and for eight miles before you come to Bristoll, especially six or seven miles from Bristoll, there is most steep, hilly way and vile stony as any in England as I have met with in all my travels.

Towards evening we came to the rich city of Bristoll, where we found the town exceedingly thronged with Londoners, Irish, and others, who resorted to Bristoll fair, now at St. James' tide, so as we were constrained to make use of Mr. Warner's interest to provide us a lodging at an honest citizen's house, where we were

therefore refers to the next named, which was probably intended for Wolsey; but there is no monument to him, nor was he buried there. Amongst the bishops of Wells there is none with a name resembling Wresley.

[1] Nicholas Bubwith was bishop from 1408 to 1424.

[2] John Harewell, bishop from 1366 to 1386.

[3] William de Marchia, bishop from 1293 to 1302.

accommodated with a fair chamber, good linen, and victuals; herein we took four miles[1] for five persons, and we paid for lodging and all about 15*s*. I gave the maids 2*s*. The sign of this house was the , and the master's name . We paid here 1*s*. day and night for our horses for hay, whereof there is exceeding great want in Sommersettshire, so as where there was last year twenty load of hay, there is not now four load of hay. Mr. Warner, who bought our rape-seed, lives at the sign of . He hath a rape-mill little differing from that I saw at Swammerdam in Holland, whereunto I must refer you, fol. 27.[2] Only herein they differ, that Mr. Warner makes use of two horses, one to turn the rape-mill, the other to turn the wheel which sets the press on work; the rape-seed cakes I observed laid up, which are sold into Holland at 2*d*. per dozen; a ship comes hither purposely every year to fetch them away. They employ this rape-oil to make of the old soap, whereof they make good store, and doubtless they make great advantage of it; this here is openly vended.

This city for wealth and riches may well deserve in my judgment to be reputed inferior to few except London. Yet Newcastle-upon-Tine was taxed towards the building of the late ships about £3,500, and this city about £2,400, Yorke not above £1,800; and as I take it, Wakefield, Hallifax, Leeds, and Bradford, were admitted to be joined with them in this taxation, and did ease them of £400 or £500.[3]

There are said to be about nineteen churches in this city: a cathedral or minster, which is one of the least and poorest I have seen in England; some call it Great St. Augustine's, others the Holy Trinity, but it is more probable to be called by the former name, seeing there is placed upon the same hill, and near the same, a little church called Little St. Augustine's. This minster is but a part of that structure and building which was formerly here erected; the only remarkable thing whereof I took notice herein was the proportion of a boy turning an hour glass with his heels

[1] Probably beds. [2] Page 43. [3] See p. 86.

when the clock struck. In the higher end of the quire of the minster the commandments are written in gold, and on the right hand is Moses pictured bare-headed; on left hand Aaron in a cardinal's cap; herein is a monument for Sir John Young, and for one of the Strangewaies, a knight; very fair organs in this minster as I remember.

There are many fair, neat, curious churches in this city, indeed I have not found so neat parish churches in England as generally these are in Bristoll; the fairest and most renowned is Rettley's,[1] or church, so called after the founder's name, who was a citizen of this town. Helyn reporteth this to be the fairest and handsomest parish church in England. That which doth most blemish and eclipse the glory of this rich town is the narrowness of the streets. In divers parts of this city there are erected great posts, about a yard high, headed with plates of brass; these placed in the most eminent and most frequented parts of the city, as their Exchange and such like, where their merchants meet, and these are only used to count money upon, which argues this to be a wealthy city; the like hereof I have not found. Here my cousin Downes wanting an horse, I borrowed for him 5*l.* of Mr. Locke, a rich merchant, which was to be paid to Mr. Edwards of Chester after ten days. Here I bought of Mr. Warner a firkin of old soap, which cost 16*s.* I bought also three dozen of stone bottles; two containing quarts, the other pottles; the lesser cost 4*s.* dozen, the greater 7*s.* 6*d.* per dozen: a dozen of these bottles of the lesser were filled with wine; seven without thread are claret, three with thread about the neck are Malligoe; two with white, with thread about the handles; sack 1*s.* quart; claret 6*d.* These with the soap, and one cloak bag wherein also was my portmanteau, green stuff suit of clothes, and some other things, were delivered to Rich. Reeves, a trowman of Shrewsburye, who was to receive 2*s.* 6*d.* for carriage thereof thence to Shrewsburye: it was a great horseload; and for carrying thereof thence to Chester I paid about 6*s.*, and herein I was beholding to Mr. Bennett of Chester, the draper, by

[1] St. Mary Redcliffe was originally founded by Symonne de Byrtone; and having suffered extremely by lightning in 1446, was entirely repaired by William Canynge.

whose means it was procured carried. In Bristoll nineteen churches, and these for most part neatest and handsomest in England, except Gregorie's near Paules. In Bath five churches; in Gloucester twelve.

Jul. 30.—We went hence to BATH, and there lodged. Herein the small-pox had exceedingly raged. We were directed, and came, a fair, pleasant, easy way on top of the hill; we left the road upon the right hand about mid-way, and turned up the hill, and found upon the plain, about a mile or two from Bathe, a place where is a fair kept as in Ireland, and no house near save one. In this city are five churches, and one of them is as lightsome a pleasant church as any I have seen. In the side of the chancel is a little library lately erected; only one or two observable monuments, for Bishop Mountague,[1] whose arms also is curiously cut over the great door, which were also made at his charge, and are the most stately I find in this kingdom.

Jul. 31.—We went to Gloucester, which is about thirty mile, and lighting by the way, my mare chanced to eat some green corn, which did occasion her to shoot her belly, and scour intolerably, so as she lost her belly, her flesh, and became very weak and impotent. I found that rest did best conduce to settle her body.

Arriving at GLOUCESTER in the evening, which is a great, vast, old city, wherein are xi churches, and a great vast minster.[2] This town is commodiously seated in respect of the fair, navigable river Severne; rich meadowing adjoins thereunto, wherein the inhabitants suffered much last year in eating up the first spring of grass—this bad husbandry. Good store of fruit grows here about, apples, pears, cherries, plums, &c., even the hedge-rows in the fields and lanes. The minster here is a great vast structure, the pillars as strong as any I have seen, save in Paule's, but nothing neat nor lightsome. Herein are divers very observable monuments, and witnesses of the impostures and jugglings practised by the Romanists in times of superstition, thereby to delude those brute

[1] The first master of Sidney Coll. Camb. Consecrated bishop of Bath and Wells, April, 1608.

[2] The number of churches and religious establishments in this city gave occasion to the saying, "As sure as God's in Gloucester."

people, whose understandings and judgments were captivated with the belief of those most gross, palpable, and absurd sleights and practises which they used in the whispering place, and in the conveyance of the Holy Ghost, which appeared to descend from the top of the church. These being the most notorious and apparently delusive that I have found in this kingdom, I will a little enlarge myself in the description thereof, being the more thereunto enabled by two or three surveys I have taken thereof. This whispering place (still, and most properly, so called) is seated over one corner of the quire; and it is a vault or gallery about one yd. or one yd. and dim. wide, and four or five yds. high; it is shaped after the proportion of the half-moon, bending, turning or winding all one way. It was contrived with as much art and exquisite skill as there was delusion and abuse in the use of it; there being indeed none so fit means, and so proper engines and instruments to delude and cheat the vulgar as by the use of those arts and subtleties which transcend their capacity and apprehensions; which arts sometimes failing, these impostors being well versed in the magic art, many of them made a supply of that by the help of the devil's skill and endeavour, which their own art and learning could not reach, and nothing is more ordinary in their practise than this in all those false miracles which they work daily. This most properly called the whispering place, because if you stand at the one end, and place your mouth and voice close to the wall, though you whisper and speak never so low that those who stand near unto you do not hear one word which they understand, yet what words you speak and pronounce are intelligibly conveyed to the other end of the vault or gallery to those that place their ear to the side of the wall, as you place your mouth; and I cannot compute the length of this concavity to be less than about thirty or forty yards: the use that was made hereof was for confession. Hitherunto the people were ordinary brought to make confession; the penitentials being placed at one end, and the priest at the other. In the middle hereof there is a little chapel or oratory, wherein there was placed some arch-priest, or superior grave father, who also might hear distinctly every word spoken by the penitent, and who took special

notice thereof. After the penitent hath made confession of his sins to his confessor, he is by him pressed and persuaded to a more free and full confession, urging and insisting that it may not be safe for him to omit the acknowledgment of any more than he desired should never be pardoned; adding further, that by how much his sins were of more heinous nature, by so much he was more necessarily obliged to a free and hearty confession and humiliation for them. By this means having extracted out of the poor penitent the acknowledgment of some grievous sins, he replied, to the torture of the poor penitent's conscience, "these great sins are of so high a nature as that I cannot give absolution; I must refer you to a superior," who is to be the same man that was placed in the little chapel, and was privy to his whole confession: hereby the silly penitentiary is so discouraged, as that when he is brought before this more grave and reverend archpriest, he forbears the confession of those sins, which hindered his former absolution; whereunto being also further pressed by this severe and austere confessor, (who, as he assumed unto himself the power and faculty of pardoning sins, which belongs only to God, so also doth he endeavour to appear endowed with Divine qualities, even to be able, out of his own understandings, to discover and convince the sheepish penitent of those sins which he did omit to confess unto him, and had acknowledged to the former): then doth this tyrant (for so he is to the conscience of this poor, seduced, pensive soul) in a most majestical manner, as though he had also an All-seeing eye, and could truly affirm, as sometimes Elisha said to his dissembling servant Gehazi: "Went not my heart along with thee, when the man turned again from his chariot to meet thee" (2 Kings v. 26), so this impostor accuses of such other sins concealed as he did not acknowledge, aggravating the same by the circumstances of time and place, as though he had been an eye-witness, whereas indeed he was only an invisible ear-witness of what was by himself confessed and acknowledged. So exquisitely do they imitate their superiors. The pope assumes a Divine prerogative and Divine honours unto himself; saints, angels, and images, are made par-

takers hereof by the worship which is given them, and those daily addresses which are made unto them; and to the end that these inferiors may be reverenced and esteemed to be more than human creatures by the seduced blind plebeians, they also endeavour to infuse into the people an opinion and belief that they are endowed with a more than natural knowledge in being privy unto those secret and private passages, whereof no mortal eye is witness.[1]

Another observable deceitful practise was the descension of the Holy Ghost, which was in this manner acted, most artificially acted. Over the higher end of the quire, in the false roof, there is still remaining a round hole, proportioned to a pigeon's nest in a dovecot, through which with wires it was so contrived as that the Holy Ghost, in the shape of a dove, seemed to descend with her wings spread directly straight down, even over the high altar, upon whose falling or lighting upon or near unto the altar, flames of fire ascended in token and sign of a gracious acceptance of the sacrifice of the mass then celebrated and solemnized. This fire also was natural and ordinary fire, as doth now most clearly appear, there being framed beyond the high altar a close concave place, about four or five yards long and a yard broad, wherein some of these cheating impostors, or others, privately lurking, being furnished with pitch, resin, and other combustible matter, which being kindled flamed on high, to the great admiration of the beholders, who were not suffered to approach, but kept off at a sufficient distance from being able to discern and discover the sleight and fallacy hereof, which is now most notorious and pal-

[1] This whispering place is a gallery which communicates from one side of the choir to the other, passing between the great east window of the choir and west window of the Lady chapel. This gallery is not closed on all sides, but has on the eastern side three perforations, one of which is a door leading to a small chapel over the entrance to the Lady chapel, which is doubtless the chamber which contained the listening "superior grave father" mentioned in the legend of our puritanical traveller. These marvellous legends are now worn out, and even the verger no longer entertains visitors with these lying wonders. The peculiarity of the gallery is doubtless an unpremeditated result of construction, and Rome has abominations enough to answer for without heaping upon her calumnies which have no substantial foundation.

pable, inasmuch as now, out of the aisle on the back and at the higher end of the quire, you may go into this hollow concave place, and there you may behold (as I did) the walls smoked even as a chimney; although, until this discovery was made, there was not known, acknowledged, or to be discerned, any such place or concavity, it being indeed not possible to be discerned, being a double wall at the higher end of the quire, reaching, as I remember, from one pillar to the other, there being an aisle (as is at Durham, Notre Dame in Paris, and divers churches in Holland) at the higher end, and on both sides this chancel. Herein are some ancient monuments extant: Osricus, King of the West Saxons; Robert Duke of Normandye, eldest son to William the Conquerer; Edward the Second; the last Abbot;[1] Bishop Goalesborrow;[2] two of Bishop Smithe's daughters.[3] Our Ladie's chapel is here neatly decked and adorned, and there is prayer said therein at six hour in the morning. On either side this chapel, about the middle of it, are two little chapels or oratories, one opposite to the other; in these they kneel, in the one with their faces towards Christ on the cross, which is there represented in the glass window; in the other with their faces towards our Lady holding Christ in her arms. Here are also to be found the tombs of Buttler, Earl of Ormond,[4] Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford,[5] Bishop Eldred,[6] who was hence removed and made Archbishop of York.

August 1.—Being Saturday, we left Gloucester, and passing the fine river Severne, over which there is a fair bridge, the river but narrow, but securely navigable because the channel is so deep. Hence we directed our course into Herefordshire, towards Here-

[1] The abbey was dissolved, and surrendered under the conventual seal in 1540, William Parker being the last abbot.

[2] Bp. Goldsborough occupied the see from 1598 to 1604.

[3] Miles Smith was bishop from 1612 to 1624.

[4] We cannot find any trace of a tomb of any Earl of Ormond.

[5] There is a monument ascribed to this person and his lady, but on doubtful authority.

[6] Abp. Aldred, who died 1069, was not buried at Gloucester, and as the tomb, supposed to have been his, is situated where Leland describes that of Abbot Serlo to have been, it is now generally assigned to him, who died 1104. The monument itself is of a later date than either of these personages.

FORD, which (as I take it) is hence distant about twenty miles. The country twixt these two old great cities is not champaign nor very pleasant, but enclosed, and the way something stony and uneven. This old city of Hereford is placed upon a pleasant river, seated low: this like unto Leicester, but the houses (though ancient as Leicester) better built and higher. Here we found good entertainment (and Mr. Arnold, being there with his wife, bestowed our dinner upon us), and as dainty, fine, pure, white bread as well relished as ever I did taste. Dr. Wren is bishop hereof, by whose command none are suffered to come to the Communion table, which is railed out, but when they receive or read the Gospel. Here is a fine monument for Bishop Bennett,[1] and by him lies Bishop Bruse and Bishop Stransberrie; here is a fine ancient monument of Charles Booth, a younger brother of Dunham house, who was bishop of this see eighteen years, and died 1635; this monument is in the north wall near the north porch, upon which there is inscribed: "Carolus Bothæus Episcopus Herefordensis, quum per 18 annos 5 menses et totidem dies, Ecclesiæ huic cum laude præfuisset, 5 die Maij, 1635, defunctus, sub hoc tumulo jacet sepultus." His arms are here quartered:[2] a boar's head with a rose in the middle. Here is a monument of Tho. Cantelupus Gallus,[3] and of Mr. Denton,[4] and a Bishop either of Westphalia,[5] Curla, or so called. Here we viewed the Bishop's house, a long

[1] Robert Bennett, Bp. from 1602 to 1617. Giles de Braos, or Bruse, from 1200 to 1215. John Stanbury, from 1453 to 1474. Charles Booth, from 1516 to 1536.

[2] The arms of Booth are three boars' heads, and so they appear on the tomb.

[3] Thos. de Cantelupe was bishop from 1275 to 1302. He died at Rome, whence his body was brought by his secretary and successor Rich. Swinfield, and buried at Hereford, where it is recorded to have performed many miracles. Pilgrimages were made to his tomb, and his name is registered amongst the popish saints.

[4] "Here lieth Alexander Denton of Hillesdon in the county of Buckingham, and Anne his wife," &c. &c. But Mr. Denton married a second wife, and was buried at Hillesdon, 1576.

[5] The supposed Bishop of Westphalia was doubtless Herbert Westfaling, who was bishop from 1585 to 1602, whose gravity was never seduced into a smile, and whose benevolence induced him to expend all his professional income in works of charity. The word *curla* evades explanation.

narrow hall, and but an ordinary house. Here is a pretty little Chapter-house, not so large as that of Wells. Hence we departed about four or five hour towards Ludlow, which is about fifteen or sixteen miles hence distant, and the way good untill you come almost to Ludlow. Here by the way we observed very good and rich land for wheat. We passed through Cottsall town,[1] which stands near about middle way twixt Hereford and Ludlow. This country of Herefordshire, famous (according to an ancient proverb) for three things, beginning all with a W, sci. Wheat, Water, and Wool, for which it is not inferior to any shire in England, for Cottsall wool is the finest in this kingdom; and as dainty springs, and brook, and rivers; and as pure white wheat (it is said) as are to be found in this kingdom. This Saturday late we came into LUDLOW, and rested there the day following. Here is the seat of the Council of the Marches of Wales, consisting of a President, (who is the Earl Bridgewater[2]), a Chief Justice, (which is Sir John Bridgman,[3]) and three other assistants, which are Sir Nicholas Overburye,[4] Sir Marmaduke Lloyde,[5] and Mr. Littleton;[6] always two of these are designed to this circuit of Chester, Flint, Denbigh. The Chief Justice here (Presidente absente) represents the President's person, and keeps the King's house, which is kept in the castle, which is a pretty little neat castle, standing high, kept in

[1] There is some mistake; the town he passed through was probably Leominster, which is about thirteen miles from Hereford, and eleven from Ludlow, and famous for its wool market. The Cotswold hills, which he means by Cottsall, are situated in the eastern part of Gloucestershire.

[2] John, first Earl of Bridgewater, second son and heir of the celebrated Lord Chancellor Egerton, appointed Lord President of Wales and the Marches 1633. His children being benighted in Heywood Forest, on their way to Ludlow to witness his entrance into his official residence, gave occasion to the masque of Comus.

[3] Sir John Bridgeman, serjeant at law, Chief-Justice of Chester from 1626 to 1638.

[4] Sir Nicholas Overbury, of Barton on the Hill, Gloucestershire, said, but probably erroneously, to have been made a justice of the Common Pleas, temp. Jas. I.

[5] Sir Edward Lyttelton, of Munstow, Salop., Chief-Justice of Common Pleas, 1639; Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, 1640; created Lord Lyttleton in 1641; died Aug. 1645, leaving no successor.

[6] Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, second Justice of Chester, 1622 to 1636, afterwards Chief-Justice of South Wales.

good repair, within which also (as I take it) are the courts of justice, to which belongs the principality of Wales. To this court also belongs a secretary (which is the Lord Goreing,[1] which office is said to be of the value of £3000); this office is executed by one Mr. ——, his deputy there, an able man, and very fortunate. Her is also an attorney, Mr. ——, an able gentleman, a great traveller.

August 2.—Here I was by the Judges invited to dinner, and very kindly and respectively entertained. There is only one church in this town, a large capacious church, wherein was only one sermon; this town is seated on the side of an hill, and is built from the bottom to the top, whereon the castle stands. The seat hereof is more healthful and pleasant, than the land rich and fruitful. Here we observed a smith's wife in a loose bodied gown, gentlewoman-like, walking in the streets, whom the boys followed, hooting, shouting, and jeering after her, who was in a mighty perplexity and distraction, one pulling her by the arm, another by the gown, another by her loose sleeve, whose pride and arrogance was most justly rewarded with shame, reproach, and scorn.

August 3.—We departed hence early towards the famous town of SHREWSBURYE, which is twenty long miles hence distant; much barren, moorish land, and great high hills in the way betwixt which you ride. About four, or five, or six miles hence you may discern this town, which affords a very graceful and promising prospect. The liberties of this town extend four or five miles. This is a very fair, large, spacious town, famous for that trade of stuff which is here maintained, and it is one of the richest towns in these parts of England, Newcastle-upon-Tine excepted. It is a very great town, governed by two bailiffs. Here is a very stately market-house, a very great, vast brewhouse of Mr. Rowleyes, the brewing vessels wherein are capable of 100 measures; a well-ordered Free-school, and neatly contrived is the school-house, which is divided into three rooms, in every whereof is there a master; the first teacheth to read, who hath ten pound yearly;

[1] Sir Geo. Goring, created Lord Goring in 1630, and advanced to the title of Earl of Norwich 1644, for his faithful and eminent services to King Charles I.

the second teacheth the grounds of the Latin tongue, and hath twenty pound per annum; the third, who is the most learned, teacheth the highest scholars, who are there qualified for, and thence sent unto, the University, who hath either a double stipend to the second, which is £40 per annum, or equal to both the other. This is a Free-school, and as well-ordered as any I have found in England, where, as with all care and industry it is endeavoured to train them up in learning, so it is a principal work of their care and endeavour to train them in the fear and knowledge of God. This town is seated upon the River Severne, which is hitherunto navigable, though with much strain, force, and pains, the vessels being hauled up by strength of men against the stream many miles. This town, as it is very rich, so it is very populous, and well governed and ordered: herein are six churches—parish churches. We took only a view of that church, of the parish whereof Mr. Stubbs is parson, who published (as I have heard) a false and unjust relation of the murder committed by a young man, Enoch ap Evans,[1] upon his mother. This church is of late gaudily painted, wherein you may find many idle, ridiculous, vain, and absurd pictures, representations, and stories, the like whereunto I never saw in England. Here we were well entertained at the Red Lion, where the hostess was Mr. Wallie's maid. Hence we went in the afternoon towards Whitt-Church, which is about fourteen or sixteen miles hence distant, and lodged this night at Sir Tho. Brereton's; whence I went next day to Chester, and so concluded this Summer's Progress.

[1] Enoch ap Evan, son of Edward ap Evan, of Shadwall, in the parish of Clunne, Shropshire, murdered his mother and brother, and cut off their heads; for which he was executed and gibbeted. His body was afterwards taken away privately and buried, at the instigation of his sisters. Mr. Peter Studley (not Stubbs) in a work called "The Looking-Glass of Schism," ascribed this horrid act to the influence of Puritanism and Nonconformity; in reply to this, Richard More, a magistrate of the county, wrote, but did not publish, "A True Relation of the Murders," &c. shewing that the unhappy man was insane. A second edition of "The Looking-Glass," with an "Answer to More," 1635, followed, which produced a publication of the "True Relation," with an Appendix, but not before the year 1641.

Coins current in Scotland.

In Copper.

Turners,	6	
Placks,	3	To one penny English,
Baubyes,	2	or 12 Scottish.
Achesons,	1 and a plack	

In Silver.

19*s.* or a Cardicue,	In English,	19*d.*	French money.
29*s.* Half a rijcks,	———	29*d.*	
23*s.* Half a dog daeler,	———	23*d.*	
36*s.* A Swedes daeler,	———	3*s.*	Swedish money.
46*s.* A dog daeler,	———	4*s.* wanting 2*d.*	Dane.
58*s.* A rijcks daeler,	———	4*s.* 10*d.*	German.

Of these German there be sixty kinds current.

Only note their most common computation of moneys to be by marks rather than pounds, wherein their difference from the English is (as appears) that they call all their money twelve times as much as they do in England: viz. 1*d.* 12*d*, 1*s.* 12*s.*, 1 mark is 12 marks, £1 is £12, and so in the rest.

SPEECH IN SCOTLAND.

We call here a clock, a knock; a watch, a munter; a dial, an orelege; a band, an ourlayer; for sleight, hough; a shop, a buith, or booth. In many words, as chest, shall, &c., here is not *h* pronounced; a cap, a mutch, if it be linen; a bonnet, if it be woollen or leather; a man's coat, a juipe, or joope. And generally they pronounce ow, oo, as towne, toone; and that which we spell in England with ou, but pronounce as if it were oo, as in the word enough, they call it enuigh, changing it into ui. Our a, that we in England pronounce as they do ητα, i. e. as it were ae, they in Scotland pronounce as it were ao, and in some words ai; so that concerning their accent no few general prescripts will give any satisfaction, but only experience and use acquired by cohabitation among themselves. They have many words in the country that

citizens understand not, but if all the properties of language were concurrent there, as well as significancy in pathetic speeches and innumerable proverbs and by-words, they might compare with any people in the world.

A JOURNAL SINCE MY COMING OUT OF CHESHIRE.

Junii 11. From Handford to Wakefield, 30 miles.—Lodged at the Bull, good usage.

12. Thence to Yorke, 22 miles.—At Mris. Keye's, excellent usage.

13. Thence to Allerstone, 22 miles.—With my sister Eggerton.

17. To Ellenthorpe, 26 miles.—With my uncle Aldeburgh.

19. To Newton, Mr. Hen. Blakestone, 26 miles.—Mr. Blakestone's in Bishopricke.

20. To Auckland, 7 miles.—My noble Lord of Durham's.

22. To Durham, 7; to Chester, 9; and to Newcastle, 3—19 miles.—At the Postmaster, Mr. Swan's, at the sign of the Swan, 8*d.* ordinary, mean entertainment.

24. To Morpeth, 12; to Anwicke, 16—26 miles.—At Postmaster's, good victuals and lodging, 6*d.* ord. supp., and 4*d.* breakfast.

25. To Bellford, 12; to Fennam, 5; to Holly Island over the sands, 2; to Barwick, 7—26 miles.—An excellent house at Crown, good lodging, 8*d.* ordinary, good victuals, and 6*d.* our men; this an honest inn.

26. To Aten, 4; Apthomas, 8; Dunglas, 2; Dunbarr, 6; Mussleborough, 16; Edenb., 4—40 miles.—Mr. Wallis his house in High Street over against the higher cross. We paid 18*d.* a night for lodging, and victuals out of a cook's shop kept in the same house.

29. To Lightgow, 12; to Failkirk, 6—18 miles.—At Mr. Flemming's house, good lodging, victuals 7 persons 6*s.* sterling, and hay 6*d.*

30. To Glasgoaw, 18 miles.—At Mr. David Weymes.

Julii 1. To Erwing, 18 miles.—Here we baited at Mr. James Blare's.

2. To Aire, 8 miles.—Lodged in Patrick Mackellen, good ordinary 8*d.*, good lodging.

3. To Minibole, 6 miles, though we came by the Cave of Carick, which is 8 miles; thence to the Chapell, 32 long miles, and stony, uneven way.—Here we lodged at one Hughe Boyde's, where we had ord. 6*d.* good meat; and 3*d.* a night for hay and grass, and 6*d.* peck provender; the best inn in Scottland.

4. To Port Patrick, 4 miles.—Here we dined with one Thom. Marchbanke. This day we went aboard about 3 hour, and anchored upon the coast of Ireland under the island Mague.

5. To Carick Fergus in Ireland.—Here we rested the Sabbath, and lodged in Mrs. Wharton's house, a Chester woman, most neat in her house; good victuals, good accommodation, 6*d.* ordinary, 3*d.* hay per horse, 6*d.* peck.

6. To Bellfast, 8 miles; to Lisley Garven, 7; to Dromemoore, 7—22 miles.—Here we lodged in Mr. Haven's house over against the bishop's house; here our ordinary was 8*d.* and more exacted upon.

7. To Newrie, 12 miles, where we baited at a good house, at the sign of the Prince's Arms; thence to Dundalke, 8 mile; all this bad way to find, on stony hard way. Here we lodged at a fat widow's house, her name is Mris. Veasie, and this reputed and reported one of the best houses for entertainment in the north of Ireland. She is a Cheshire woman.

8. To Tredaugh, 16 miles, as long as 22 ordinary English miles; thence to Swordes, 14 miles—30 miles. Lodged at sign of the Boot, a tavern, and were very well used.

9. To Dublin, 6 miles. Lodged at my tenant, Raph Brian's, and were well used.

14. To Hacquett's Town, which is accounted to be 27 miles, but it is a moorish part of the country, and most tedious mile, at least 37 English. Here we were very courteously entertained at the Castle by Mr. Needham and Mr. , Mr. Wattson's brother-in-law, and farmer.
15. To Carnue, where Mr. Chambers lives, about 8 miles. Here we were royally entertained by this good old housekeeper.
16. To Cle-haman, 4 miles; to Sir Morgan Kavenah's at Clenmullen, 3 miles; to Ennerscoffie, 8—15 miles. Here we lodged at a Scotchman's house, whose name was Plummer; a good inn, but 1*s*. ordinary—too dear.
17. To Waxford, 8 miles. Here we lodged at the sign of the Windmill, a Welshwoman hostess.
20. To Sir Adam Cockliffe's house, being an Abbey, 18 miles. Here we were kindly and neatly entertained.
21. To Ballihack, 5 miles; to the passage on the other side water, 2 miles; to Waterford, 5; to Caricke, 12—24 miles. Here we lodged at sign of Three Cups at Mr. Croumer's; good honest house, but not well furnished with victuals.
22. Returned to Waterford, 12 miles. Lodged at Mr. Warde's at King's Head; well used.
24. Went to the Passage, 5 miles; lodged at Bell, 6 ordinary, good house.
25. Went aboard the Whelpe.

A FURTHER INSTANCE OF GOD'S GOODNESS UNTO US IN RESTORING TO HEALTH, ETC.

At my being in London, May, 1636, my body was much indisposed by reason I enjoyed not the benefit of nature, sometimes not once in two days, yet was not my body costive and restringent, but soluble and laxative sufficient; this occasioned unto me a

constant pain in the bottom of my belly; this I conceived much encreased by the use of apple tarts and apples; but that which most encreased my distemper was this, that whilst my body was thus indisposed, I went with Mr. White to Conningham in Essex, which is about thirty miles, and returned back upon the 17 of May, which was near sixty mile. Though we did ride very fairly and orderly, yet was my body, thus indisposed as aforesaid, much more distempered, my spirits and body both over-toiled, and my blood much heated. Returning the same night about 10 hour, I was only sensible of an extreme weariness and drowsiness; and though I was hot when I went to bed, yet was I not sensible thereof; but by reason of my late coming into the city, I took a good quantity of mithridate and wood-sorrel. I slept well this night; my body was feverously disposed the next day, Wednesday. I kept my chamber almost all day, save I went by water to my brother Urian to Westminster, and to the Temple. This day I took very much mithridate and wood-sorell, and that often, abstaining from meat and drink until supper, save only I took a little bread and butter and beer in the morning, and at supper I did only eat a leg and wing of a chicken, and drunk not six spoonfuls of beer; yet after this during 1 or 2 hour I was exceeding feverously indisposed, sometimes suddenly cold and as suddenly very hot, and much was I inclined to sweat; and when I went to bed after 9 hour, I was most extreme violent hot, and burnt mightily, insomuch as I feared a violent burning fever; but the Lord, that all-healing Physician, who, as he had directed me to the use of the means, so also gave a blessing and made it effectual, so disposed my body to sweat, that I was no sooner warm in bed, but I fell into a most natural, kindly, and gentle sweat, which kept me waking until almost 1 hour, during which time, although I was extreme hot outwardly, yet was I not any thing inwardly sick or distempered, save only a little heated and dry, nor was my head pained. From the 1 hour to the 5 I slept, and then waked, my body very cool and dry and temperate, but not having sweated sufficiently, nor my body so ordered with linen clothes to dry them

withal, as was fit; I placed myself upon my back, and so lay (that posture being most apt to sweat) a short space, and instantly began to sweat, and continued sweating until almost 10 hour, my body being duly and orderly rubbed with linen clothes warmed. Observe herein the goodness of His Providence, that nothing was taken purposely to provoke sweat, nor no constraint used, no addition of clothes more than ordinary; yet when this was concluded, my body was hereby restored unto the former temperature and health; whereunto this much conduced, that I had sparingly eaten four days together not above one meal a day, and drunk less; this I take to be a special cause that I was nothing inwardly disaffected and disturbed, save with some little wind in the bottom of the belly; to ease me whereof, and to help me ad evacuendum, Mr. Mathewes, the apothecary, 18 Maii, administered one glister, and his man, 19 May, administered a second; the first wrought once, the second twice; but these did not restore my body to its natural course, for I was constrained on Friday night circa mediam noctem, being 20 Maii, to take one of Dr. Buttler's pills, which gave me three stools, poor ones, not kindly nor natural; I found beer much to distemper me in my sickness, therefore I forbore it, and drunk barley water.

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ERRATA.

Page 4, last line but two, for *subsist*, read " subsisted."
— 33, line 20, for reference 2, read " 3."
— — line 27, after witches, insert reference " 2."
— — line 29, for 7, read " 28."
— 47, six from bottom, for 1814, read " 1612."
— 50, four lines from bottom, for *be*, read " the."
— 57, four lines from bottom, for *Books*, read " Brooks."
— 58, line 33, for *that*, read " wax."
— 91, line 23, for *Eyton*, read " Ryton."
— 108, line 7 from bottom, for *steward*, read " Stewart."
— 171, line 2 from bottom, for *Marlen*, read " Martin."

Orate pro bono statu Richardi Allheton et eorum qui hanc fenestrā fieri fecerunt quorū nōia et imagines ut supra ostenduntur anno dōi mcccc v.

I Harris, Del.t et Litho, 4 Sidmouth St.t Regent Sq.t

ITER LANCASTRENSE;

A

POEM,

WRITTEN A.D. 1636.

BY THE REV. RICHARD JAMES, B.D.,
FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD.

NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.

EDITED,

WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR,

BY

THE REV. THOMAS CORSER, M.A.,
VICAR OF NORTON, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE,
AND PERPETUAL CURATE OF STAND, LANCASHIRE.

"Duplici circumdatus æstu
Carminis et Rerum." — MANILIUS.

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INTRODUCTION.

FOR the singular and curious Poem which is now, for the first time, presented to the public in the following pages, we are indebted to the learning and talent of the Rev. Richard James, B.D., an eminent scholar and antiquary of the earlier part of the seventeenth century. He was a distinguished Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and most of his autograph MSS., including the one now printed, are preserved in the Bodleian Library in that University. The Poem here selected from that Collection, is replete with curious and learned observations, showing the author's extensive knowledge of our early legendary lore, and his skilful acquirement, not only of the classical, but also of the Saxon and Gothic languages. Its touches also of dry sarcastic humour, together with the quaint and affected style in which it is written, render it highly characteristic and interesting; and relating, as it does, to the

scenery and local history of portions of the two Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, and to the manners, customs, and family connections of their inhabitants, at a period when so little evidence of that nature has descended to us, it possesses a further recommendation to those who are more especially interested in the history of that part of the country, and will not, we trust, on these accounts, be thought to be unworthy of publication by the members of the Chetham Society.

With respect to its learned author, a memoir of one who was the friend of Ben Jonson, the correspondent of Selden and Usher, and Spelman and Camden, and the companion and librarian of Sir Robert Cotton and his son, cannot, we think, prove otherwise than interesting to our readers. And as our author derived much of his character, his energy, and devotedness to study, and his peculiar literary and critical tastes and pursuits from his uncle, Dr. Thomas James, of New College, Oxford, it will be necessary, in the first place, to give a short account of this learned divine and critic, as furnished by the pages of Anthony Wood, to whom we are chiefly indebted for our information.

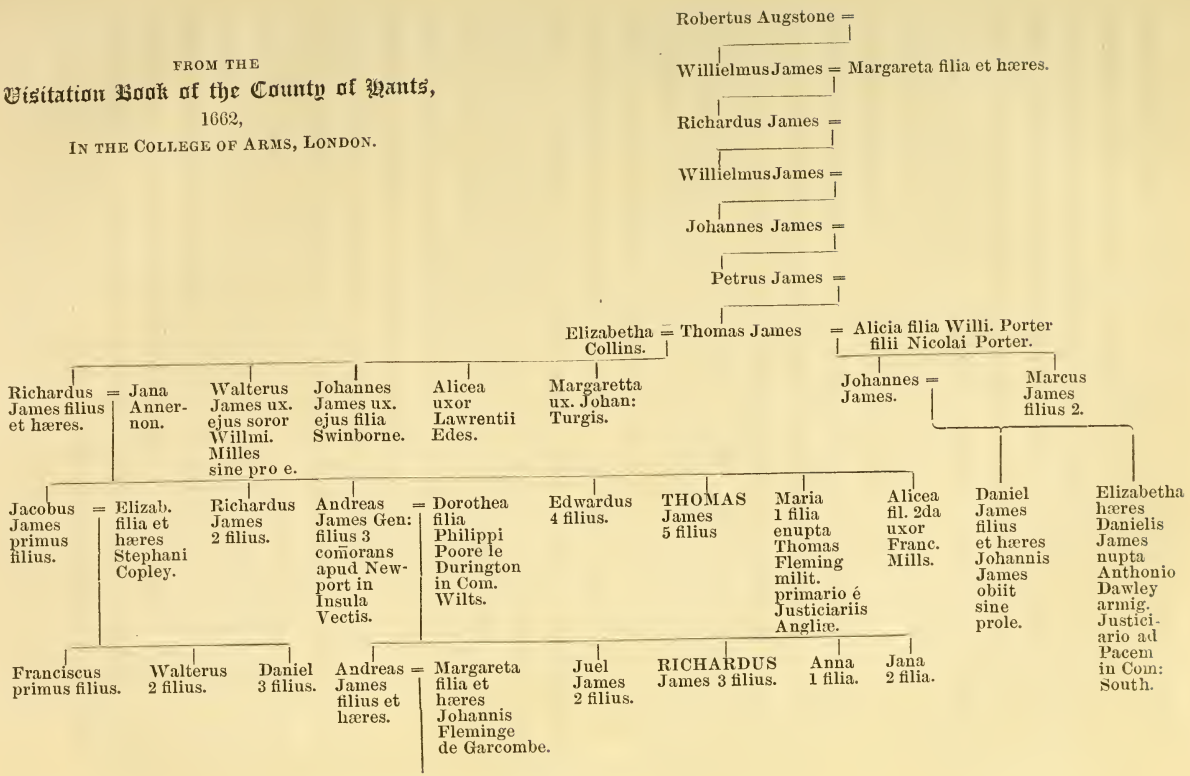
The family of James had been seated for some generations at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, and the following Pedigree, taken from the Visitation Book of the County of Hants, made in 1662 by John Philipot, Rouge Dragon and Deputy to Camden, now in the College of Arms, London, will sufficiently show the various branches of this family, and the connection which existed between the more learned and distinguished members of it.

FROM THE

Visitation Book of the County of Hants,

1662,

IN THE COLLEGE OF ARMS, LONDON.



From this pedigree it appears that Thomas James was the fifth son of Richard James, (eldest son and heir of Thomas James,) by Jane Annernon, his wife, and was born about the year 1571, at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, educated first at Winchester School, on the foundation, and afterwards at New College, Oxford, of which he became Fellow in 1593. He took his first degree of B.A. in 1595, and of M.A. on February 5th, in 1598. He appears to have very early acquired a knowledge of the classical and other languages, and distinguished himself as a collector of curious MSS., and a diligent searcher into their contents. In 1598, he published his first work, which was "A Commentary upon the Canticle of Canticles, written in Italian by Antonio Bruccioli, and translated into English by Tho. James, Fell. of New College, Oxford." Lond. 1598, 8vo. Licensed to Thomas Man;[1] and in the same year he published "The Moral Philosophie of the Stoicks, written in French, (by M. Du Vaix) and Englished for the benefit of them which are ignorant of that Tongue, by T. J. (Tho. James.)" Lond. 1598. 8vo. In the following year he printed, at Oxford, a new edition of the "Philobiblon Richardi (de Bury) Dunelmensis Episc: sive, De Amore Librorum, et Institutione Bibliothecæ, Tractatus pulcherrimus:—ex Collatione cum variis Manuscriptis Oxoniensibus, Opera et Studio T. I.," (Tho. James.) Oxon. 1599, 4to.: a book of which, curious and interesting as it is, we have yet, to our national shame be it said, no edition which a reader can take up with pleasure. The text, as edited by James, abounds with errors, which have not

[1] See Herbert's *Typog. Antiq.* p. 1334.

been corrected in the subsequent impressions abroad. He dedicated the work,— a work which may probably have kindled in his mind, as it has in many others, an inextinguishable ardour for knowledge and for amassing manuscripts and books,— to Sir Thomas Bodley, to whose notice James had been strongly recommended for his extensive learning and endowments; and who nominated him to the office of Keeper of the noble and magnificent Library which he was then building at Oxford. In this situation, so congenial to his tastes and literary habits, he was of great use to that establishment, then in its infancy, by collecting whatever books and MSS. he was able, and presenting them to the library. And among the list of Benefactors to Sir Thomas Bodley's foundation, read in Convocation July 17, 1601, "Mr. Thomas James, of New College, Oxford, is mentioned as having contributed 100 volumes, almost all in folio, and also sundry good manuscripts." Wood, indeed, says, that he was not over scrupulous in his means, and that these were not always obtained in the most correct and straightforward manner. For that "having liberty given to him by each College in Oxon to peruse their MSS.," with a view of publishing a catalogue of all the MSS. in each College Library in both Universities, "from that society which he perceived was careless of them, he borrowed and took away what he pleased, and put them forthwith in the Public Library. Several such MSS. were taken from Ball. Coll., and some from Merton, and do yet bear in their respective fronts the names of the donors of them to those houses."

This, which was the first general catalogue of MSS. ever

published in this country, appeared in 1600, under the title of "Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis tributa in libros duos; quorum prior, continet Catalogum confusum Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliothecis Oxon. et Cantab.; Posterior, Catalogum eorundem distinctum et dispositum secundum quatuor facultates, &c. Opera et Studio T. I." Lond. 1600, 4to. A volume which, though now incomplete and of less value, yet, considering the period at which it was compiled, was a most meritorious undertaking, and highly creditable to the author's application and general knowledge. It was much commended at the time by Joseph Scaliger and others, as a useful work. In the same year he also produced "Bellum Papale, seu Concordia Discors Sixti V. et Clementis VIII. circa Hieronymianam Editionem, &c." Lond. 1600, 4to., which was reprinted in 1678, 8vo.; a work which thus early shewed the peculiar bias of his studies in exposing the errors and discrepancies of the Popish writers and editors. It was written to exhibit the variations, amounting to more than two thousand, in the two editions of the versions of the Latin bibles of Jerome, commonly called the Vulgate, which were set forth by Pope Sixtus in 1590, and by Pope Clement in 1592; to shew what sentences or words were *added* by Pope Clement, which were not in the edition of Pope Sixtus; and what were *left out* by Pope Clement, which were in the bibles of Pope Sixtus; with the errors and contradictions of the one against the other; and thus to strike a fatal blow at the boasted infallibility of the Pope. A new edition of this celebrated work has been lately printed in 8vo by Mr. C. J. Stewart, under the superintendence of the Rev. John Edmund Cox, M.A.

In 1602, James was confirmed by the University in the office of Keeper of the Bodleian Library, to which he had been appointed by the founder; and in 1605, he printed "Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecæ Publicæ quam Thomas Bodleius Eques auratus in Academia Oxoniensi nuper instituit." Oxon. 4to. 1605; with a dedication to Prince Henry. This was reprinted, with many additions, in a thick 4to, Oxon, 1620; to which was published an Appendix in 1635–6, 4to., by John Rouse, the successor of James in the office of keeper of the library. His next work was published in 1607, and was entitled "Concordantiæ Sanctorum Patrum, i. e. vera et pia Libri Canticorum per Patres universos, tam Græcos quam Latinos Expositio," &c. Oxon, 1607, 4to.; and, in the following year, he printed an "Apology for John Wickliff, shewing his Conformity with the now Church of England," &c. Oxon, 1608, 4to. This was written in answer to the slanderous attacks made against Wickliff by Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, and others. At the end of it is added a "Life of John Wickliff."[1]

It was about this period that James, not content with his researches into the various libraries of the two Universities, arduously applied himself to examine the state of all the public libraries in England,—in which undertaking, for the great benefit of learning and the success of the Church of England, he was noticed by his friend and correspondent,

[1] "This morning arrived by our Carrier the Apologie for Wicklyffe by an Oxonian named James, I believe a librarian there in the new library; which I will reade at the first convenient leysure, and send you my opinion of it." *Mead's Letters, Harl. MSS., A.D.* 1608.

Camden, who, in the description of Caerleon, in Monmouthshire, in his *Britannia*, calls him "a learned man and true lover of books, who devotes himself entirely to learning and books, and whose public spiritedness in examining the libraries in England has engaged him in a design that will be of singular service to the republic of letters, and in which," says he, "I most heartily wish him success."[1]

In the year 1611, Mr. James gave to the world his principal work, and the one by which he is best known, entitled "A Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, by the Prelates, Pastors, and Pillars of the Church of Rome, for the maintenance of Popery and Irreligion. By Thomas James, Student in Divinity, and Chief Keeper of the Public Library in Oxford, &c. With a sufficient answer unto James Gretser and Antonie Possevine, Jesuits, and the unknown Author of 'The Grounds of the Old Religion and the New.' Divided into V. Parts." Lond. 1611. 4to. Reprinted, Lond. 1688. 8vo. In this work, which is dedicated to his Patron, Dr. George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, the learned Author endeavours to point out the perversions and forgeries which had taken place in the MSS. and early printed works of the Fathers, and the corruptions and interpolations which had gradually crept into them, not only from the ignorance and carelessness of transcribers, but often from the corrupt designs of others to serve their own party views. The work is written in English, for the benefit, as he says, of his poor deluded countrymen against the evil designs of the Papists and Jesuits, and to serve as a land-

[1] Camd. *Britann.*, Gough's Edit. v. iii. p. 109 — Monmouthshire.

mark for their direction. It is divided into five Parts. I. The Bastardy of the False Fathers. II. The Corruption of the True Fathers. III. The Variety and Contrariety of the Popish Bibles, commonly called the Vulgar Bibles, in Latin. This part contains an apology or defence of his former work, *Bellum Papale*, against some objections to it published by a Jesuit named James Gretser. IV. The contemning and condemning of Fathers; in which he lays open the corruptions and abuses of the *Indices Expurgatorii.* V. A Remedy against all manner of Popish Corruptions; in which the Author labours to show how useless it is to find out the disagreements and diseases in Books, without endeavouring at the same time to discover means for their remedy. A new Edition of this work was printed in 1843, 8vo., by Mr. J. W. Parker, under the editorship of the Rev. John Edmund Cox, of All Souls' College, Oxford, which is said to be very incorrectly done.[1] There is also an Analysis of the whole in Oldys's *Brit. Librarian*, pp. 202, 210. 8vo. Lond. 1738.

It will be unnecessary for us to give a complete list of the other works of James, or of the MSS. which he left behind him, as they are all enumerated by Ant. Wood, and by Chalmers. They are chiefly of a theological nature, and exhibit his entire devotion to one grand object,—the exposition of the errors of papacy, and the evidence of the truth of the Protestant religion from Wickliffe to his own days. The energy with which this subject was pursued by James, and the mass of evidence which his industry and learning enabled him to collect, may excite our wonder in this age of

[1] See *Brit. Mag.*, vol. 29, p. 465.

flimsy compilation; and teach us that if it be contended that we inherit the strength and prowess of our ancestors, we undoubtedly have no claim to their real and substantial erudition. The libraries of Europe were ransacked to contribute materials for the overthrow of Popish reasoning, and the Saints themselves, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Gregory, made to bear witness in their own language against the tenets and corruptions of the Court of Rome. Nor was this all. When he found that interpolations made by interested partizans had crept into the works of the ancient Fathers, he spared no pains or labour to restore them to their original purity by the diligent collation of MSS. of undoubted authority and antiquity. In this way passed the greatest part of his most useful life, and we trust that posterity will not be wanting in their tribute of admiration for his meritorious services to the cause of Protestantism.

In 1612 he published another work at Oxford, entitled, "The Jesuits' Downefall threatened against them by the Secular Priests for their wicked Lives, accursed Manners, heretical Doctrine, and more than Machiavelian Policy." Oxon. 1612. 4to.; to which is added at the end, "The Life of Father Parsons, an English Jesuite." On the 16th May, 1614, Mr. James accumulated his degrees of B.D. and D.D., (his elder brother, Edward James, of Christ Church, having been admitted D.D. with him on the same day,) and was promoted to the Sub-deanery of Wells by the Bishop of that See. And not long afterwards he was presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Rectory of Little Mongeham, in Kent, to which he was instituted October 23, 1617, having

already received from the same Patron the Rectory of Midley, in that County, to which he was inducted November 11, 1609. These appear to have been Sinecure Rectories, as the Churches of both Parishes were at that time in ruins, and were retained by James till the period of his death. And it seems probable, from some of the Letters printed by Hearne in the *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*, that they were obtained for him through the kind solicitation of Sir Thomas Bodley and other friends. In 1620 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace, and in the same year he resigned his office of Library-keeper, probably with the view of pursuing his literary labours with less interruption. We have already adverted to the peculiar nature of his studies, and the important object which he had most at heart. We may add that the earnestness and intensity with which he pursued this design is further exhibited in several letters of his annexed to Parr's *Life of Archbishop Usher*. In one of these, dated 28th January, 1623, he observes: —

"For myself I am not so far gone in years as in sicknesses; yet my body is not so weak, but my mind is strong, & my zeal great to see somewhat acted against the *Papists* in matters of *Forgery* and *Corruption*, which are matters of fact, whereto my Studies have always aim'd, & shall during life (if God will.) I find infinite corruptions in the *Fathers* Works, especially of the *Roman* Print: in the *Canon Law* & *Decretals* I can convince them of shameless forgeries by the Parchments. But that which hath amazed or amused the world, & made it turn, or continue *Popish*, hath been the want of Censurers of the *Fathers* Works, which made our *Magdeburgians* & some of our best learn'd, to lance the Fathers, & not to spare them, whereas they are but Pseudo-Fathers indeed. But the most

notedst cozenage which is rife, & most beguiling in these days, is a secret *Index Expurgatorius*, & therefore the more dangerous; that is, the reprinting of Books, not making mention of any *Castigation* or *Purgation* of them, & yet both leaving & adding, & otherwise infinitely depraving them (as is to be seen in hundreds of Books of the middle age & later writers); I instance in *Sixtus Senensis*, & *Alphonsus de Castro*, & *Antoninus Summes*. There are about five hundred bastard Treatises, & about a thousand places in the true Authors which are corrupted, that I have diligently noted, & will shortly vindicate them out of the Manuscripts, (for hitherto they be but the conjectures of the Learned.) For this purpose I have gotten together the Flower of our young Divines, who voluntarily will joyn with me in the search: some fruits of their labours (if your Lordship desires) I will send up. And might I be but so happy as to have other twelve thus bestowed; four in transcribing Orthodox Writers (whereof we have plenty) that for the substantial points have maintain'd our Religion (40 or 50£. would serve;) four to compare old Prints with the new; four other to compare the Greek Translations by the *Papists* (as *Vedelius* had done with *Ignatius*, wherein he hath been somewhat help'd by my pains); I would not doubt but to drive the *Papists* out of all their starting holes: But, alas, my Lord, I have not encouragement from our Bishops! Preferment I seek none at their hands, only 40 or 60£. per Annum for others, & their Lordships Letters to encourage others is that I seek, which being gained, the cause is gained, notwithstanding their brags in their late Books. And thus craving pardon I rest in humble service your Lordship's in all duty.

THO. JAMES."

In another letter written to a friend, dated Oxon, 23d May, 1624, he says: —

"We have fully finished the Collation of the *Opus imperfectum:* hereafter more of that matter, meantime I have taken pains for trial sake. to compare both our *Basil* & it with the MS. for our Homily;

I find wonderful need of a second review. I have sent you a Proof of some few Differences from both the printed Copies, whereby you may perceive, how this Book & sundry others have been tossed & tumbled by ignorant men, what & how great mistakes, & need of a diligent review, for this is but lapping. I do send you up also in thankfulness for Dr. Goad's project, a fancy of mine, which I pray you to impart to the good Bishop; if he give any liking to it, let it go forward, if otherwise, let it be remanded, it is both fesible & possible in my judgment. If *Cambridge* will set up, or set forward the like, I dare undertake more good to be done for the profit of Learning and true Religion, than by building ten Colleges. I have of late given myself to the reading only of Manuscripts, & in them I find so many, & so pregnant Testimonies either fully for our Religion, or against the *Papists*, that it is to be wondered at; Religion of *Papists* then & now, do not agree. How many private men out of their Devotion would singly be able to found such a College, much more jointly considered, but I leave all to God's Providence; it shall suffice, & be a great comfort to me if this cannot be effected, that by my Lord of Canterbury's Letters (which I have long'd for) we may have a *quasi* College, & the whole benefit of that which is expected in Dr. Goad's refin'd Project. I myself, by my intreaty, have set twenty or thirty a-work; how may the Lord Archbishop command our Heads of Houses, & they their Company, or at least, one out of a College or Hall. I have or shall receive this week three quire of Paper of my Workmen, for which, as they finish the quire, I lay out the money, 20s. for each quire: of *Gu. de S. Amore* I have received one quire; and so of *Wickleph περι αληθειας*, which is harder to read, & the other in English of *Wicklephs* I look for this day. *Platina* is almost done, *Alphonsus à Castro* respited a while, & *Cajetan* likewise, till I hear from the learned Bishop." p. 307.

In a third letter written to the Archbishop, the 27th July, 1624, he remarks: —

"For my own business I know not what to say, whether to go onward, or stay. *Guil. de S. Amore* is transcribed, and wants but the three Books from your Lordship, whereof Mr. Calendrine hath given me good hopes. *Wickleph de Veritate* is the better part done; I have hitherto laid out the Money, but my Purse will hold out no longer to defray the Charges. If it would be so, that I may receive the Money to recompense their pains, I would not doubt before the next Session, but to have most of *Wickleph's* Works transcribed; but I fail in the burden, and refer all to God's Providence and your Lordship's Direction, being not idle in these Businesses."

And again to the same learned Prelate, complaining of the want of support which he had met with, he observes: —

"I have laboured ever since in the common business, as your Lordship shall perceive by an humble Supplication printed, which your Lordship shall receive by Mr. Calandrine, which could I have had the happiness that it might have passed your learned Censure, would have been much more perfect, but, *ut quimus aut quando, non ut volumus.* I have done it as advisedly as I could, and doubt not to give every man good satisfaction in good time. If our Friends at *Cambridge* will joyn with us, the Work may be well atchieved within half the time; they taking half the Points mentioned, and they both sending to us their Observations to be revised by us, we ours to them to be revised by them, that it may be the work jointly of both Universities. My Zeal and Knowledge cannot match Dr. Ward's, yet I will endeavour to do my best. I desire to have my Service remembered to my Lord of Ely. I have upon a Letter of your Lordship's imployed some in transcribing *Guil. de S. Amore*, not that which your Lordship sent, but another greater and fuller work; that is done, and a great deal besides. More had been, if we had not been compelled, for want of Money, to have surceased: and my poor means would not serve to supply wants, and I am indebted for that

which is done. Your Lordship by Letter (if I mistake not) undertook for my Lord of Ely's £20 per ann: had all promised been paid, I had had 20 or 30 quire in readiness; that which I have shall be fitted against the Parliament, in the exactest manner that it can be done for the Press."

We conclude our extracts from the correspondence of Dr. James with quotations from two other letters to Archbishop Usher, on the same subject of this great design, and the want of encouragement which he found from the dignitaries of the Church and others in power. In the first of these he says: —

"I am encouraged by your Lordship's Letters to go on chearfully in my intended course and discovery, *solus aut quomodo?* What is one man able to resist when so many oppose so falsely and so impudently? I have written to his Grace by his Chaplains for helps necessary for forwarding so great a work, as *the Visibility and perpetual Succession of the Church.* There shall come nothing forth till I have viewed by myself, or others, under a publick Notaries hands, all the Testimonies that do result out of the Manuscripts, and printed Books of Papists: But what can I poor weak man do, unless my Lord of Canterbury command help, and command Books and all things necessary to so great and requisite a work? which being well done, will serve to close up the mouths of our deceived Papists. This Question (if I conceive aright) is set afoot politickly by our adversaries the Papists, by especial advice from Rome; for it is plausible amongst the people and vulgar sort, and impossible to be answered by every one; but be it as it may, I have willingly offered to answer one *Smith* a *Lincolnshire* man, who insults upon us in the close of his Book in these words: *And if now they endeavour to answer them* [his reasons] *it will yet more appear that they can no way answer*

them, and that this kind of dealing with Protestants [in matters of fact] *out of their own Confessions is the fittest to stop all mouths.* Upon occasion of these words, I will make bold to write somewhat concerning this matter, both to divert our *Papists* to other matters of fact, wherein they have hitherto declined the Question about the Controversie of their Bibles (I mean of *Sixtus* and *Clemens*) impossible to be answered. I have heard their best reasons about the number of the bastard Treatises, which, as false Writers, have put them into possession of their false Religion, which amount unto five hundred, reckoning none but such as are both condemned by some, and urged by others as learned *Papists*, touching the corrupting of all Authors, and Records in all ages, both in their several *Indices Expurgatorii*, and without, especially of their *Decretals* and *Gratian*, wherein the Soul and Life of Popery consists. . . . . I mean to spend this next week wholly upon this argument of *Popish Frauds*, and to send up my abortive Labours to be submitted to your Lordship's grave judgment. I deal in matters of Fact, and have little help God knoweth. I will empty myself to your Lordship. For *Marianus Scotus*, God knows, if I had compared it, one of the first Books, and both that and *Matthew* of *Paris*, yea and *Bede's* History must be compared, or vain will be our Labour in writing of the *Visibility of the Church*, when we shall rely upon such sandy Proofs. It is too true that *Possevin* observeth, that there are whole Pages thrust into *Marianus's* Works; he saith by *Hereticks :* he lieth like a Varlet; the *cui bono* will show us that. . . . . Not only the *Rabbins*, but the *Thalmud*, in six Volumes at *Rome*, hath felt the smart of the *Popish Indices*, would God we were but half as diligent to restore as they abolish and put out the Truth. I have restored 300 Citations, and rescued them from Corruption in thirty quire of Paper: Mr. *Briggs* will satisfy you on this Point, and sundry other Projects of mine, if they miscarry not for want of maintenance; it would deserve a Prince's Purse. If I was in *Germany*, the *Estates* would defray all

Charges; cannot our *Estates* supply what is wanting? If every Church-man that hath an £100 *per Annum* and upward will lay down but a shilling for every hundred towards these publick works, I will undertake the reprinting of the Fathers and setting forth of five or six Volumes of Orthodox Writers, comparing of Books printed with printed, or written; collating of Popish Translations in Greek, and generally whosoever shall concern Books, or the Purity of them, I will take upon me to be a *Magister S. Palatii* in *England*, if I shall be thereunto lawfully required. Oxon, Feb. 15, 1624–5."

In the other letter to the same prelate he writes:—

"May it please your Grace to pardon my long silence and neglect of writing, according to my duty, occasioned partly by Sickness, partly by Discontent and Discouragement from our great ones: But being now freed from both (God be thanked) I address myself wholly to the care of the Publick, long since by me intended. Wherein now, more than ever, I must be bold to crave your Lordship's furtherance, that as it had its first beginnings from your Grace, so it may its final end, and a fulfilling by your Lordship's good means. It is true my Lord of *Litchfield* is intrusted with the whole directions and managing of this business: but had your Grace been near, there would have been none more able nor willing than your Grace. I do therefore most humbly intreat your Lordship, that sometime before your Grace's departure into *Ireland*, you would be pleased, upon conference with my Lord of *Litchfield*, to settle the whole business, what Authors we shall begin with, in what order, and after what manner. As for the Canon Law, which I have looked into, not without the vocation and approbation of Mr. *Vice-Chancellor*; I must confess my forwardness therein, upon a supposal of sundry additions unto *Gratian*: and my Fellow-labourers are as earnest as myself upon that little which we have hitherto found. Doubtless *Gratian* was

one of the first Compilers of the Popish Religion, in his hotch-potch of the Canon Law; but yet he is not so bad as he is made, the corruptions are of a later date, and came in long since his time. I have given a taste as of all that I have hitherto done, in certain rude Papers, overhastily perhaps sent up to pass your Lordships censure and judgement; and from thence to the Press, that I may have a taste to present unto my Lord the Bishops and others, that have already promised their helps. If this of almost an hundred places corrupted in point of Religion (not taking all upon an exact survey, but a few to give proof of the faisibility of the Work to the common profit of the Church) shall be thought fit to be printed, and an hundred places of flat contradiction, Men if ever will be stirred up to advance this Work; for the doing whereof, with some jeopardy of my Health, and loss of all worldly Preferment, I am most willing to be imployed to the uttermost of my simple Endeavours, having nothing to promise but Fidelity and Industry. Good, my Lord, what can be done by your Grace, let it be done to the uttermost; the work is in a manner yours; to God be the Glory; and if the Church of England receive not as much profit by this one Work being well done, as by anything since Erasmus's time, I will never look hereafter to be credited of your Grace, or any Man else. But to the well-doing and perfection of this Work, two things are requisite;

"First, That the Fathers' Works, in Latin, be reprinted, (the *Vindiciæ* will not serve) wherein I desire to have three or four able Doctors or Batchelors of Divinity, to be my Assistants in framing the Annotations.

"Secondly, That there be provision either in Parliament or out, that the Copies may be sent from any Cathedral Church or Colledg, upon a sufficient Caution, *non obstante statuto;* both these being granted, as at your Lordship's instance they may be, I doubt not of a most happy success of the whole Business. Which, that I may not be too troublesome to your Grace, I commend unto the protection

of the Almighty, praying for your Lordship's health and happiness, and resting as I am in all Bands of Duty and Service. Oxon, 27 Feb. 1625.

"Your Grace's
in all Duty,
THO. JAMES.

We have selected these extracts as reflecting in an eminent degree the literary energy of Dr. James, and the earnestness which pervaded all his learned labours; and viewed in this light, we feel assured that our readers will not regard them as improper adjuncts to his biography.

In this (1624) and the two following years, James published several other works, relating chiefly, to the same subjects with which his former ones were occupied. Their titles may be seen in Wood's *Ath. Oxon.*, vol. ii. p. 466. One of these, however, "His humble and earnest Request to the Church of England for, and in the behalf of, Books touching Religion," printed on one sheet, in oct°, 1625, is too important to be passed over in silence. It was shortly followed by an "Explanation, or Enlarging of the Ten Articles in his Supplication lately exhibited to the Clergy of England for the restoring to Integrity Authors corrupted by Papists." Oxon. 1625, 4to. It appears that in the first year of Charles I., 1625, when a Parliament was held at Oxford, a Convocation of the Clergy, of which James was a member, took place at the same time; in which, in his anxiety to complete an entire collation of early and important theological MSS., especially those which bore reference to the disputed points between Catholics and Protestants, he submitted a plan, that

efficient Commissioners should be appointed for the purpose of collating the MSS. of the Fathers in all the Libraries of England with the foreign Popish editions, in order that the forgeries in the latter might be detected, and the views of the Roman Catholics in making interpolations, defeated. Unfortunately this bold project did not meet with that support and encouragement, either from convocation or from individuals, which James had anticipated; but it is impossible not to admire the zeal and energy which could at once plan such an undertaking, and at the same time provide intelligible methods for its successful execution. So fully persuaded, however, was he of the great benefits which would be derived from it, both to the interests of the Protestant religion, and to learning in general, that, arduous as the task was, he determined to set about the execution of it himself, and successfully laboured in it for some time, as appears from several of his works published about this period.

But the design proved too arduous an undertaking for one individual, and the labour of it too great for James's physical powers; so that, overwhelmed with poverty and sickness, he at length sunk under his self-imposed task. Worn out by his exertions, weak in body, and over worked by study and application, he lived not to complete this great design, but was removed by the stroke of death, to the infinite regret of the learned world. He died at his house in Holywell, Oxford, in the month of August, 1629, in the 59th year of his age, and was buried towards the upper end of New College Chapel. We are told by Ant. Wood, that he was "so

well versed in several faculties that he was esteemed by some a living library," and that he left behind him the character of being "the most industrious and indefatigable writer against the Papists who had been educated at Oxford since the Reformation."

It is somewhat remarkable that no notice has been taken by Wood, or any of the biographers of Dr. James, of his having married, and had a large family. Yet that such was the case we know from several sources; and it also evidently appears from the following letter, written by him to his friend Sir Robert Cotton, and preserved in the Cottonian Collection, Julius C. III. f. 183: —

"Good Sr Robert, after my heartiest Comendations, understanding by my good friend Mr Thomlinson, how both you, he, and others of my good friends have beene extraordinarily mooved to petition my Lorde of Canterburie on ye behalf of my poore wyfe and children, I cannot but acknowledge ye duetie of thankes, and wth all that I am as I hope ever shall be wholy yours, and when God shall take me away (as long I cannot have ye benefitt of this worlde) I shall leave a wyfe and seaven children wch shall honour ye memorie and pray for ye health of Sr Rob. Cotton and all his. So praying ye continuance of your favour and not ceasing my daylie prayers for you
on 11° Aug. 1628

"I rest
"Yours in all love and duetie
"THO. JAMES."

Matrimony is mentioned as the only point on which he and his friend and patron Sir Thomas Bodley differed, who regarded James with a most perfect and sincere affection,

but would not at all yield to this inclination for matrimony in him, which he held absurd, and as opening a gap to disorder hereafter. There are several allusions to this subject in the letters of Bodley in the *Reliq. Bodl.*, but always with evident dislike and repugnance to such a proceeding on the part of his Librarian, and as contrary to the rules he had laid down for the conduct of that officer. On every other subject there was a perfect agreement between the two friends, which seems never to have been broken or impaired. James, however, in spite of the remonstrances of his patron, as might be expected, married; but we are unable to state the name of the lady for whose sake he was thus boldly and contumaciously disobedient. She survived her husband; for on the 14th of November, 1629, "Anne James the widdowe of Thomas James D^{r} of divinity of the university of Oxon lately deceased," executed a joint bond with Patrick Breise, gentleman, to the amount of £300, for the due administration of her husband's effects. Of these there is an Inventory, dated November 9, 1629, in which the several rooms are mentioned. The following items occur in the "dyninge Roome."

"It. a drawinge table ..... xxx^{s}
It. chaires and stooles ..... ij^{li} ij^{s} vi^{ds}
It. cushions carpet and cupboard cloth ... xxxv^{s}
It. a paire of virginalls..... xx^{s}
It. brasse andirons wth fire shoule and tonges xxx^{s}
It. pictures wth other lumber ..... x^{s}"

He seems to have slept in his study from the Items contained in it, *e. g.*

"In the Studdie.

'It. bedsteed wth curteines and rodds and other lumber .... xxx^{s}
It. beddinge ..... v^{li}
It. bookes ..... xl^{li}"

We may add that his plate was valued at ..... xxxv^{li}
His ready money and debts were..... xliv^{li}
And his wearing apparel was worth ..... xiij^{li} vi^{s} viij^{d}
The total valuation amounted to £219 1s. 10d.

It appears that so late as 1655 some of Dr. James's property was still not administered to, and it is not unlikely that the immediate cause of another administration in that year was to make a legal title to the house in Holywell, which was probably leasehold, as most of the houses there still are, held under Merton College for a term of years, renewable at stated periods on the payment of a fine. In that year Thomas Jones of Wood Eaton, in the county of Oxford, Clerk, with another, gives a bond for threescore Pounds, the condition of which is, "That if James Jones the naturall and lawfull sonne of Anne Jones alias James deceased, whiles she lived the naturall and lawfull daughter of Thomas James whilest he lived of the University of Oxford D^{r} in divinity deceased intestate and administrator of all and singular the goods chattells and creditts of him the said Dr James not yet administered by Anne James deceased, whilest she lived the Relict and Administratrix of all and singular the goods chattells and creditts of the said Dr Thomas James deceased, doe well and truly administer," &c. &c.

It is probable that we here come to the last of this branch

of the family, Anne James, daughter of Dr. Thomas James and Anne his wife, who married the Rev. Thomas Jones, of Wood Eaton, in the county of Oxford, and had issue James Jones, who in 1655 administered to his grandfather's remaining effects.

There is a very good Portrait of Dr. James in the Bodleian Library. He has a handsome cheerful countenance, and wears a bushy beard, and is represented in a gown, with a ruff and small white ruffles; in his right hand a pair of gloves, in his left a small book, shut; on his head a four cornered square cap.

Dr. James had an elder brother, Edward, the fourth son of Richard James and Jane Annernon his wife, who was born in 1570, educated at Westminster School, and elected from thence to Christ Church, Oxford, as Student, in 1587, having matriculated, December 15, 1587, as "Hamptonensis pleb. filius." He proceeded to his degree of B.A. June 9, 1591, and M.A. May 11, 1593. And soon after entering into holy orders, on the 8th January, 1604, he was instituted to the Rectory of Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight, on the presentation of Lord Chancellor Egerton, on the recommendation of Lord Baron Fleming. In 1614 he became Canon of Christ Church, and on the 16th May in that year was admitted to the degree of D.D. along with his brother Thomas. He was also an eminent scholar, and a constant contributor of verses to some of the poetical collections which members of the University were frequently accustomed to produce on occasions of public interest. Amongst others of this kind there are verses of his in "Oxoniensis Academiæ Funebre

Officium in memoriam honoratissimam serenissimæ et beatissimæ Elizabethæ." 4to, Oxon, 1603. There are several learned Epistles still extant, addressed to him by his nephew Richard James, who also wrote the following Epitaph on his death, which happened in 1616, some years before that of his brother Thomas. It would seem from these lines that the stone was the complaint of which he died.

"In mortem optimi Avunculi Doctoris
Edoardi James, nepotis carmen funebre.

Visceribus fecere tuis quid saxa petrarum?
Conveniens crustis non fuit iste locus
Durū equidem genus est hominū et crudele, quibusq,
Cepit saxorum fabula prisca fidem
Hic capite hospitiū lapides, tententur acutè
Horum hominū saxis ilia dura magis,
Has, licet, in sedes, pulchro migrate colonï
Ordine; quis fatum hoc vidit et erubuit?
Hic rupices crustas, vivoq, sedilia saxo
Absq, omni tutum est extruere invidia.
Verum non vestrâ patruus ab origine crevit
Esset in affini ut corpore juris idem.
Illi mens humana et carne induta, nec unquam
In lapidem excoxit fervida avaritia
Aut misera ambitio, aut vindictæ dira libido
Impiger aut maribus qui furor ardet equis.
Udum et molle lutum, atq, Deū testante figura
Vixit inequales difficilesq, dies.
O quam multa Dei sanctis fulgebat imago
Moribus et viva pectoris effigie:
Egestos nudosq, lares spectare benignè,
Et bona pauperibus spargere moris erat

More probo et quali veterū vixere parentes
  Felices vetuit quos pia fama mori.
Mortalis præsensq, Deus mihi quæritur, author
  Quippe mihi vitæ non pereuntis erat
Communis generi vindex, ego funere in isto
  Intus justa patri rursus ago lacrymis.
Si vultus similes rides in pectore gestus
  Amissas rursus defleo nudus opes
Quod veris querimur lacrymis, et desine carmen
  Ut doleam tacito depereamq, sinu.
Livor pinge diem nigro carbone vel horam
  Qua vixit soli providus illę sibi
Ergo sidereus jam vivit maior imago.
  Hâc mercede placent vel tua saxa mihi."

The will of Dr. Edward James is dated 26th January, 1616, and was proved in the University Court, February 4th, 1616, by the Executor, Andrew James. In it he bequeaths all his "gooddes implements and househould stuffe in his Lodging at Christ Church (saving his bookes sylver tankard and money) to Anne James his God-daughter being daughter to his brother Thomas James D.D. All his books to Tho. James his brother. He gives all the goods and chattels at or in his parsonage of Freshwater in the Isle of Wight to his brother Andrew James, Gent., who is to pay yearly out of the same £10 unto Richard James of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, M.A., his nephew, as also £5 to his servant Wm North, giving his Ex^{or} leave to mend or augment this legacy according to his discretion and kindness. To his cousin Walter James he gives his seal ring, and to his wife the Silver Tankard at his Lodging at Christ Church. He gives

all his ready money at or in his Lodging or elsewhere in Oxford, or due to him in Oxford or the County of Oxford, to his loving brother and sister Thomas James above mentioned and Anne his wife. All his other goods and chattels, moveable and unmoveable, (his funeral discharged,) he bequeaths unto his loving brother Andrew James, whom he appoints Executor, appointing Thomas James the Overseer of his will."

Among the other members of this remarkable family who were distinguished for their learning, talents, and classical taste, we ought not to omit the name of Francis James. He was the eldest of the three sons of James James by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Stephen Copley. This James James was the eldest son of Richard James and Jane Annernon, and brother of Dr. Thomas James, whose memoir we have previously given. Francis James, a native of the Isle of Wight, was probably educated at the Grammar School at Newport with his cousin Richard, and was afterwards sent to Christ Church College in the University of Oxford, matriculated November 24, 1598, where he was admitted to the degree of B.A. June 25, 1602, and soon afterwards took holy orders. He is recorded by Ant. Wood to have been in great esteem for several pieces of Latin poetry which he had written, and especially for a poem which he published in 1612, entitled, "Threnodia Henricianarum Exequiarum, sive Panolethria Anglicana et Apotheosis Henrici Ducis Glocestrensis maximæ spei, paternæ fraternæque indolis, pœne verticante florescentis ætatis meridie præmaturo fato, non sine communi Philo-basilicorum omnium Regioque stemmati addictissimorum singultiente suspirio terris erepti."

There is a copy of this poem in the Ashmolean Collection among Wood's Books, No. 429. 1. It is a broad sheet with no date, but Wood, with his usual attention to minute facts, has given the date above mentioned. It consists of ninety lines; and as the piece is extremely rare, if not unique, and was much esteemed at the period when it was written, we quote a few lines from its commencement and conclusion.

"Qui sic ante pilos cadit invictissimus heros
  Morte virescentes anticipante dies,
Cujus virtutes nullus numerabit arithmus,
  Herculeus fuerit quem superare labor,
Gallos, Hispanos, Germanos, atque remissos
  Expertus, sed quos noverat ante, Scotos.
Quem reducem exilio Tellus suscepit ab acri
  Nec gremio tamen hæc fovit amica diu,
Qui patrem vultu, qui nobilitate decoris
  Matrem et utrumque suo qui referebat avum,
Hospite quo cœli peramabilis aula superbit,
  Dum queritur tellus quod caruisse queat,
En hic Henricus! quo non præstantior alter,
  Nec magis Anglorum vel pietatis amans.

* * * * * *

I, rue, Sydereas (Dux magne) libenter in aulas
  Cognatos scandas æthereosque polos,
Utque olim Alcides fumanti ascendit ab Æta
  Sanguinis effluvio, Tuque cruore tuo:
En ibi purpureo evecto super æthera curru
  Splendida Cæsarei fulget imago patris.
Fulget Avus, præfulget [1]Avunculus, [2]Annaque mater
  Annaque, ceu fulgens Cassiopæa, soror

[1] Henricus Princeps. [2] Henrici Principis Walliæ.

Tu Caroli magnum moderere in sæcula plaustrum.
  Vis Philobasilicos cœlitus acta regat.
Stabit in occiduæ Genio vegetabile famæ
  Nomen prolificæ posteritatis honos
Gestiit haud unquam tumulo meliore[1] Sacellum.
  Jactat enim cineres urna sacrata tuos.
Cum cœlum ascendas, quid jam deflebimus ultra?
  Quin pro Rege pio, votaque Fratre damus.

F. James, S.T.B. Oxon."

Perhaps the great rarity of this piece would have sanctioned, in the opinion of some readers, the publication of the whole of it, but we believe what we have now given will generally be considered sufficient. Like most other literary compositions, its merit must be judged, in a great measure, by the time and circumstances under which it was written; and it must be admitted that Latin poetry, of this age, possesses but few charms even for the most enthusiastic lovers of that language. However this may be, we feel no hesitation in asserting that the merit of the verses themselves is unquestionable; possessed, in truth, of an average degree, when placed in comparison with the other pieces which were composed upon the same occasion. So numerous were the writers of this class of compositions, that a casual glance at any collection would enable us at once to ascertain how often the most wretched doggrel was admitted into place; and, viewed by these criteria, the verses we have here quoted are deserving of praise. Francis James was also a contributor to the University collection of tristful poems on the

[1] Hen: VII. ubi sepultus est.

death of Queen Elizabeth, in which appear the following Verses by him: —

"In obitum Reginæ Elizabethæ.

Unâ te linguâ natura ornavit Eliza
Ars tibi multiplices ingeniosa dedit,
Anglâ etenim, Hispanâ, Gallâ, Græcâ, atque Latinâ,
Italicâque, animi sensa referre soles.
Sed tibi mors linguas crudelis præscidit omnes,
Et modò (proh lacrymæ) mortua, muta jaces.
Quid flemus? linguis nec tu defuncta carebis,
Cunctorum linguæ te pia virgo canent.

In linguis hominum post mortem vivis Eliza,
Semper et Anglorum *cordibus* ima sedes.
Talesne exequiæ tibi persolvuntur *inanes?*
Sic tua sunt *vanis* funera ducta modis?
Haud equidem: Melius nullum quam *lingua* feretrum
Quæ vitæ laudes mortis honore *ferat.*
Marmore nec melius, vel *eburna* sede reposta,
Quam fixa in nostris *cordibus* esse potes.
Ergo tuæ sic exequiæ celebrantur Eliza:
Ora feretra tibi, *corda* sepulchra tibi.

Franciscus James, ex Œde Christi."

On the 9th July, 1612, he was admitted to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, and in 1614 he is mentioned by Wood as having "stood in the Act that year to complete his degree of Doctor in Divinity, but when he was admitted, it appears not in the public register." He was about this period Preacher or Reader at the Savoy Church in the Strand, London, and had also, as it appears, the living of St. Matthew's Church in Friday Street, Cheapside, 11th June, 1616.

His health at length giving way, he died in 1621, and according to Wood, was buried at Ewhurst in Surrey.—See Wood's *Fasti.*, vol. i. p. 359.

His youngest brother, Daniel James, was of Merton College, Oxford, and wrote some Latin verses in the same Volume. He appears to have been possessed of the same fondness for classical pursuits as the rest of his family; but we are unacquainted with the future events of his life, only that he died intestate in 1612, his brother Thomas James administering to his effects, 30th April, 1612.

RICHARD JAMES, the author of the *Iter Lancastrense*, and the nephew of Dr. Thomas James, was the third son of Andrew James, of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, Gent., (third son of Richard James and Jane Annernon before mentioned,) and Dorothy, his wife, daughter of Philip Poore, of Durington, in the County of Wilts. As usual in the biography of men of this period, few facts connected with the history of his early life can be procured. The little that is known can thus be concisely stated, the dates in some few instances being merely approximations. He was born at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, about the year 1592, and after receiving the rudiments of his education at the Grammar School in that town, entered at an early age as a Commoner of Exeter College, Oxford, which he quitted for a Scholarship at Corpus Christi College, in the same University, the 23d September, 1608, when he was about 16. He was admitted to the degree of B.A. in 1611, and of M.A. January 24, 1614, 12 Jac. I., and on the 30th September in

the following year was made a probationer fellow of his College.

About this period we find him addressing his attention to the abstruser points of theological learning, a taste which led him to enter into holy orders, and at an early age we know from the biographer of the University, Anthony Wood, that he frequently preached before that learned body, with, however, only partial success, for he seems to have been too deeply wrapped up in learning and research for his discourses to have received approbation from any "excepting the graver members." It is fair to assume from this circumstance, that he was almost a precocious proficient in theological learning.

In 1618, his ardent thirst for knowledge and improvement induced him to travel not only through parts of his own country in Wales and Scotland, but to extend his visits to more distant climes, to Shetland, Greenland, and Russia. It is deeply to be regretted that the observations made by him in these journeys, especially on the latter country, which he had intended to have transcribed and enlarged with a view to publication, should have been lost to the world; but we fear there is little probability of their ever being forthcoming. The varied extent of his knowledge would probably have furnished us with information on subjects now altogether irrecoverable. These "Observations" are mentioned in the list of James's MSS. printed in Bernard's Catalogue, p. 263; but the Editor finds on inquiry that they never came to the Bodleian Library with the others, and being written on loose sheets, were probably lost or destroyed before that time. In the absence of these he can only present his readers

with the following copy of Verses by James, who it appears had, from his long absence abroad, been supposed by some of his friends to have been dead.

"To Mr Anthony White whoe had made an elegye on my supposed death in Rusland.

"Those piteous rimes, in which you did lament
My death's reporte with courteous intent
I much desire to see, and with theise fiew
Suddaine unmeasur'd lines request a view.
'Tis kindely now to tell your friend he must
Hide all his thoughts and purposes in duste;
Duste, element of Nature, where ev'rie thing
At last is nothing more, nor prince nor king:
Imaginations cease, in which I
Am sometimes greater than a Sultanie
To frollicke with my friends, or but to tell
By a great refusall, that not all is well
With men of greatest state. O how I dreame
To shewe you that I live, and beg a theme
Of death, whose teeth I must sommetimes abide,
With all ye sequele and encreasing tide
Of men; whose joints and bones although she crust,
She well digests our cares, and therefore trust
With silent mirth and confidence I made
Haste to ye portail of her grumbling shade;
Yet turn'd againe, when on ye doares I red
My dayes of life were not yet perfited.
Well could I please to die: but never please
Long at those doares staye courting grim disease,
Death's porter: no where could I spie

The day and houre of my mortalitie.
Friendly be heere my watchman with y^t^ verse
Which should have binne summe honour to my herse,
That in disprize of death a quick desire
May keepe my soule still readie to aspire."

The following Latin lines are also impromptu effusions of his pen, whilst he was pursuing his travels in Russia:—

"In Delphinum[1] insigne
Jamesianorum Vectensium.

"Adversæ quamvis lacerum fecere procellæ
Et maris imperio concutiente feror
Demersæ ex plebis numero Delphinus in auras
Me levat et peda per fervida scindit iter
Non ventosa adeo est gens nostra ut imagine macrâ
Delphini et picta se efferat effigie
Dicit amatores per hominum nos piscis, in isto
Omine nec syrtes nec fera saxa queror
Qua te, purus amor, venerer pietate, tot inter
Æstus qui fractam non sinis esse ratem
Misceat atq, novos moveat vesana tumultus
Relligio ; cœlum non ruit, huic fidei.

Hæc subitus scripsi in libro lemmatum
Isaaci Massæ legati ad Moscos pro
Illustrissimis ordinibus Belgiæ in
urbe Vraslaviæ An. Dom. 1618."

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[1] This is in allusion to the arms borne by the family of James, which were Vert, a dolphin, naiant.

"De Cometa quæ apparuit iuxta ursam
maiorem Ann. Dni. 1618. per spatium mensis
in Decembri et Novembri, quam vidimus
in Varislavia Rushenorum."

"Tunc cum Sarmatici cœperunt fœdera pacis
Frustrati Gallo milite ne caperent
Vix, Michaele, tibi steterint quæ mœnia, fallax
In quibus haud tantum mobile vulgus erat.
Emicuit septem inter circumgestata triones
Promittens longam dira cometa facem,
Nos quod portentum flammæ quæsivimus acri
Suspicione omnes quisq; sibi metuens.
Anglis ipse timens, ne forsitan invidiosa
Si foret occasu, magne Jacobe, tuo
Extimui et ne relligio vesana furensq;
Armaret Batavos in sua fata duces.
Aut minor est forsan mundi iactura rubentis
Germani hoc sidus Cæsaris esse potest.
Plebeio at nunquam coalescit sanguine regni
Jus dubium, regum est sanguinis istud opus.
Sarmaticosq; Rushenosq; inter cœlum interituram
Pacem quod bello miscuit inde rubet."

Returning to his native country, Mr. James devoted himself with increased application and diligence to his learned studies and researches, in which he was surpassed by few men of his own time. Of his extraordinary talent and facility in acquiring a knowledge of languages, and the intense ardour with which he had pursued his literary studies in his early youth, some idea may be formed from a letter written

by his Uncle, Dr. Thomas James, to Archbishop Usher, in 1623, who was then Bishop of Meath, and published in Parr's life of that Prelate, p. 303. In this letter Dr. James says: —

"I have traced the steps afar off about *The Succession and Visibility of the Church*, wherein your Lordship hath gone a far journey. I do but glean where you have reaped a plentiful harvest. Nevertheless if my poor and weak labours may any ways stead your Lordship, I would be glad to contribute my pains. . . . . I have collected as much as I can find in all likely Authors to this purpose printed; and out of sundry Manuscripts, as Gascoigne, Canter, Mapes, P. de Vineis, Becket, Sarisburiensis, which have been diligently read over by a learned Kinsman of mine, who is at this present by my direction, writing Becket's Life; wherein it shall be plainly shewed, both out of his own writings and those of his time, that he was not (as he is esteemed) an Arch-Saint, but an Arch-Rebel; and that the Papists have been not a little deceived in him. This Kinsman of mine, as well as myself, shall be right glad to do any service to your Lordship in this kind. He is of strength, and well both able and learned to effectuate somewhat in this kind; critically seen both in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, knowing well the languages both French, Spanish, and Italian, immense and beyond all other men, especially in reading of the Manuscripts of an extraordinary style in penning, such a one as I dare ballance with any Priest or Jesuit in the world of his age, and such a one as I could wish your Lordship had about you; but *paupertas inimica bona est moribus*, and both fatherless and motherless, and almost, (but for myself,) I may say (the more is the pity) friendless."—*From Oxford*, 28*th Jan.* 1623.

The deep interest and almost parental anxiety which the writer of this letter took in the studies and advancement of

his nephew is evidenced from several letters written about the same period to the above mentioned learned Prelate, a short extract or two from which we proceed to quote: —

"Of my Cousin Mr. Rich. James (who remembereth himself most dutifully to your Lordship) I send a Taste or Essay of what may be done by him. I will say no more of him or it but this; That I know no man living more fit to be employed by your Lordship in this kind than himself; his Pains incredible, and his Zeal as great, and his Judgment in manuscripts such as I doubt not but your Lordship may use to the great benefit of the Church, and ease of your Lordship; may there be but some course taken that he may have *victum et vestitum* independant from any one. This if he may have from your Lordship, or by your Lordship's means, I know his deserts and willingness to deserve well of the Church." — *Oxon the* 27*th July*, 1624.

Again: —

"My Cousin Rich. James desireth to have his Duty remembered to your Lordship, he hath reviewed and inlarged his Book of *Bochel's Decanonization*, a Book so nearly concerning Kingly Dignity, and so fully opening the History of those times, that I know not where a man shall read the like. I would he might have the happiness that your Lordship might see it, being now fair transcribed, that it might pass your Lordship's censure before it pass any further. And I am persuaded (over-weaning perhaps in love to my Cousin) that if his Majesty saw it, it would please him, having so many good pieces of antiquity in it; — it is his, and shall be my cheifest study. — *Oxon.*, *Feb.* 8. n. y.

From these deeper and severer studies, James sometimes turned to unbend himself in the more flowery paths of

the muses, and tried to disport himself in poetical addresses to the fairer sex. One in particular, under the poetical name of Albina, appears to have gained entire possession of his heart. But "the course of true love never did run smooth," — and whether it was that the lady took fright at the "res augusta domi" of her lover, or that his devotion to his studies unfitted him for the lighter charms and society of the other sex — or that his lady love preferred the wooing of a less learned and pedantic, but more richly endowed swain, it is certain that he was not fortunate in his association with the gentler sex, and died in a state of celibacy. Among his addresses to the fair Albina contained in the MS. before alluded to, we quote the following as a pleasing specimen of the lighter effusions of his muse.

To Albina.

Dearest *Albina*, my desire
Full readie were to kindle fire,
And make a taper kindely flame
To *Hymens* honour, with your name.
But love that heates ye sunne, againe
Me cooles with gentle feare of paine
To you encreasing, since my starres
As yours with fortune are at warres.
Shall we then joyne and surfett chance
With our united sufferance?
Or shall we in a purer fire
Of admiration and desire
Still burne like *Laura* and his bayes
Whose virgin greennesse to our dayes

Fresh live: Your noble spiritt is
Not hers beneath, and mine like his
From everye course of nature, winge
Should make to finde out everie thinge
Which may by arte of poesie
Well sett adorne your elogie.
Which read by princes and their Queenes
Showld us with them for happie tweens
Of love remember, when late age
Hath spent ye furie of times rage.
Summetimes in smart *Anacreons* veine
I'le arme you through ye flowrie plaine.
Springs, hills, groves, meadowes, shall reporte
To nymphs and swaines our sweete resorte.
Summetimes to please your high disdaigne
I'le strike ye mightie friend of *Spaine*
With such growne vengeance as did neere
Beate from *Alcæus* quill ye eare
Of Greeks, — then with softer number
I'le kisse you into easie slumber
Shaded and husht with waving trees
And ye best harmonie that flees
Which for you to my phansie yeelds
A dreame of ye Elizian fields.
The practice of Lords ould and niew
I'le wrighte in storie strainge and triew,
Which you before best Romance shall
Preferre, then let ye satire fall.
At which embraced favour, I
Mounte with fresh courage to ye skie,
To praise and not to search ye eye
Of ye all viewing Deitie.

And dutie which to God and men
We owe, shall gently from my penne
In cleere streame of truth so glide,
As children shall and Ladies bide
In hollowes of ye banck with playe
To wash ye soyle of night and daye.
To such no sad illusions heere
Of braine-sick phansies shall apeere.
But unto tyrants and their traine
More fright shall showe than poets faine.
Nor shall a rustie canker'd file
Of usurers theise streames defile.
Yette shall theise streames with billowes roare
If malice do but neere ye shoare.
And if your goodnesse cheere me, more
I shall of antique truth restore.
At whose sight chac'd with prose and verse
Fals semblance shall her troupes disperse.
Most deere *Albina* doe not weene
You heere a pecock's pride have seene.
But for my true love spare to loose
Your self in a lesse worthy nooze.
Or as you please; for I not dare
Binde love in my sad life to share.
And to your soule wish double glorie
If twice you enter purgatorie.

It appears that the lady soon afterwards married a Mr. Philip Woodhouse, to whom, notwithstanding his disappointment, James addressed more than one copy of verses expressive of friendly feelings, and on the first occasion after

their marriage, celebrated the annual return of their wedding day by the following lines.

"An Anniversarie of Marriage to Mr. Philip Woodhouse.

Now Sir, ye sunne or earth hath circled rownd
Since you were fairely to my Mistris bownd
In holie spowsall rites. I then did praye
My blessing on you bothe. And from that daye
Till this, I heare of peace and love no breach,
Which might, if still ye custome stoode, empeach
Our journey unto *Dunmowe*, *Dunmowe* where
Was bacon for true lovers, when à yeare
And daye expired, they would comme and saye
And sweare, that neither did by night or daye
Repent their tie of love. Lett dayes and yeares
So still continue to my gentle peeres
Of love. Chaste love, love hymeneall be
Your honour, as was virginne chastitie
Mathildaes, ould *Fitzwalters* daughter, whoe
Chose rather die a Nunne than basely doe
The lustfull pleasure of à loose bent prince.
She died at *Dunmowe*. And hath bacon since
Fed in *Fitzwalter's* forests by gift beene
A sportfull prize for equall lovers seene.
But joye they in their vertue, chief reward
Unto itself in peace, though monks be bar'd
From all their wilie triumphs, toyes and japes
With which in *Chaucer* they make people apes.
Or apes. And feller beastes our selves we proove
When we forsake faire order in our love,
Faire peace, faire constancie. And lett those wills
Which disagree, goe dig downe *Mauborne* hills."

James, about this period, seems to have indulged himself frequently in short poetical compositions, epigrams, and jeux-d'-esprits, some of them addressed to his friends, others called forth by passing occurrences, or translations from some work that he was reading. And as a further illustration of his peculiar poetical talents, we print another and somewhat longer piece from the same MS., No. 33, in the Catalogue, which is also worthy of quotation from the singularity of its subject.

A translation of Lucretius or Ritterhusius in his Notes upon Isidore Pelusiota.

A world of wonder 'tis and argument
God to shewe forth all-wise and provident,
When ye creation and whole world of men
Hath not two all alike of visadge, when
His livelie hand with curious arte and grace
Hath runne such descant on each mortall face,
Never ye same although somme paires there be
Agreeing much in physiognomie.
To whome à man y^t^ carefull is to greete
May well misplace his morning in ye streete.
Yet followe home, and easily we learne
To varie our acquaintance, and discerne
Twins different of character, and none
Fully to render their complexion,
Not if on Pegasus we sought a birth
Through all ye nations of ye teeming earth.
Graie eyes, black eyes have many; manywise
Noses are flat or like in longer size.

Yet more or lesse in look and feature still
We shall except sommething not paralell,
The various looks and formes of men are even
So many as ye sands or stars of heaven.
Nor may you deeme ye frames of wits and minde
To be lesse sorted in à divers kinde,
Be better heere enformd by truths defence,
Mistris of reason, sure experience.
So manye men, so manye pleasures, and
So manye vowes, wills, judgments understand.
That which is beautifull and gives delight
To one, is ugly in anothers sight.
If by men and nations we deeme vice
And vertue, surely bothe are but device.
Or if I grant it hardely that there be
Manie of like affection, in degree
And manner still they varie, ardent one,
Another calmer, and à third soone gonne
From all his purpos, uppon which a fourth
Stayes longer to enjoye and reape ye worth.
Manie please to be chaste, but not alike,
Virginitie to him is angelique,
The life of heav'nly soules, where till he goe
He straines their purer exercise belowe.
Another chaste in mariadge, and desire
To be of hopefull children aged sire;
That unto them he may, good man and kinde,
Leave sparks and flame of pietie behinde.
Another not to be unchaste, againe
Will marrie though it be his losse and paine,
Though in a former marriadge he hath
Tri'de stormes more hurling then grimme Neptunes wrath.

All juste men are not in one manner juste
Nor mercifull, nor wise, nor prudent juste
Alike, nor valiant, and more or lesse,
Men that be sober doe themselves addresse
In pleasures. Somme do rownd for honours trie,
As if in them did all true blessings lye,
Whilst others farre from waves of civill strife
Unto à meaner state compose their life.
They others knowe, love courts and concurse, theis
Onely to knowe themselves, and kindely please
A fiew discerning friends, whoe are content
With natures ease and harmeles merriment,
Knowing full well y^{t} all is vaine and rude
Amongst ye vulgar soule and multitude
Of uncollected men, where they gett naught
But sad repentance, or à troubled thought.
And as in vertues harmonie, ye store
Of discords are in viciousnesse farre more.
Manie their livers heated have with luste,
But not alike so tainted and unjuste
And vilde in their offence, theis kindely warme
And coole againe within à maiden arme.
One in her netts is toild, whose ramping hands
Hath riven all ye trust of marriadge bands.
Another in such monstrous luste doth breake,
As modest nature blussheth ere to speake.
This man is bould against all daingers, he
Feares his own shadowe and each waving tree.
He partes à figg, rich onely to his heyre,
Poore to himself, and in all plentie bare
Of all things, whilest another spends with might
The well gott state, inheritance, and right

Of manye auncestors, as if he did
Hate his owne riches, and made haste to bid
The first adieu to fortune. Somme have ease
In flatterie, with servile words to please.
Another knottie man two Catoes sterne
Will not for any conversation turne
His stubborne course. Another feedes his eyes
On torments, bleeding wounds, and cruelties.
And somme so fainte there be, whoe scarce can heare
Or reade ye tale of Troye withoutte à teare.
The swollen sownding rage of anger doth
Breake manye narrow breasts with spight uncooth,
And hot and fierce and ragefull turbulent
By reason of y^t^ fierie element.
When other airie spiritts like cold deere
Tremble each gutt and joynte with quaking feare.
Somme make their idol pleasures, honours he,
Another riches, to which all things be
Of purchas, and before whose feete fall downe
Both rev'rend mitre and ye stately crowne;
Riches ye price of vertue, though some strainge
Hier aspiring mindes will scorne ye chainge.
Somme pine with envie, others weene to cheste
Eternall hatred in à mortall brest.
Somme love to drowne ye daye in liquid feastes,
Somme love ye theatre, where men like beastes
Mangle each others flesh. Somme love to heere
The noise of instruments and voyces cleere.
Somme dote on pictures, some on statues ould,
Somme are too tender fronted, somme too bould,
Strong brazen faces on which modestie
Dar'd never spread à blusshing virgin die.

One for experience like Ulysses strayes,
With much desire to learne and see what rayes
Warme forreyne landes, and them he loves to praise
Above his native soyle, for happie dayes
And pleasauntnesse of life, as if his fare
Were on ye daintye lotos everie where.
Another better joyd in home doth cast
Where he first breathd, to yeeld up life at last,
To breathe no other ayre, to staye and dwell
Like lazie cockell in one lurking shell.
One robs ye high wayes, one to Erthes grief
Robs more with biting usurie worse thief.
One onely breathes and dreames of onslaughts, one
The sillie butcherd sheppe doth much bemone.
So cruell is ye one, so milde ye other.
Bellona him enrages gainst his brother,
Adds fire and swoard vnto his furious arme,
And with ye thundring canon strikes alarme.
At which ye milder prince commes in to give
His countreys treasure and owne state to live
Free from ye storme of war in peace, which is
To him, ye best of things, and onely blisse
Of life, for peace he prayes, peace to procure
Gould is no valued substance, nor so pure.
And all his labours doe invite to peace,
When foule contention him deprives of ease.
One allwayes mournes to see our miserie,
Another allwayes laughs at vanitie.
Neither can any learning polish so
Two divers natures, but they ever shewe
Their elementall qualities, one will
Be sooner angrie, and another still

More slowe with feare, a third exceeding base,
Or verie meeke will suffer all disgrace.
Necessitie is on it y^t there should
Be shapes and manners of so divers mould.
Tis providence of which I not entend
To aske ye secrett, and my verses end
For wante of names, which none may ever finde
So manye as are natures in their kinde.

On the 7th July, 1624, Mr. James was admitted to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, and not long afterwards was employed, in conjunction with Patrick Young, the Royal Librarian, by the learned Selden, in assisting him in his examination of the ancient marbles collected by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, and given to the University of Oxford by his Grandson Henry, Duke of Norfolk; and when Selden published his "*Marmora Arundeliana*" in 1628, 4to., he acknowledges his obligation to James in the Preface to that work, and speaks of him as "multijugæ doctrinæ studiique indefatigabilis vir Richardus Jamesius." It was about this time also, in 1625 or 1626, that our Author became intimate, through his uncle Dr. Thomas James, with Sir Robert Cotton, afterward his great friend and patron, with whom he appears to have been frequently domesticated, and to whom he was of great assistance in arranging and classifying his noble library, and in procuring books and manuscripts to enrich that collection. In furtherance of these objects, he was employed by their owner in drawing up a Catalogue of the various MSS. which he had acquired; but according to Bishop Nicholson, "being greedy of making

extracts out of the Books of our History for his own private use, he passed carelessly over a great many very valuable Volumes." In the Cottonian Library, Julius c. iii., are still preserved three letters from James to Sir Robert Cotton, which, as they are nearly the only English letters known of his, and allude to his intimacy with other learned antiquaries of the time, we quote at length. The year when they were written, is unfortunately not given.

7. Good Sr *Robert Cotton*, with the kinde furtherance of Mr *Boswells* friends I have allmost withoute drawinge bitt runne over the maine part of my businesse. Of which in good time you shall heare & see a perfect account, if you please first to lett me knowe whether Mr *Cotton* be at *London* or in the Countrie. So wisshing allwayes to be preserved in the honour of your estimation & humbly kissing the hands of you and your *Ladie* with many breef masses for your happinesse. Forsooth I rest

Your faithfull and thanckfull Servant

From Moody Hall DICK JAMES

To my noble friende Sr Robert Cotton at Westminster neere the Hall give these.

193. b. Deere Sr *Rob. Cotton*, I shall be glad to heare from you concerning my late desire & your owne kinde promise, for by our niew Masters wicked pride & practise, forct I am to seeke somme favour abroade, & at leasure to contrive my discontent into this Epigramme

Det Deus auspiciis propriis ut vivere possim
Morosophi imperiis ne crucier domini.
Det rectæ enactâ rationi lege parentem,
Ne mihi sim imperiis sævior ipse meis.

Det mortem ut vitam naturæ munus habenti
Claudat nox faciles blanda sopore dies.
Quòd si non adeo visum det fata volenti
Ferre animo et cœlum suspicere ut patriam.

and deere S^r^, so soone as I may sett warme, & have satisfied myselfe in somme fewe other readings, thither I purpos à previall ascent by earnest contemplation of Astronomye till the swallowe returnes and brings a fitter season for travaill. Doctor *Tolson* whoe is the chief man with Mr *Allen* desires his service may be commended unto Sr *Kenelme Digbye* & doth promise this daye to effect the legall conveyance of ye books unto him, which the ould man promised to performe the last night at his earnest entreatie. When it is donne you shall have farther notice, & I doe assure my self of their serious intention in this parte. In owne of my journeys aboute the territorie, which to deceive time & keepe my selfe in breath I make often, in the high way beyond *Hedington* I have found lately an excellent petrified honnicombe, for which I dowbt not but *Iohn Tradescant* will most willingly exchange any of his books or coynes. So wisshing health to all bothe from my self & my *Lord Haughton* & his brother whoe kindely fownd me out in their passadge to ye North, I rest

Your ever thanckful friend

Octob^r^ 25. RICH: JAMES

203. Deere Sr *Robert Cotton*, I can make no worthy exchange of your booke: Wherefore I have again paid the Carrier & sent him backe. Pray lett goodman *Gibbs* call for him on Friday morninge & returne notice of ye safe deliverie. If you will have à faire mill shillinge, & one of the brasse peeces which were made for Quene Eliz. Irish warres I shall send them, besides Mr *Twine* hath à peece of silver of Henr: ye sixt as it seemes, with 3 crownes on the reverse. My Cosin *Elsing's* man was yesterday in town abought his Masters

knighthood, aboute which heere is somme settinge of commissioners. Many things of antiquitie are mine in promise: if they comme, they shall soone be yours. I should gladly heare somme cheerefull niews of Mr *Selden* & Sir *Jhon Elyott* & your selfe. Will the tide never turne? Then God send us heaven at our last end. All my friends with you I beare in thanckfull memorie & rest

Yours faithfully

Aprill 20. RICH: JAMES

To my Noble friend Sr Robert Cotton at his house by Westminster Hall give these.

In this year, 1625, he published his first work, a Latin Sermon preached before the University, entitled "Ante-Possevinus, sive Concio habita ad Clerum in Acad. Oxon. An. Dom. 1625. Authore Richardo Jamesio Socio C. C. C. Vectensi."—Oxon. 1625. 4to.—It was on 2 Tim. iv. 13, with this short Epistle prefixed:—

Ad *Librum suum.*

Cujus vis fieri libelle munus?
Festina tibi vindicem parare
Ne nigri citò stigmatis liturâ
Censuraq; gravi ambules perunctus
Damnatæ soleant quo abire chartæ:
Vel fias olidâ madens tabernâ.
Seldeni fugis in sinum? sapisti.
Exhortor moneoq; te libelle
Diserto huic placeas *Apollinari*;
Nil exactius eruditiusq;
Sed nec candidius benigniusq;
Illo vindice non timebis atros
Dentes, livida vel *Theonis* ora,

Quæ ferrugine tincta; non cachinnos
Non ronchos hominum maligniorum;
Hæc expertus ego libelle dico.
Pro me (ne metuas) jube salutem,
Quam portâ accipiet bonus patente.
Si quærit quid agam, studere dices
Post præludia velitis papyri,
Vt majori operâ placere possim.

About this time also he was much engaged on the largest and most important of his works, his "Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuariensis et suorum." Fol. Wood, M.S. 1. This is a regular history of Archbishop Becket, but contains also much curious matter not immediately connected with its subject. James inveighs very strongly against the vices and corruptions of the Monasteries, into which he seems to enter rather fully. There is an address at the beginning "Ad Lectorem," which commences thus:—"Amice Lector rogatus sum sæpius à venerabili quodam viro amico meo, cujus consilio et auxilio utor in re litterariâ, ut ea scriptis comprehenderem, quæ aliquando familiari sermone disseruissem de negocio Regis Henrici secundi cum Thomâ Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. Ecce ergo eâ de re tractatum liberiorem, quam ut majori cum fructu percenseas, præfari de eâ et proposito meo paucis operæ pretium putavi," &c. The history itself ends at p. 630, in the following words:—

Atque ita Deo favente opus hoc Decanonizationis exegi:—Illi semper sit gloria. Vivat Rex noster Jacobus, vivat Carolus princeps, et si imperio nostro Brytannico intra fines juris et justitiæ se

continenti nova illa Carthago insidiabitur, illa, illa cum Papâ et Jesuitis et Puritanis destruatur.

Then follow 130 pages, containing an appendix of notes and additional matter, and the whole concludes at page 760. There is a table of contents loose in the volume in the handwriting of Thomas Greaves, D.D., who has also written the following two scraps, which are pinned in the book:—

1. Librum hunc cui titulus est Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuariensis et suorum, composuit Ricardus Jamesius Vectensis S.S. Theologiæ Bacc. et C. C. C. Oxon. Socius, Vir integerrimus ac fide et morum probitate insignis, diffusæ eruditionis, et cui vere illud elogium trib. Seld. in Marm. Ar.

Obiit 28° Decembr 1638 ex febri quartanâ Westmonasterii in ædibus Cottonianis an. ætatis 46. et in æde D. Margaretæ Westm. sepultus est.

Scriptus hic liber post an. 1620. v. p. 100. Imo. partim post 1624. v. p. 111., et ante excessum R. Jacobi. v. p. et 630.[1]

2. Jamesi quanto plorem tua funera fletu
Hic mihi testis erit Liber, et quæ conscia flentis
Ostendit crebras lacrymarum charta lituras.

THOMAS GREAVES.

[1] The passages referred to by Greaves are the following—at p. 110:—"Immo ad rei perpetuam recordationem si quid valeant meæ chartæ, libenter et in grati animi testimonium hic repetendum censeo quod a quodam venerabili Theologiæ doctore de Jacobo nostro Rege optimo narratum acceperim. An. Dom. 1620. aiebat ille," &c.

At p. 111, speaking of the severity of monastic discipline, he says:—"Pueri se invicem percutientes, octo diebus pœniteant, si autem ætatis majoris fuerint viginti diebus pœniteant. Gratulor fortunæ meæ quod illis temporibus natus non fuerim, qui ab ineunte ætate, sic me consuetudo

The great object of James in this work, which occupied his mind and attention for some years, was to expose the corruptions and errors of the Romish Church, and especially of the monks and friars. His activity in these matters necessarily created him many enemies, and the tenour of his religious views may be described as leaning to what in our own days is generally termed Low Church, if we may be pardoned the use of a term more significative than elegant, so that Anthony Wood cannot avoid calling him, with characteristic quaintness and severity, "a severe Calvinist, if not worse."

James felt a warm attachment to his native island, and he frequently added "Vectensis" to his signature. He seems to have had an intention of writing an account of the history and antiquities of that beautiful spot, for among his MSS. in the Bodleian Library, is one entitled "Antiquitates Insulæ Vectæ," consisting of 17 pages in 4to. It is an unfinished work in Latin, and contains merely the early history of the Island till about the time of Henry II., and was probably only the foundation of a larger work

Vectanel assuevit, solitus fuerim ad discrimen nasi laceri aut sanguinei, pugnis rem experire cum sodalibus, qui etiam adhuc ponderant se, et gestiunt aliquando interpolare et tingere ora irrequietorum impudentium, adeo ut An. Dom. 1624. propterea prope coactus essem subire sententiam anathematis ab Episcopo Wintoniensi, nisi me redemisset et servâset inter alios malefactores, Regis nostri Jacobi Anglorum primi, Scotorum sexti, semper mihi memorandi iis precibus quibus inde non interdicor, parliamentaria indulgentia."

The passage from p. 630, has been quoted before.

intended to be finished at some future period with a view to publication. At the bottom of p. 5, there is introduced a long Latin Poem, occupying five pages, entitled "De visione cujusdam nobilis in Insulâ Vectâ;" chiefly on the proper name of the island, the nature of its inhabitants, &c., &c.

Another of James's MSS. No. 36, probably written about this period, contains his "Reasons concerning the attempts on the Lives of great Personages," &c. These, which are six in number, are written on ten pages folio, and commence thus:—

Sir, if you please to learne my minde concerning attempts on ye lives of great personages, I shall easily say you manie reasons, why this cannot be donne with pietie & religion.

First, because in storie such actions are hatefull under the name of assassination, the originall of which untill we be more clearely enformed from the late excellent Syrian & Arabic collection of Golius, is by Jacobus de Vitriaco thus sett downe in his brief of the Jerusalem historie—'In provincia autem Phœnicis,' &c.

Secondly, because this doctrine of assassination is abhominable unto ye reformed Churches & other more moderate Catholiques in ye practise & assertions of Jesuites, against whom manie excellent writings are extant, & amongst them to my esteeme that one most memorable brief treatise called ye Franc Discourse.

Thirdly, because the doctrine & practise of ye primitive Christians is herein fully opposite, as may apeere from theis places of Tertullian in his book to Scapula Governour of Carthage, & his Apologie against the Gentiles. 'Nos quidem' &c.

Fourthly, because such violent attempts seldomme or never procure amendment, as we may see in the Roman empire:—How often

did they with Lucan seeke Libertie in the ruine of their princes, & yet were at last forced to the wonder of Tacitus, through despaire rather to fall on themselves. Neither will any man thinke that the privie bulletts which strooke the Prince of Orange twice, gaind yeither grownd or glorie to the Spanish Nation. Of which acte Grotius writes & concludes an heroique poeme in this high rapture & disdaigne.

Evenere Tagi nunquam caritura pudore
Crimina, queis nondum reperire vocabula linguæ
&c. &c. &c.

Fifthly, for manie speciall reasons concerning the discretion of attempting men which are gathered together sommewhere in Michaell Mountaines essayes, of which in absence of my book I have not now any perfect remembrance, but he that pleases maye at better leasure retrieve them in their proper place, & so receive more satisfaction.—See also Thom. Aquinas, cap. vi. de regimine principum.

Sixthly, because, as Saint James saith, the wrath of man worketh not that which is righteous before God. We ought to staye & abide his divine pleasure. In the next world potentes potenter tormenta patientur. And in this if we rightly esteeme the matter, overruling tyrannous statists goe not free of punishment internally, externally, as Langius hath most effectually conceiv'd in the second booke of Lipsius his Constancie.

For theis and many more, personages of state though they deserve ill, may not be violated mortally out of any mans religion & pietie. Yet that which is historically true, maye not be by a true man conceald. Manie nations have doctrines to preserve them, manie nations are superstitious in adoration of their persons. Yet in all nations & ages, manie of them will still miscarrie, if they be not zealous of justice, not extreme justice, but justice with mercie,

as it is in the Royal Oath of our English princes, & justice according unto reason & custome. To such justice long since the ould Hesiod invited the princes of his owne time in this long but most memorable diversion.

Sed nunc fabulam à brutis desumptam Regibus narrabo
quamvis ratione præditis.
Sic accipiter afflatus est lusciniam canoram
Altè in nubibus ferens anguibus correptam:
Illa vero miserè &c. &c.

The brief of all that herein may be truely spoken by any one is, That if princes & principalities will be safe, they must purchase the peoples love by justice, providence, clemencie, goodnesse, otherwise extreme justice, injustice, & injurie. Neither can good men easily brooke according to Hesiod, & evill men will not, hurried on to mischief by their owne rapine & ambition, for which they will finde out faire colourable pretences. If the first stirre they doe it with sorrowe, cryinge out, not of will but necessitie. Que sita pecora il lupo lo mangia, if we will not be torn to pieces by the wolves, wee must not be altogether sheepish. If the others succeede in their malice, neighbour people will say with Petrarch, Quo turpior manus eo melior vindicta. Wherefore I saye with Dion Chrysostome; Theis things have binne, & will bee ever true, etiamsi omnes homines, tam viri quam fœminæ, tam Græci quam Barbari, contrariū affirmarint. A larger subject of discourse à man can hardly undertake then this concerning the punctualities of government & obedience, yet I shall not hazard my discretion in saying much more; but will end with one onely memoriall which I may seeme to have forgott in my third reason from the exemple of the primitive Xtians. They indeede were altogether men of evangelicall sufferance, but in after ages when government was changeable sommetimes in the hands of Xtians, sommetimes againe

recovered by the Gentiles, they did not faile on yeither side to doe mutuall violence, which in them bothe is by the Emperor Julian in an epistle of his to the people of Alexandria thus reprehended. Si nihil vos Alexander conditor, ac potius Deus ille magnus sanctissimus Sarapis commovet, attamen patriæ, humanitatis officii ratio nonne debuit ac potuit commovere?" &c. &c.

Mr. Halliwell, in his treatise on the character of Falstaff, published in 1841, is of opinion, from a careful examination of the hand-writing, that it was in this year, 1625, James wrote his work called "The legend and defence of ye Noble Knight and Martyr Sir Jhon Oldcastel, (sett forth) By Richard James, Bachelour of Divinitie and fellowe of C.C.C. in Oxford." This is preserved along with his other MSS., No. 34, and consists of a poem by Thomas Hoccleve, in 73 eight-line stanzas, written in the time of Henry V. as appears from the inscription or title at the commencement: "Ceste feust faicte au temps que le Roy Henri le cinquiesme que Dieu pardoine feust à Helmpton sur son primer passage vers Harflete." At the end of the work are notes by James upon the Poem, entitled, "Observations upon Hoccleve," occupying twelve pages, which are chiefly written in defence of the followers of Wickliffe and his doctrines. This was one of the Poems in the MS. from Dr. Askew's library, which had formerly belonged to Prince Henry, son to James the First, and from which Mr. George Mason printed his Selection of Poems by Hoccleve in 1796, 4to. But this particular Poem, though one of the most important in the volume, was rejected by Mr. Mason, on the ground of its length, (there

stated as sixty-four stanzas,) and from "being much more of a theological disputation than a poetical exercise." We believe it has never yet been printed. The Poem, however, accompanied with the notes of James, notwithstanding its length, is well deserving of publication by the Shakespeare or some other of our literary societies, both from its intrinsic value, and the celebrity of its hero. As a specimen of James's part we are tempted to extract the whole of the last note.

63. *Ageyn possessions.*] For matter of possessions in reasonable sorte the Wicklevistes would not have binne much offended, if the abuse of them, & in them, had not binne so infinite, of which all stories & times make complainte ynough. Wherefore, as ye Templers were dissolved in Edward the seconds time by pope Clement, and the Erles & Nobles of England shared their lands againe which had binne given by their progenitors indiscretion, so would ye Wicklevists have the same donne uppon the Monasteries, & at last right or wrong they felt the knocke of Harrie the eighth prophecied against them by Piers Plowman, one that seemes to haue beheld the ruine of the Templers. And in this part I will say noe more than what Mathiew Paris hath related of Harrie ye third. Rex henricus tertius, saith he, magistro hospitalis Hierosolymitani in domo de *Clerekenwelle* querulo ac aliquâ injuria, et ostendenti chartas Regum et suam de protectione respondit iratus voce elevatâ prævio magno juramento. Vos prælati et relligiosi maximè tamen Templarii et Hospitalarii tot habetis libertates et chartas quòd superfluæ possessiones vos faciunt superbire et superbientes insanire. Revocanda sunt igitur prudenter quæ imprudenter sunt concessa. Believe me in anything that ever I read of this prince, he never spake more sufficiently, but his actions were so divers, that à Pope by his Bull commaunds him to holde his

hands from liberalitie to holie wars, because he did thence partely so exhauste himself as he was not able to paye the yearely tribute unto which the Pope had made England obnoxious by the injurie of his father King Jhon. What doe theis abject monks talk of the ruining their demaines, when of the glorious temple of Jerusalem there is not left à stone uppon a stone for the transgressions of the Jewes, when age & disordre must conclude the heavens. And they even from Sainct Jeromes time are everie where in best writers the calamitie of the Christian world. But they might saye somme haue binne reformd. No not possibly, for their whole frame of life after they became cenobiticall was yeither unusefull, or wicked of necessitie in the most, whoe never did, never will, or ever maye keepe chastitie, povertie, or obedience against the more urgent rules of nature & civilitie. They indeed pretended to followe Christe neerely, but the whole rabblement of clergie that pursued with fire & sword the Noble valiant Oldcastell & manye other well deserving Wicklevists followed Christe so farre of, as that our former poete Gower could finde no similitude betwixt the Maister & disciples, when he enters thus into comparison :—

Inter prælatos dum Xp̃i quæro sequaces
  Regula nulla manet quæ prius esse solet.
Christus erat pauper, illi cumulantur in auro,
  Hic pacem dederat hii modo bella movent.
Christus erat largus, hii sunt velut arca tenaces
  Hunc labor invasit, hos foret aucta quies.
Christus erat mitis, hii sunt tamen impetuosi,
  Hic humilis subiit, hi superesse volunt.
Christus erat miserans, hi vindictamq; sequntur,
  Sustulit hic pœnas nos timor inde fugat.
Christus erat virgo, sunt illi raro pudici
  Hic bonus est pastor, hi sed ovile vorant.

Christus erat verax, hi blandaq, verba requirunt,
  Christus erat justus, hi nisi velle vident.
Christus erat constans, hi vento mobiliores
  Obstitit ipse malis, hi magis illa sinunt.
Hi pleno stomacho laudant jejunia Christi.
  Christus aquam petiit, hi bona vina bibunt.
Et quotquot poterit mens escas præmeditari
  Lautas pro stomacho dant renovare suo
Esca placens ventri sic est et venter ad escas
  Ut Venus à latere stet benè juncta gulæ.
Respuit in monte sibi Christus singula regna
  His nisi mundana gloria sola placet.
Creverunt et opes et opum furiosa cupido,
  Et cùm possideant plurima plura petunt.
Sufficit his solâ fictæ pietatis in umbrâ,
  Dicant pomposi quod pius ordo Dei.
Pro fidei meritis prælati tot patiuntur
  Unde viros sanctos nos reputamus eos.

Theis last verses of Gower expresse à manner of the clergie in all delicacie of life usinge to lament themselves of sufferance for Christe. Of this manner Giraldus Cambrensis allso doth sommewhere make sportefull mention, & so uppon a fat priour Clement Marrot hath given us this epigramme.

Un gros prieur son petit filz baisoit
Et mignordoit au matin en sa couche :
Tandis rotir sa perdrix ou faisoit
Se leve, crache, esmentit, et se mouche ;
La perdrix vire : au sol de broque en bouche
La devora, bien scavoit la science
Puis quand il eut prens sur sa conscience
Broc de vin blanc, du meilleur qu' ou elise

Mon dieu, dit il, donne moy patience
Qu' on ha de maux pour servir sainte Eglise.

Such ever were & of necessitie were the manners & condicions of monasteries magnum nomen ei gratia nulla rei, is aunciently spoken of Clarevalle & is true of all. So that I never can have pittie of their ruine in Harrie the 8th. his time. With what minde so ever they sett upon that buisnesse, quô turpior manus eo melior vindicta is well spoken as well of the monasteries as the conspiracie of the Pope & Cardinalls. Theis monasteries were an ould offence as well of the Bisshops & parochiall Clergie, as the Gentrie and Laitie of our land, & if Harrie the eighth as he robd the thief had restor'd to the true men the goods & lands which they had stolen, I meane as well the impropriations to the Clergie as the lands unto the Nobles & Gentrie, his worcke had binne heroique & just & religious. And heere I must not forgett to doe Wickliffe justice, nowe against the calumnie of mistaking ignorance. Somme say that as he was an enemie of monasteries, so allso of our Colledges in the Universitie, whereas the matter is wholly otherwise; The Colledges against which he often declames were the seminaries heere of Moncks & Friars, of whome he writes plainly in his printed prolouge of ye Bible, otherwise for our plaine universitie societies so great love was betwixt Wickleve & them, as when order came from ye Pope for suppressing him & his doctrine, they had it in consultation, whether they should not dishonour the instrument by which that buisnesse was commaunded, & Wickliff in his countrey homilies touching uppon somme harder pointes sayes that theis things ought to be disputed in the learned Schoole of Oxenford. No lett not our Colledges feare that the ruine of monasteries any thing concerns them, but lett us take care that we everie way flie their example of lazie ignorance, luxurie, & discord. And heere I shall end theis notes with the memorie of S^r^. Jhon Oldcastells death thus reported by à malignant hystorian neare

ye time. "An. v^o. Henr. V., was S^r. Jhon Oldcastell ycalled ye Lord Cobham taken in ye marche of Wallys & broughte to ye citie of London, ye which was chieff Lord & meyntenour of alle ye Lollardes in this realme, & ever aboute to distroye to his power holy churche. And therfore he was first ydrawed & afterward yhonged & brent hanginge on ye newe galowes besyde Seint Gyles with an yron cheyne aboute his necke bycause that he was à Lord of name, & so there he made an ende of his cursedde lyfe." And lett ye reader knowe y^t besides ye memorie of this valiant Gentleman in Foxe, Tyndall also & Bale have in severall books sett forth ye whole processe of his martyrdomme.

It is preceded by a very remarkable and important dedicatory epistle, addressed to Sir Henry Bourchier, which has been printed by Mr. Halliwell in the work before mentioned, but as it is of considerable importance in establishing the dispute relating to the interchange of Sir John Oldcastle and Sir John Falstaff, in Shakespeare's Henry IV., we are induced to reprint the letter entire.

To my Noble friend Sr Henrye Bourchier.

Sir Harrie Bourchier, you are descended of Noble Auncestrie, & in the dutie of à good man love to heare & see faire reputation preserved from slander & oblivion. Wherefore to you I dedicate this edition of Occleve, where Sr Jhon Oldcastell apeeres to have binne a man of valour and vertue, and onely lost in his owne times because he would not bowe vnder the foule superstition of Papistrie, from whence in so great light of Gosple and learning that there is not yet à more universall departure, is to me the greatest scorne of men. But of this more in another place, & in preface will you please to heare me that which followes. A young Gentle Ladie of your acquaintance, having read ye works of Shakespeare, made me

this question: How Sir Jhon Falstaffe, or Fastolf, as it is written in ye statute book of Maudlin Colledge in Oxford, where everye daye y^t societie were bownd to make memorie of his soule, could be dead in Harrie ye Fifts time, & againe live in ye time of Harrie ye Sixt to be banisht for Cowardize? Whereto I made answeare that this was one of those humours & mistakes for which Plato banisht all Poets out of his commonwealth:—that Sir Jhon Falstaffe was in those times à noble valiant Souldier as apeeres by à book in the Herald's Office dedicated unto him by à herald whoe had binne with him if I well remember for ye space of 25 yeeres in ye French wars; that he seemes allso to haue binne a man of learning, because in à librarie of Oxford I finde à book of dedicating churches sent from him for à present vnto Bisshop Wainfleete & inscribed with his owne hand. That in Shakespeare's first shewe of Harrie ye fift, ye person with which he undertook to playe a buffone was not Falstaffe, but Sir Jhon Oldcastle, & that offence being worthily taken by personages descended from his title, as peradventure by manie others allso whoe ought to haue him in honourable memorie, the poet was putt to make an ignorant shifte of abusing Sr Jhon Fastolphe, à man not inferior of vertue though not so famous in pietie as the other, whoe gaue witnesse vnto the truth of our reformation with à constant & resolute martyrdom, vnto which he was pursued by the Priests, Bishops, Moncks, & Friers of those dayes. Noble Sir, this is all my preface. God keepe you, & me, & all Christian people from the bloodie designes of that cruell religion.

Yours in all observance

RICH: JAMES.

It seems perfectly evident, from this letter, that the famous fat Knight of the Boar's Head, was originally termed Oldcastle; and the point is of great interest, as relating to one of the most popular characters ever drawn

by the greatest dramatist of this or any other age. There are, besides, other evidences of a confirmatory nature; but the letter we have here given may be considered as signally conclusive, and the most important document yet discovered connected with the subject.

We have already alluded to the circumstance of James's intimacy with several of the eminent scholars and persons of his time, and among the rest with "rare Ben Jonson," who is frequently mentioned by him in terms of the highest respect and esteem. In 1625, appeared Jonson's Comedy of "The Staple of News," first printed in 1631, fol., on which occasion James addressed to him the following lines:

To Mr. Benj: Jhonson on his Staple of
Niews first presented.

Sir, if my robe and garbe were richly worth
The daring of a statute comming forth,
Were I or man of law or law maker,
Or man of Courte to be an vndertaker,
For judgement would I then comme in and say
The manye honours of your *staple* play:
But being nothing so, I dare not haile
The mightie floates of ignorance, whoe saile
With winde and tide,—their Sires, as stories tell,
In our eight *Harries* time crownd *Skeltons Nell*,
And ye foule Boss of *Whittington* with greene
Bayes, which on living frontes are rarelye seene,
Soone sprung, soone fading, but deserving verse,
Must take more lasting glorie from ye herse;
When vulgars loose their sight, & sacred peeres
Of poetrie conspire to make your yeeres

Of memorie eternall, then you shal be read
By all our race of Thespians, board and bed,
And banck & boure, vallie & mountaine will
Rejoice to knowe somme pieces of your skill;
Your rich Mosaique workes, inled by arte
And curious industrie with everie parte
And choice of all ye Auncients.—So I write,
Though for your sake I dare not say & fighte.

Perhaps one of the most interesting volumes in the collection of James's MSS. at the present day, is that which contains his letters to his learned friends and correspondents, chiefly men of his own College of Corpus Christi; among whom may be enumerated Dr. Sebastian Benfield,[1] Thomas Jackson,[2]

[1] Sebastian Benfield was born at Prestbury, in Gloucestershire; admitted Scholar of C.C.C. Oxford, 30th of August, 1586, at the age of seventeen, and Probationer Fellow, 16th of April, 1590. He entered into holy orders, and in 1608 became B.D. and D.D., and five years afterwards was elected Margaret Professor of Divinity. This office he held for fourteen years, and on resigning it, took the College living of Meysey Hampton, near Fairford, in Gloucestershire; and dying there August 24th, 1630, was buried in the chancel of that Church, on the 29th. "He was noted as a classic, disputant, and theologist, and so well read in the fathers and schoolmen, that he had scarce his equal in the University." Wood says that he was morose, and of no good nature; also, that he was accounted no mean lover of the opinions of John Calvin. He published several works, and volumes of sermons.—Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 487.

[2] Dr. Thomas Jackson, a voluminous writer of sermons and other theological works, and deserving, for his great learning and attainments, to be considered one of the English fathers of the Church, was born at Witton, in the county of Durham, in 1579. He was first a student of Queen's College, Oxford, in 1595, but elected a Scholar of C.C.C. in the following year, and Probationer Fellow thereof on the 10th of May, 1606, being

Brian Twine,[3] N. Baylie,[4] John Hampson, Robert Diot, Dr. John Fleming,[5] a relation of James, Matthew Colmar,

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then M.A.; at which time, Wood says, that "he had laid the grounds carefully, in arithmetic, grammar, philology, geometry, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, the Oriental languages, history, with an insight in heraldry and hieroglyphics, &c. All which, however, he made use of to serve either as rubbish under the foundation, or as drudges and day-labourers, to theology." In 1622, he proceeded D.D., and soon after was made Vicar of St. Nicholas, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and at length, elected President of C.C.C., (chiefly through the exertions of Archbishop Laud), Chaplain in ordinary to the King, Prebendary of Winchester, Vicar of Witney, in Oxfordshire, and Dean of Peterborough. Dr. Jackson died September 21st, 1640, in the 61st year of his age, and was buried in the chapel of his own College. Of a deep and penetrating judgment, and various and profound learning, none wrote with more vigour and earnestness, against the Church of Rome, than he did. A complete collection of his works, were published in 3 vols. folio, in 1672-3, with a Life of the Author, prefixed. To this learned Divine James addressed the following lines, on receiving from him a New Year's Gift of the Holy Scriptures:—

"Ad M. Thomam Jacksonum,
qui in Festa die Strenarū mihi dono miserit Biblium.

Arripe quod subiti fervor dictavit amoris
Accedens propriis, carminis et pedibus
Ut non fallaci voveat, sed auspice lingua
Te retro ut versis sospitet annus equis.
Ille tuam curet semper reparetq; salutem
Cui nova nascenti hæc tempora sacra damus
Ille novum quondam qui laudibus extulit annum
Σοί τε νέον δεκτὸν νῦν ἐνιαυτὸν αγῃ
Atq; salute nova totum te proluat ille
Cuius sacra tuo munere strena mea est.

Henry Parr, Joshua Aisgill,[6] John Seller,[7] Anthony White,[8] his uncle Dr. Thomas James, his cousin Dr. Francis James,

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Lætare auspicio, sacer hæc sunt impetus, et non
Attoniti veneunt carmina fontis opus.
Nulla pœne mora strenarum numine plenus
Hæc citus adscripsi, felixq; i. pagina dixi."

[3] Brian Twine, was admitted Scholar of C.C.C., 13th of December, 1594, Probationer Fellow, 3rd of January, 1605, entered into holy orders, and became B.D., June 25th, 1610. In 1614, he was made Greek Reader of his College, and became Vicar of Rye, in Sussex; but spent most of his time in Oxford, where he continued to his dying day. He was the last of three generations of Oxford antiquaries, of the same family; and was elected the first Keeper of the Archives, in 1634, which office he held for ten years; and dying in Oxford, July 4th, 1644, was buried in the chapel of C.C.C.: to whose indefatigable labours, and valuable collection of MSS., not only his own College, but the whole University is greatly indebted.

[4] Nicholas Baylie, of C.C.C., was admitted Junior Proctor, April 11th, 1621, and was the first person of his College that ever bore this office.

[5] Mary, eldest daughter of Richard James and Jane Annernon, and sister to Dr. Thomas James, married Sir Thomas Fleming, Knt., of Stoneham, in the county of Southampton, Chief Justice of England, who died in 1613, by whom she had fifteen children, eight of whom survived their father. James's eldest brother, Andrew, also married Margaret, daughter and heiress of John Fleming, of Garcombe,—so that there was a double connection between these two families. Dr. John Fleming appears to have been the fourth son of the Chief Justice, and first cousin, by marriage, to James, by whom the ensuing lines were written, on the occasion of his death:—

his uncle Dr. Edward James, Amadæus Benfield, John Minne, John Streeting, &c. In one of these, addressed to Dr. Francis James, of Christ Church, there is an elegant and

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"In mortem Doctoris Johannis Flemmingi
qui obiit ex consumptione cordis.

Quam benè cordatus Flemingus vixerit et quam
Strenus, et verâ fidus amicitia
Nos tua turba omnes de pectore novimus atq;
Norunt, qui audierant fortia verba viri
Et tamen excordis moritur, scindente chirurgo
Et subiti latebras inspiciente mali.
Nil lacrymis inhibemus iter, purgatior vmbra
Nunc tua secretam pervolet ad requiem
Res non mira omnem qui se pertudit amicis
Siccato cordis sanguine posse mori."

[6] Joshua Aisgill, of C.C.C., was admitted D.D., December 16th, 1622.

[7] "John Seller, of C.C.C., a minister's son, of Kent, was admitted B.A., on the 18th of January, 1611, and M.A., on the 2nd of July, 1614. This John Seller, being a learned man, Mr. Richard James, (whom I have mentioned among the writers of 1638,) numbered him among his learned acquaintance, and therefore wrote divers epistles to him. He became Clerk of C.C.C., in 1608, and Chaunter, in 1613."—Wood's *Fasti.* vol. i. p. 339.

[8] "Anthony White, of C.C.C., took the degree of B.A., on March 18th, 1612-13, and was Chaplain of C.C.C. He was, afterwards, Vicar of Wargrave, in Berkshire, and the writer and publisher of two sermons: 1, "Truth Purchased," on Prov. xxiii. 23; 2, "Errour Abandoned," on James i. 16. Both of which were preached at St. Mary's, in Oxford; and were printed there in 1628, and dedicated by the author to his patron, Sir Henry Neville, of Billingbere." — Wood's *Fasti.* vol. i. p. 347.

highly complimentary allusion to Ben Jonson; and, as the whole letter is of an interesting nature, we may be excused for inserting it entire: —

Ad Doct. Franciscū James.

Tertullianus, Cyprianus, Chrysostomus acriter invehuntur in artem Roscianam et spectacula. Verū non ducendi eorū aculei adversus tragœdias et comœdias nostri temporis, quæ ut plurimum liberrimæ sūt a veterū illarū spurcitie in quibus etiā Christiano jam orbe, obscœnitas oīs effundebatur, et præter cætera exuebantur vestibus populo spectante meretrices, et in conspectu eius ad satietatem usq; impudicarū luminū cū pudendis motibus detinebantur. Sed quod unū nos semper urgere videbitur, induuntur inquiunt et in his viri ornatu muliebri adversus præscriptū sacræ scripturæ:—Cui respondeo, institutū esse scripturæ tantū fraudes inde prohibere et usū communiter, aut si hoc non placet, habeatur aliquando orbi consiliū vestiariorū quod plena autoritate sententiā ferat de vestibus, quæ viriles et quæ conveniāt fœmineo generi, et utrū sine scismate permitti queant populo totius Orientis illæ eorū tunicæ, qui nobis habitus esset procul dubio pro muliebri damnandus, quod ulterius reducūt hoc ad præceptū de non committendo adulterio, et propterea neq; jā licere ridiculū est, eadem nisi ratione neq; nobis sufferta cū sanguine esset ōīo comedenda quod videatur illud spectare ad præceptū de non occidendo. Credo si reviviscerent jā patres illi libenter spectarent ingeniū fœcundissimi Beniamini Jonsoni, quem ut Thuanus de Petro Ronsardo censeo cū omni antiquitate comparandū si compta et plena sensibus poemata ejus et scenica spectemus: cui non Catullianum illud et Martialis sunt in apologiā. Nam castū esse decet piū poetam ipsum: versiculos nihil necesse est, et

innocuos censura potest permittere lusus
Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba est:

Sed chartam amat vita innocentiorem, ut quam reposcēt in ævū longū

elegantiorum manus, cum pulvis et umbra tantū fuerit tam virginis chartæ pater: —

Ede tuos tandem populo Jonsone libellos
Et cultum docto pectore profer opus
Quod nec Cecropiæ damnent Pandionis artes
Nec sileant nostri, prætereantque senes.
Ante fores stantem dubitas admittere famam
Teq, piget famæ præmia ferre tuæ
Post te victuræ per te quoq, vivere chartæ
Incipiant, cineri gloria sera venit.

From the same volume we quote another entertaining letter, as a sample of James's epistolary powers, addressed to the learned Brian Twyne, of C.C.C.: —

Epistola ad M. Bryonem Twine.

Sacerdotiū Romanū in Epistola gratulatoria ad Cyprianum eum papæ nōie salutavit, illud nescio quis absurdus et fastidiens lector expunxit, reponens alicubi Episcopum, cū papa sit honestū satis vocabulū ut ex multis patet, et ex elaboratis antiquitatibus Stephani Pasquierei, sed bruta malitia hujus novi hoīs mirū qúantū sese exercuit in hanc antiquam et plenam reverentiæ vocem ubiq, quoties reperitur in oĩbus prope libris refertissimæ Bibliothecæ Richardi Fox meritissimi Fundatoris Coll. Corp. X. in libris non tantū Theologicis sed et medicis et juridicis, libris, et librorū titulis, initiis, medio, fine, ut cū certissimū sit stercoreum hunc Aristarchum nihil preterea legisse, (intelligere recte non potuit talis infantia) verè mihi persuadeam, hanc hōīs solertiam non fuisse sine adjutorio et divinatione ipsius Dæmonis. Quare nisi qui adversus papam tam furiosus est, non et Dæmonem etiã tot nōibus et titulis famosũ apud eosdē scriptores, nigro suo carbone notaverit: scilicet hac veniâ agnoscit sibi patronū et suggestorem tam humilis veneni: hoc genus hominū fuerūt qui

parentũ nostrorũ memoria simili zelo martyres fecerunt libros manuscriptos et perire nobis infinitos incomparabiles authores, ut Rogeriũ Baconũ nostrũ de quo Johannes Twine in libello commẽtariorũ de antiquitatibus hujus Insulæ. Rogerius Baconus, inquit, Anglus, ordine Franciscanus Oxoniensis incomparabilis Mathematicus qui nonnullos ædidit ejus argumenti, nonnullos theologicos libellos, quorũ qui de victoria Christi contra anti-Christum inscribitur, dignũ imprimis censeo qui a vobis perlegatur. Cuius opera oĩa graphicè manuscripta, et fortiter compacta, ab ignaris hoĩbus, ut erat temporũ aliquot superiorũ deflenda barbaries, qui se tamen sciolos haberi volebant, non intellecta, et pro necromanticis damnata, longis clavis affixa tabulatis in bibliotheca Franciscanorũ Oxonii, blattas ac tineas pascentia, situq, et pulvere obducta miserè computruerũt. Hoc quanquã ab illis, veresimilitudine boni, ad supprimenda malarũ artiũ volumina factũ: non dubitandũ tamen quin eadẽ opera atq, ignorantia præstantia aliqua scripta prorsus extincta sũt, quibus etiã viris gratiæ habendæ quod ullis hodie fruamur. Ut isti timore superstitionis magicæ nobis Rogeriũ abstulerũt, sic et Antipas ille nequior blattis et tineis, cũ suis puris putis congerronibus innumeros probos autores, ut essent damnata charta miserũt in officinas mechanicorum, quod scilicet viderẽtur lemniscatis et rubris frontibus lavere triplici coronæ septingeminæ bestiæ.

We have seen that James was intimate with one of the leading dramatists of the time. He was also a contemporary of Shakespeare, and it has been supposed that to him are to be attributed the noble lines "On worthy Master Shakespeare and his Poems," signed J. M. S., which were first printed in the second folio edition of 1632. These initials have usually been assigned to "Jasper Mayne, Student," but Mr. Hunter, in his *New Illustrations of Shakespeare*, p. 310, has conjectured that J. M. S. is JaMeS,

and that the unknown author of this tribute to Shakespeare, is no other than our author, Richard James. We cannot but think this conjecture exceedingly unfounded and improbable, for though there is an obscurity and abruptness in some of James's Verses not very unlike the style of these; yet there is no poem from his pen, not even the lines written during his imprisonment, which are at all equal in power or sublimity to the lines on Shakespeare. Moreover, it is nearly certain, that had they been written by James, they would have been preserved in his own hand-writing, among his other MSS., as every other piece of poetry that he wrote, even to the smallest epigram, is to be found in that collection. If Jasper Mayne was unequal to their production, we think that James was much more so. The former, we know, was a finished scholar; and was also accustomed to that style of writing, (witness his lines prefixed to Cartwright's Poems,) and of which we have other verses by him, not much unlike them, though considerably inferior. It is on the last account that we should even doubt Mayne's title to them. It must be recollected that, after all, the question is exclusively one of conjecture and critical judgment; and, in the absence of any positive evidence, we should be almost inclined to believe that Milton may more reasonably be considered as the writer. Those verses are not unworthy the author of "Paradise Lost."

On the death of his uncle, Dr. Thomas James, in August, 1629, through the patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury, our author succeeded him in the sinecure Rectory of Little Mongeham, in Kent, to which he was instituted on

the 22nd of October, 1629; but resigned this living in 1635, a few years before his death.

In the ensuing part of this year, he was involved in considerable trouble, arising through his intimacy with Sir Robert Cotton. For while James had the care of Cotton's library, he is said, by certain writers, to have been culpably concerned in the dissemination of the Manuscript entitled "A Project how a Prince may make himself an absolute Tyrant;" which afterwards brought his Patron into trouble, who was taken before the Privy Council, on the charge of having in his possession and distributing copies of this "pestilent tractate," and committed to the custody of the Bishop of Ely, and an order sent to seal up his Library. A full consideration, however, of the evidence, is by no means sufficient to establish any very severe charge against him; and even if we admit that he may have been induced to allow copies to be taken from Cotton's MSS., for the sake of a pecuniary consideration, (which is very doubtful,) it by no means follows, nor is it at all apparent, that he exceeded in this the trust reposed in him by Sir Robert; and it is certainly fair to conclude, that he could have had no conception he was performing any act to the injury of his kind friend and patron. We are, of course, not endeavouring to make out the best case for James, merely because we have the satisfaction of offering to the world a very meritorious composition by him; but we cannot resist cautioning the reader against placing much reliance on the palpably spiteful and partial account given of this transaction by Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in his Autobiography, recently published by Mr.

Halliwell. The very commencement of the notice alluded to, satisfactorily proves that D'Ewes, who was not very moderate in his likes or dislikes, had some ground of complaint against James, possibly because he had not so free an access to Cotton's library as he wished; and he evidently attempts to retaliate, by vilifying James's character to posterity. The tract alluded to was written originally in 1613, by Robert Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, under the title of "Pròpositions for his Majesty's service, to bridle the impertinency of Parliaments;" and there is not the slightest reason for believing that either Sir Robert Cotton or James suffered copies of it to be taken with any bad intention. Having premised so much, and again repeating that D'Ewes's character of James is, for the most part, founded on a gratuitous assumption of his guilt, we cannot render our biography of the latter, complete, without quoting entire the account given by D'Ewes, which, even with these qualifications, is written with much graphic force, and possesses considerable interest:—

There was one Richard James, a short red-bearded, high-coloured fellow, a Master of Arts, who had some time resided in Oxford, and had afterwards travelled — an atheistical, profane scholar, but otherwise witty, and moderately learned. He had so screwed himself into the good opinion of Sir Robert Cotton, as whereas at first he had only permitted him in the use of some of his books, at last, some two or three years before his decease, he bestowed the custody of his whole library upon him. And he being a needy, sharking companion and very expensive, like old Ralph Starkie, when he lived, let out or lent out Sir Robert Cotton's most precious manuscripts for money, to any

that would be his customers, which Sir Robert was wont to lend freely to his noble and loving friends: which I once made known to Sir Robert before the said James's face. Amongst other books he lent out, one Mr. Saint John of Lincoln's Inn, a young studious gentleman, borrowed of him for his money a dangerous pamphlet that was once written in hand, by which a course was laid down how the kings of England might oppress the liberties of their subjects, and for ever enslave them and their posterities. Mr. Saint John shews the book to the Earl of Bedford, or a copy of it, and so it passed from hand to hand in the year 1629, till at last it was lent to Sir Robert Cotton himself, who set a young fellow he then kept in the house to transcribe it, which infallibly proves that Sir Robert knew not himself that the written tract itself had originally come out of his library. This untrusty young fellow imitating, it seems, the said James, took one copy secretly for himself when he wrote another for Sir Robert; and out of his own transcript sold away several copies, till at last one of them came to the Lord Wentworth's hand of the North, now Lord Deputy of Ireland. He acquainted the Lords and others of the Privy Council with it. They sent for the said young fellow, and examining him where he had the written tract, he confessed Sir Robert Cotton delivered it to him. Whereupon in the beginning of November of the same year, (1629,) Sir Robert was examined, and so divers others one after the other, as it had been delivered from hand to hand, till at last Mr. Saint John himself was impeached, and being conceived to be the author of the book, was committed close prisoner to the Tower, being in danger to have been questioned for his life about it. Upon his examination upon oath, he made a clear, full, and punctual declaration, that he had received the same manuscript pamphlet from that wretched mercenary fellow James, who by this means proved the wicked instrument of shortening the life of the said Sir Robert Cotton. For he was presently thereupon sued in the Star-chamber, his library locked up from his use, and two

or more of the guard set to watch his house continually. When I went several times to visit and comfort him, in the year 1630, he would tell me they had broken his heart that had locked up his library from him. I easily guessed the reason, because his honour and esteem were much impaired by this fatal accident, and his house, that was formerly frequented by great and honorable personages, as well as by learned men of all sorts, remained now upon the matter desolate and empty. I understood from himself and others, that Doctor Neale and Doctor Laud, two prelates that had been stigmatized in the first session of Parliament in 1628, were his sore enemies. He was so outworn within a few months with anguish and grief, as his face, which had been formerly ruddy and well-coloured, and such as the picture I have of him shews, was wholly changed into a grim blackish paleness, near to the resemblance and hue of a dead visage. When I afterwards read in the great and most elegant Latin History of Monsieur James de Thou of some learned men who deceased with grief after their libraries had been pillaged and spoiled by the violence of war, it made me call to my sad remembrance the loss the Commonwealth had in our judicious Cotton; and it might well induce me often to pray that if by tyranny or injustice, my library should be wrested from me, I might account it but a creature comfort, and so submit to God's will in it with patience and humility. I heard it certainly affirmed, that the young fellow whom Sir Robert Cotton kept in his house, and had employed to transcribe the said written tractate, was his bastard; which shews God's admirable justice, to cause the spurious issue of his fatal lust to prove the immediate instrument of his final ruin. I at one time advised him to look into himself, and seriously consider why God had sent this chastisement upon him; which it is possible he did, for I heard from Mr. Richard Houldsworth, a great and learned divine that was with him in his last sickness, a little before he died, that he was exceeding penitent, and was much comforted in the faithful expectation of a better life.

He left Sir Thomas Cotton, his son and heir, wholly addicted to the tenacious increasing of his worldly wealth, and altogether unworthy to be master of so inestimable a library as his father. For he promised me on Monday, the 16th day of this month in the forenoon, when I went to visit him after his father's death, (of which he talked smilingly, without the least expression of sorrow or resentment,) that he would lend me some manuscripts I should need for the furthering of the public work I was about; yet ever when I sent to him, but for one old book of Saxon Charters, into which were fastened and pasted divers originals or autographs, which he had particularly promised to communicate to me, he put me off with so many frivolous excuses or feigned subterfuges, as I forebore further troubling any messengers.

It will be observed that D'Ewes, in this passage, somewhat uncharitably gives the reader to infer that James was, indirectly, the cause of Cotton's death. Such an absurdity scarcely requires even the trouble of contradiction, since we know that James's friendship was continued with both father and son, and that he died in the house of the latter; but it is worthy of notice, because it indisputably exhibits the bitter spirit in which D'Ewes wrote. However, we have performed our duty as faithful historians, by giving this testimony at length, and can readily dismiss it from our minds without further observation. Our facts should be drawn from less doubtful sources than the remains of an indiscriminate enemy, or a too enthusiastic admirer. Either are guides equally dangerous in the road to the discovery of truth.

There is a curious letter on this subject from Sir Henry Bourchier to Archbishop Usher, dated from London, Dec. 4,

1629, which, as it contains allusions to the two Jameses, Uncle and Nephew, is deserving of notice:—

"I am very sorry," said he, "that it is my ill fortune, so often to advertise your Grace of the misfortune of your Friends here. Sir Robert Cotton hath been lately committed to the custody of the Bishop of Ely, & often strictly examined concerning the publication of a Project, tending to the oppression of the Common-wealth, & with him were restrained in several places, the Earls of Bedford, Somerset, & Clare, & some others: after ten or twelve days close Imprisonment, & several Examinations, they were all enlarged; & an Information exhibited against them in the Star-Chamber, to which they are now to answer. Mr. Selden is also made a party to this Information; he is still a Prisoner in the Tower, but enjoyeth now the liberty of the Prison. At my last being with him, he desired me to present his service to your Grace; he would have done it himself, if he might with safety. . . . . I presume your Grace hath heard of the death of Dr. Tho. James: his Nephew, Mr. Rich. James, is fallen into some trouble, by reason of his Familiarity & Inwardness with Sir Robert Cotton."

And again, in another letter to the same, dated January 21, 1629, Sir Henry writes:—

"Sir Rob. Cotton is not altogether free of his trouble; but he and his friends hope he shall be shortly. Mr. Selden is also a Prisoner in the King's Bench; but goes abroad when he pleaseth, so that his friends enjoy him often; I hope we shall have his *Titles of Honour* very shortly."

When Sir Robert Cotton was thus brought before the Privy Council and imprisoned, James was also committed to close keeping by an order of the House of Lords in 1629.

During his confinement he wrote the following copy of English verses, which he entitled,

"A consultation with myself, when I was confin'd into close keeping by ye Lords.

Deere God, by whome in darck wombe's shade
I am to feare and wonder made,
Learne me what parte I am to beare
On this world's stage and theatre.
Miters and croziers are not things
That give to my ambition wings.
For theise I nere did Mammon woo
Nor flatter one great Lord or twoe.
But with a simple diett fed
Scarce cloathed and frended with a bed
I was content in middle rancks
Of meaner sorte to view ye prancks
And feates of men more active, whoe
Are better pleased in what they doe
Then I, whoe sceptickly scarce dare
Of beare, of lion, or of hare,
Or ye worse race of Malopard
Lowd say what I have seene or heard.
Yet thrice I have binne hal'd before
Our Ephorismes of state full sore
Against my will, and sure I must,
Before to tiring roome of duste
I turne, instruct somme scene, and give
My name to storie, whilest I live.
Then, whether on Italian stage
Or English, free or forc't, I rage

Or steale a silent parte, let be
Deere Lord, my sowles rest ever free.
As of Calanus lett none say
Truely of me another day
That I, well seene in antique lore,
Did other Lords then God adore."

These verses he prefixed to a collection of his printed pieces, bound in one Volume, and gave to the Bodleian Library some time before his death. At the end of the verses is written, "Composed by the Author R. James, written with his own hand, and presented to me J. Rous, Bibli. by him 1633."

In 1629 James printed another sermon preached at Oxford, which was followed at intervals by four others. 1. "A Sermon concerning the Eucharist. Delivered on Easter Day in Oxford. On Math. c. 26. v. 26. 27. 28." Lond. 1629. 4to. 2. "A Sermon delivered in Oxford, concerning the Apostles Preaching and ours. By Richard James Bachelor of Divinitie and Fellow of C. C. C. in Oxford." On 1 Cor. ix. 16. "For necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel!" Lond. 1630. 4to. This has a Dedication "To my noble friend Sir Robert Cotton.—Pray Sir, receive it kindly, as you have done me for the space of more than foure yeares, cherishing both my Life and Learning," &c. 3. "A Sermon delivered in Oxford. Concerning the observation of Lent-Fast. By Richard James Bachelor of Divinitie &c." Lond. 1630. 4to. With a short dedication to Sir Henry

Spelman. This Sermon is without a Text, but is grounded on Luke iv. 2. 4. "A Sermon concerning the Times of receiving the Sacrament; and of Mutuall Forgivenesse. Delivered in C. C. C. at the Election of a President. By Richard James B. of Divinitie." Lond. 1632. 4to. With a Dedication "To the Students of C. C. Col. in Oxford." From the Text of 1 Cor. xi. 25. 5. "An Apologeticall Essay for the Righteousness of miserable unhappy People. Delivered in a Sermon at S. Maries in Oxford. By Richard James Bachelour of Divinitie and Fellow of C. C. C." Lond. 1632. 4to. On Psalm xxxvii. 25. With the following lines prefixed:

"The Authors Preface to his Booke.

Goe little booke and kindly say
Peace and content of night and day
Vnto my noble *Selden*. Greete
His gentle hands, his knees, his feet,
In such faire manner, as not he
Deeme anie feinednesse in me.
Say that thy Master oft doth blesse
For his kind love God's holinesse.
And lest thou hindrance be to ought
That busies his heroique thought;
Say not much more, nor wish replie;
But like the silly larke in skie,
When ended is his cheerefull laie,
Warble Adieu, and fall away."

The prose style of James, which sometimes reminds us of

that of the Author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, is exceedingly rhapsodical and abrupt, and inlaid with a rich embroidery of learned quotation. It is, however, racy and vigorous; and though sometimes obscure and affected, is occasionally striking and happy. The following passage from his Apology for unhappy men, which is a Sermon on Psalm xxxvii. 25, "I have beene young, and now am old; yet I never saw the righteous forsaken, nor their seed begging bread," may be selected as a fair specimen. Of three Sermons which he preached, as Ant. Wood informs us, the first, concerning the observance of Lent, was without a Text, the second against his Text, and the third beside it. Probably this was the second, for he certainly treats the declaration of the Psalmist with very little ceremony, and positively denies his conclusion, at least in its literal meaning; in this respect falling into the not unusual error of reasoning on an isolated passage of Scripture, without fully considering the bearing of the context, and its influence upon the true interpretation of the whole. The tone adopted by James is rather a singular one, and seems more akin to that of such a writer as the Author of the *History of the Man after God's own Heart*, than that of a sincere and pious believer such as James undoubtedly was.

"For the insinuation of a begging speech, *David* might have beene the king of Beggars, or their learned secretary; yet to shew that his righteousnesse might sometimes begge and not bee satisfied, *Nabal* a churle, so hard as his cragges of Carmel answered *Davids* servants and said: Who is *David*, and who is the sonne of *Ishai?*

There is plentie of servants now adayes that breake away every man from his master, shall I then take my bread, my water, and my flesh that I have killed for my sheerers, and give it unto men whom I wot not whence they be? If *David* will have bread from the Iusticiarie *Nabal*, he must leave his humilitie and the beggerisme of a set speech, gird on his sword, and with a party of 400. men, after *Abigail Nabals* wife hath beene put in a flight, shee will come, and bring him a present, 200. loaves, 2. cheroes, 2. great goat baggs of wine, five sheepe ready drest, five measures of parched corne, a 100. frailes of raisins, and 200. cakes of figges. A sturdy course prevailes better then begging. Peradventure righteous children in his sense doe begge no bread, when it is the more trustie way to draw the sword and get better cheere through violence; For when it cometh of meere gift, 'tis not all so dainty; as in the uncivill and unnaturall wars betwixt him and his sonne *Absolon*, three more gentle countrey-men, *Sobi*, *Machin*, and *Barzelai* brought unto him wheat and barley, floure and parched corne, beanes, lentills, and parched pulse, because he and his people were hungry, weary, and thirsty in the wildernesse. In these Farmers gift there is no wine nor plums for an after service; and strange it is, that a King in the course of his life should have suffered all this; and yet in the rapture and meditation of a Psalme, gather unto himselfe at threescore or fourscore an experience also divers, and say as we have it in our old *English* translation, which delights to word the *Latin* text; Younger I was, and forsooth I yeelded, and I saw not the righteous forsaken, nor his seed seeking bread. גם־זקנתי I yeelded, I grew up in beard and age, and I saw not this nor that. But howsoever or whatsoever we heare from himselfe, we see it to have beene far otherwise in the trust of a faithful register; and therefore I must borrow in part the words of Saint *Peter*, and say unto you, Men and brethren, let me freely speake unto you of the Patriarch *David;* For he was both hungry and thirsty, and went seeking and begging bread. Certainely, ever since the first

Adam did eate of the forbidden fruit, and brought a curse upon the earth, since the earth left quickly to beare bread of her owne accord, even princes and principalities have beene subject unto the terror of those words in the second of *Genesis;* In sorrow shalt thou eate of it, and in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread. We must have either sorrow and care, and paine in getting of bread with our sweat and industrie, or in eating bread without labour of getting, we treasure up unto our selves the greater sorrow of the gout, stone, strangurie, dropsie, skurvy, and a thousand more tormenting attendants of lazienesse, and for the use of bread we must pay also the tribute of our bodies unto the earth. In sorrowes of mind or sweat of our body we must eat the bread of carefulnesse untill we be turned againe into the belly of our mother ground, saith God, in the second of *Genesis. Pindarus* a heathen Poet hath excellently exprest this sad travaile of our life for bread, where hee saith, χρὸναταρὰποντες ποντιὸντε υδωρ κυνὰν παρὰ δίὰ ανταν. In this life, to get a pittiful, poore, fraile sustenance, we are forc't to plow both land and sea, or as the Scholiast will understand, for bread or breadsworth whole nations are faine both on the Ocean and continent to draw out armies and squadrons one against another with mutuall perill and destruction. All men must have sorrow with their bread, and some of all sorts must want bread. The Prophet *David* after the Prtriarches wanted not bread alone, being righteous, but also many Prophets, many Saints, many Martyrs and Confessours of the truth have been in the like case. *Elias* wants bread and would have starved, without a miracle of ravens and angels to relieve him. *Lazarus* is a Saint of an undoubted Calender, where farre off from the place of torments he was seene to bee in the rest of *Abrahams* bosome, who living was but a poore beggar, could get no other Surgeons then dogs, who came also for want of bread and lickt his soares, had no other hospital then the louzie gate of a rich man, from whose gormand table to his share fell no crummes, a little to refresh his perishing life. And the martyrs and confessors which

were stoned, were hewne asunder, were tempted, slaine with the sword, wandred about in sheepe-skins, and goate-skins, destitute, afflicted, and tormented, which wandered in wildernesse and mountaines, and in dens and caves of the earth, can you thinke that they were not oft to seeke of bread? Then yet the righteous in this world may be forsaken, and they may both begge and want bread; and we must seek farther for a resolution of our sentence; if first I do remember unto you one most famous forraine instance of this casualtie; *Belizarius* was a noble and brave gentleman, a patritian of *Constantinople*, of goodly visage and tall stature, temperate, and compleate of all vertues, curteous to all sorts of men, the souldiers and swaines were at strife who should love and praise him most. The souldier could not want either horse, victualls, or armes, where he was Generall, and so content with their owne pay and provision did offer no violence to the Farmer, nor spoile his labour. Hee led a triumph through the City for reward of his great deserts and service of the warres, he had scowred and quieted all corners and quarters of the Empire, beaten the Goths in Italy often, broke the *Vandals* in *Africa*, brought the Persians under subiection, and forced the sallying Parthians to sit downe quiet from outroads, and molesting the frontires. Yet this man of men, as some Annalists report, was made by the jealous feare of a wicked Prince ἐξ ἐπιτιμων ἄηὴος ἐχὰτως, of an honorable glorious Generall, a man extreamely poore, ὠ τυχῆς της ςτατου! O the unstatednesse of fortune, cryes out *Zetyes*, had his eyes put out, made to goe up and downe with a woodden dish, and begge for God's cause, that passengers would give one halfpenny to the poore *Bellizarius*, who had beene a famous and victorious leader of the Emperiall forces, but now had no eyes to leade him the way taken from him by the envy and emulation of the Court. τεγονε φεῦ ἐλειλὸς τυμνὠτερ ος ὑπέρου. This brave illustrious Worthy, alas againe, saith *Constantinus Manasses*, was made as bare as the pestle of a morter. Φθόνε θήρίον χαλεπὸν, ιληςᾶ, φονεῦ, διὠκτα,

σκὸρπιε μυριὸκεντρε τιγρις ἀνθρωποβόρε. O thou sore biting beast, not fortune but envie, thou theefe, murderer, scorpion with a thousand stings! thou man devouring tiger, thou dragonnesse, thou witch, thou plant of poyson, thou steelelesse piercing dart, how long shall thy tyrant-rage thus continue in confounding the courses of human life? So passionate is he in his briefe history. So long as envy and malice live, whilest there be in the world usurers, oppressors, pyrats, robbers, fires, deluges, stormes, plagues, famines, warres, foolish Princes, favorites, undeserving and religious impostours, there will never be wanting woe and distresse to the best men."

It is curious to observe the remarkable and strange material which was introduced into the Sermons of that period; and of all eccentric preachers, perhaps few were more distinguished in that way than James, who was accounted so even in his own times, as we learn from Ant. Wood. Of two manuscript Sermons still preserved among his collections, the first, which is on the Text of John xii. 32, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me," originally concluded with a Poem of his own, which will be given hereafter, called "a Hymne on Christ's Ascension," and introduced thus: —

"For God, saith the Apostle, hath concluded all in unbelief, that he might have mercie on all. All must be shutt in unbelief, and all believe. St. Peter did on this consideration fall into a rapture of admiration of God's wayes past finding out; and in such manner with your leave, will I utterly end in a Sonnet of praise and meditation upon this solemnitie, least in much speed upon so high a subject, I loose myself: and the Sonnet is this:

To thy passion and thy birth
Blest Lord, I have, &c.

The other Sermon, on James v. 14, among much similar matter, contains the following singular passage: —

"Casually the Prophets and the Apostles have raised men to life by stretching themselves forth uppon their bodies. And so would St. Bernard the white Moncks Angell pretend to doe uppon a Marquis his sonne of Burgundie, and Gualther the Erle of Namours whoe was alreadie buried in a Charterhouse Priorie. But the first was not effected, and for the second the story is, Convolavit dompnus Barnardus ad sepulchrum illud et cum diutissime prostratus orasset, oravit eum prior ut pranderet, erat vi. hora. Cui Barnardus, non recedam inquit donec misetis loquatur pater Galterus, et exclamavit voce magnâ Galtere, veni foràs. Galterus autem quia non audivit vocem Jesu non habuit aures Lazari et non venit. Manie such like remembrances were once had at ye table of Gilbert Foliott Bishop of London concerning Saint Bernards hypocriticall affectation of miracles. Hypocrisie was the verie Genius of theis moncks and friers, by which they beguild the noblemen of their lands, the clergie of their parishes, diverting them to ye use of their infirmarie, their kitchen, their after service, the whole villadge of Kudsdene to a wine seller: And their lives so Antarctique were to all earnest pietie, as I wonder not if ould Piers Plowman did long since designe for them the revendge of Harrie ye 8th when he says

'Then ye Abbot of Abingdon with all his Freeres
Shall haue a knocke of a king.'

And as theis Moncks and Friers, so their Bishops allso wanted not their wayes of dissimulation in this kinde; for which they are reprehended by our thrice Chancelour Thomas Gascoigne in his Theologicall Dictionarie. In the times of perseqution Apostolicall men being forct to liue à wandering life usd long pelches of gotes and sheepe, to secure them against the wether, wherefore, saith he, for resemblance our

Bishops weare long traines of sattin, and our gentlewomen take the fasshion and a great dust is everie where stirrd up. But of all impostures for villanie and atheisme, give us the ceremonie of the Popes owne holinesse. When he crownes the Emperour auncientlie in Rome, he leades him up to a mountaine called Monte Magiore and from thence turning round saies, Hæc omnia tibi dabo. With the devill he pretends title to all the earth, and the power thereof, and both the swoards, and yet in his owne coronation see what povertie, as it is expresst in their owne *Ordo Romanus*."

And yet at times James could rise with his subject, and use even elegant and sublime language, as the conclusion to one of his printed Sermons on the Eucharist will abundantly show: —

"What a Priest must doe, if after the consecration he finde no wine in the Chalice. What a Priest ought to doe, if after the consecration he see flesh or a little young boy in the Sacrament. What man not given ouer to a reprobate sense, will not easily understand the illusion of these men, stuffing their missals and ceremoniall bookes with so many impertinent vanities, so many foolish and darke imaginations, refusing as the Gentiles did before them, to see cleerly the invisible power of God in the visibility of his creation, changing the truth of God unto a lye, and worshipping and seruing the creature more then the Creator, who is blessed for euer: with these propositions I desire not to moue laughter, but both in my selfe and you a sad disdaine of the most foolish Cimmerian darknesse, which the Roman tyranny had drawne ouer our senses, our reason, our judgment, and all the intellectuall faculties of the soule, which in the dayes of our Ancestors was at the reuolution of this feast to combate with so many meteors of Divinity. The irreligion, the violence, the presumption of the Roman Church in this part is infinite. Christ said

at the Passeouer that *he would no more drinke of the fruit of the vine vntill the kingdome of God be come.* And they at all aduentures in their kingdome haue hurld him into the cup. He said he would no more eat the bread, and they make him deuoure it. *He tooke bread, and hee tooke wine, and said, this bread and this cup is my new Testament.* And they say no, here is neither this nor that, but in visible sensible bread nothing is, but Christ inuisible. Wee see not that which is, and what wee see, that is nothing. Yes, in this nothing with them, Christ is fully as long and broad, and corpulent as at the day of his passion, receiued in whole, and euery part and crumme entirely into the narrownesse of our mouthes. They read riddles, and not Sacraments. *Christ tooke bread, and brake it when he had giuen thanks, and gaue it to his Disciples*, and they take bread, and by consecration make a Metamorphosis of substance, and then aduise in their leud treatises how they may breake the white round accident of their Sacramentall Wafer without plucking and tearing asunder a legge or arme of Christ. These and the like blasphemies when to establish against our Wickliffe the Friers and Bishops had gathered themselves together at Poules in London, heare of that reuerend man what happened.

For I dare truly say, saith he, that if these things were sothe, Christ and his Saints dyed heretycks and the more parte of holy Kirke bileued now heresie. And therefore deuout men supposen that this counsell of Freris at London was with erthdyn: for they put an heresie upon Christ and Sentis in heuene, wherefore the earth trembled, and (Faylande mans voice) answeared for God, as it did in time of his passion, when hee was dambned to bodily death.

The earth euer shakes when any violence is pretended to his body. After he had once yeelded up the Ghost of our mortality, his body resurrectiue both of himselfe and vs, by that signe leades captiuity captiue. He cried with a loud voyce, and yeelded up the Ghost, and behold the vaile of the Temple was rent in twaine, and the earth did

quake, and the stones were clouen, and the graves did open themselves, and many bodies of the Saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection. *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, an honourable Senatour, desires in loue to conserue his body in a new tombe, which hee had hewed out in a rocke, and for that purpose rolled a great stone to the doore of the Sepulchere. The Priests and Pharises assembled to *Pilate*, and to make all more sure, seale the stone, and gard it with a watch, but in the dawning of this day there was againe a great earth-quake; The Angell descended from heauen, and rolled backe the stone from the doore, and sat upon it, and for feare of him, the keepers were astonied, and became as dead men. Aske our Stories, and also a third time when the Friers at London will imprison his body in bread, or drowne it in the Chalice, the earth shakes anew. Let vs therefore rather heare the voyce of the Angell vnto the women; Surrexit, non est hic. *Jesus* of *Nazareth*, which on Good-Friday was crucified on the Crosse at *Jerusalem* by the *Jewes;* which is, so much as in them lies, still crucified by the degenerous *Romans* in their prostitute Sacrament: hee is risen, hee is not here, hee is entred into heauen, hee is made higher then the heauens, hee sits at the right hand of Maiestie in the glory and blisse of heauen. Gaze wee must not any more after a vision of Christ's body, vntill in a second fulnesse of time it shall please him againe to descend and repaire the ruines of this world into an eternall renouation. Euen at that time the powers of heauen shall be shaken, and wee shall see the Sonne of Man come in a cloud with power and great glorie. For the Lord himselfe, saith Saint *Paul*, shall descend from heauen with a shout, and with the voyce of the Archangell, and with the trumpet of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then shall wee which liue and remaine be caught up with them also in the clouds, to meete the Lord in the aire; and so shall wee euer be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort yourselves one another with these words. And againe, vntill the consummation of that day, reioyce in the mysterie

of this, from the words of the same Apostle: God *is manifested in the flesh, iustified in the Spirit, seene of Angells, believed on in the world, and received vp in Glory.*"

James likewise published a second Latin Sermon, "Concio habita ad Clerum Oxoniensem de Ecclesia." Authore Richardo Jamesio Vectense, Bacalaureo Sacræ Theolog: Socio C.C.C., Oxon, 1633, 4to., on Matt. xvi. 18. With a Dedication to Sir Kenelm Digby.

In this year appeared also another work edited by James, "Epistola Thomæ Mori ad Academiam Oxon: cui adjecta sunt quædam Poemata in mortem Clarissimi Viri Roberti Cottoni et Thomæ Alleni." Oxon. 1633, 4to. With a short Dedication to Sir Kenelm Digby. Sir Thomas More's Epistle, which was written from Abingdon, in Berkshire, about 1519, was concerning the study of the Greek tongue, which had been for many years neglected among the Students of the University. The bigoted opposition of the Catholics of the older school to the revival of Greek learning at Oxford about this period, is well known; even Bishop Fox, who had founded the first Greek Lecture in the University a few years previously, thought it necessary to frame a sort of apology, by claiming the expressed sanction of the Church in a decree promulgated by Pope Clement in 1311, enjoining the foundation of Greek, Hebrew and Arabic Professorships in the principal Universities of Europe: but the ingenious ridicule of Sir Thomas More in this and other Tracts contributed not a little to the stability of the new schemes. It was even a common proverb at that time, "Let the Greeks take heed

lest they become heretics;" which More satisfactorily answers, and boldly quotes another saying, "The Phrygians are slow to become wise."

The following are the Poems by James, on Cotton and Allen, at the end of the Volume:—

"Viri clarissimi Roberti Cotton ab antiquâ
Regum prosapiâ oriundi Epicedium."

"Qualis *Homerus* erat de cujus fonte furores
Sacros hauserunt veteresque noviq; Poetæ.
Talis eras nostros inter *Cottone Britannos*
Rerum explorator veterum. Civilia jura
Regni, Magnatum molimina, munia Regum
Et populi, nexus faustos, divortia sæva,
Navigia et merces, castra, artes, religiones,
Nummos, structuras, chartas, solennia verba,
Et quicquid bello feceret vel pace triumphos
Callebat dextre nemo magis. Omnis ab illo
Et tua *Camdene* et *Seldeni* gloria crevit,
Seldeni tam justitiâ quàm jure periti.
Ingentes Dominos titulorum dote superbos
Famososque Equites, simul omnes si periissent,
Quivis Rex Orbi potis est renovare, beatum
Cottoni pectus nullâ est reparabile cerâ.
Ingenio quicunque vigent tua tecta frequenter
Visebant tanquam à Phœbo responsa petentes.
Nunc oracla silent. Sed non schediasmate tantæ
Oceanum laudis liceat superare, misellum
Nescio quid gaudens ad amici justa litasse,
Omnia complectar celebrat *Wigornia* verbis
Queis *Neckhami* obitum, crescitque in carmine verum

'Ecclipsim patitur sapientia, sol sepelitur.
'Cui si par unus minus esset flebile funus.' "

"De Puteo Sancti Edwardi in Ædibus
Cottonianis sub ejus obitum exarescente."

"Excessit *Cottone* tuus cum spiritus aurâ
Cœlorum gaudens liberiore frui,
Arescit fons ille sacer de nomine dictus
Regis qui *Anglorum Justinianus* erat.
Quæ vivo tibi non unquam defecit in usus,
Cum moreris latices subtrahit unda suos.
Sit *Letherheade* tuus gurges non fabula vulgi.
Sitque *Breretonia* certa palude fides.
Sint Regum augustæ mortes rutilante cometâ,
Ut decoret mortem Regia lympha tuam.
Res memoranda magis tamen est Annalibus omnis
Anglia quod pro te non fluat in lachrymas,
Pro *Varrone* suo, pro *Britone Cynobelino*,
Qui illam tanquam ungues noverat et digitos.
Quæ Reges, quæ Barones non parturit ætas?
Sed tibi vix dederint sæcula cuncta parem."

"Epicedium Magistri Thomæ Alleni
de Aula Gloucestrensi."

"A casdim quod Dæmonicos sonat, ignorantes
Chaldæos ducunt cœlestia pectora, primi
Qui radio in certas traxerunt sidera leges,
Chaldæi vocis Cheledh ab origine purâ

Dicendi magis egregie, quâ voce notari
Camporum aut similis facies diffusa per amnes
Aut mensurandi ratio Geometrica possit.
Chaldæis quod divine senex tibi contigit, alta
Cœlorum secreta tibi cognoscere curæ
Cum fuerat, plebi fallaxque magusque videris,
Sed plebi indoctæ, quam si vel baltheus ambit
Vel toga, tu spernens semper, virtute quietâ
Compositus semperque tuus; non degener arte
Principibus placuisse viris. Nec juncta matthesi
Fama minor, veterum quâ Scripta et gesta revolvens
Eruis in lucem. Sic cùm te fata vocarent,
Supra hyemes vitæ post nonaginta peractas
Mortem non metuens optansve ad sidera migras."

In 1636, James wrote the Poem *Iter Lancastrense*, which forms the text of the present Volume, and is now published for the first time. He appears to have arrived on a visit to Heywood Hall, in Lancashire, then inhabited by the ancient family of the same name, and whilst enjoying the hospitalities of that mansion, to have made various excursions to different parts of Lancashire and Cheshire, and even to Derbyshire and Flintshire, which are described in the poem. It is difficult at this late period, to find out the particular cause or occasion of James's visit into Lancashire. We have stated with diffidence, our own conjectures on the subject in the notes, viz., that he might have been tutor to John, the third son of Robert Heywood, of Heywood Hall, Esq., who was of the same college with himself, and afterwards became Rector of Walton on the Hill, in the county of Lancaster, and have

thus formed an intimacy with other members of the family; or that some connection might have existed between his own family, and some of the numerous and respectable alliances of the Heywoods, and have thus been brought into contact with them. But after all it is perhaps impossible now to ascertain the true state of the case without further evidence, and the point itself is not of sufficient importance to deserve a very lengthened inquiry.

The Poem itself may be considered one of the most interesting and remarkable of James's writings, both from the subjects of which it treats, and the singular and affected style in which it is composed. It may be almost said to be made for annotation; as indeed the author seems to have thought, by his own frequent marginal observations; and his quaint phrases, ancient proverbs, and constant allusions to the works of the learned, with which he was so conversant, as well also as his local notices, require frequent elucidation. The orthography of the Poem is sometimes fanciful and almost even repulsive, and there are some words of a dialectical, recondite, and obsolete character, which require much explanatory observation. But, generally speaking, these words are more properly of the later character, which Nares has taken up, and belong to that period in our literature generally known as the Elizabethan; and the few which belong to earlier times may be regarded as the fruits of that affected system of using obsolete words, which had been carried to such a great length by Spenser and others. We do not think that there are any which call for special observation in this place.

The *Iter Lancastrense* of James belongs to a very rare class of antiquarian relics, every specimen of which has its value. It is from such sources as these that those minutiæ of county history which are the most difficult to meet with are derived; and it is a relief to turn to them from the dry collection of facts and documents, of which those works are in some degree necessarily composed. Having said thus much, we will leave the reader to draw his own judgment on the intrinsic merits of the work, merely observing that there cannot be two opinions on the propriety of its publication by the CHETHAM SOCIETY.

In the same year in which he wrote the *Iter Lancastrense*, James translated into English a dialogue by Minucius Felix, called Octavius, which he published under the title "Minucius Felix his Dialogue called Octavius; containing a Defence of Christian religion. Translated by Richard James, of C.C.C. Oxon." 12mo. Printed by Leonard Lichfield for Thomas Huggins, 1636. Prefixed to the work is the following dedication: —

"To my Lady Cotton wife of Sr Robert Cotton of Conington."

"Madame I have received many favours from you, & doe in thankfullnesse present unto your Ladishippe this my translation of Minutius Felix his dialogue which consists of three speakers, M. Minucius Felix, Cecilius Natalis, & Octavius Ianuarius. The one is judge, the other produces in a flourishing oration all the arguments of the Gentiles against the Christian religion, & the third makes unto them such cleare answeare as I believe it will reioyce a Christian reader to understand. Wherefore as the better sort of Greekes, Romans, Italian, French, & others have taken a pleasure to render

unto their owne nation what they found worthy in other languages; I in this little peece have followed their example, annecting unto it something of my owne, for nearenesse of subject, pray Madame let either have your acceptance & know me

Your faithfull servant,

RICHARD JAMES."

After this follows a short Epistle to the Reader. At the end of the work is the "something of his owne annected unto it," in the shape of three poetical pieces with which the Volume is concluded.

1. A Good Friday Thought.
2. A Christmasse Caroll.
3. A Hymne on Christ's Ascension.

As this little work is now become very scarce, we quote from it the three pieces entire, only reversing the order of them.

A Christmasse Carroll.

Since now the jolly season's by
That gives and takes in curtesy,
I that have nought to give will sing
A caroll to our infant king,
The Prince of peace, the mighty Lord,
Who all created with a word.
And might so have mankind redeemd,
Had not another way best seemd,
Which I adore, not daring prie
In secrets of Divinity.
Haile blessed Virgin, mother milde,
Which at this time didst beare a childe,

Who in the booke of Genesis
Doth bruise the head of serpents hisse,
And so as in allegorie
Would their embleme Grandsire worie.
His cradle was a manger, fed
Where be the serpents, and doe bed
In lothsome ordure neare, else place
Should by *Mariamnes* grace
In *Herods* softest downe have beene
For a fairer Virgin Queene.
Whose burden puzling natures eye
Made a new brightnesse shine in skye,
To guide three wise men rap't in sense,
With gold, with mirrhe, with frankomsense,
From their Starre-gazing Easterne stage
To Bethlem in holy pilgrimage.
When round about poore silly swaynes
Grazing their sheepe on neighbour plaines,
Gods glory first by night did show,
And from an Angell let them know
Tidings of ioy to all mankind,
Which they in David's towne should finde.
A swadling childe amongst beastes stord,
A Saviour which is Christ the Lord,
Borne King of Jewes and Gentiles all,
Who in full time united shall
Humbly vnto him bend, and praise
His triumphe with eternall layes.
Of many proofes which make beliefe
In Christ so borne, this one is chiefe.
The Jewes who scornd his lowly birth,
Are skattered over all the earth,

In false Christs oft by thousands lost
From one land to another tost.
Their Priests, Scribes, all Jerusalem,
Which troubled were at birth of him,
Have lost their Tribes, their Temple, state,
A people outcast, runnagate.
Now for one thousand thirtie one
And full six hundred yeares vndone.
Blest infant, sacred Deitie,
So shrouded in humanitie,
Preserve this new yeare to my friends
From thoughts ill ravelld into ends
Vouchsafe mee and my slender rimes,
Not fawning on these faining times.
Then shall I on thine Altar lay
In Antheme of Ascending day,
As erst I have at Easter done,
Thy *Threnothriambeuticon.*

A Good Friday Thought.

I think how Christ in his great pleasure tooke
A human likenesse often in the booke
Of mans creation, learning as it were,
How in times fullnesse Deity could beare
The earnest of our flesh, in it be borne,
Grow up to three and thirty, then be torne
With scourges and the crosse, bee crownd with thornes,
Surprised by treason, and revild with scorns,
Bee buffeted, bee spit on, to restore
Those cruell actors to his loue and lore,

From which both they and wee, by serpents wile
In our first parents fall, untill this while
For eating some forbidden fatall fruit,
Figge, Peare, or Apple, which, I not dispute,
Astonisht with the wonder of Gods playe
Amongst the sonns of men, from whence well may
We name our Gospell. He who framed all
With one word, might without a funerall
And passion of himselfe, so all repaire
With one new pleasing breath and gratefull aire.
But since for humane ransome he would die,
I thus thinke on the sacred history,
As from the holy Moore I learne. Behold
The price of mans redemption and be bold
To blesse all nations, Christ his bloud pourd forth,
What ransome may be equall to such worth?
What but all tribes of men? Ingratefull they,
Or very proud, who dare, or thinke, or say
Themselves so great, or this so small, that none
Should be by such price savd, but they alone.

A Hymne on Christs Ascension.

To thy passion and thy birth
Blest Lord, I haue two anthemes sung,
Once more to sing in holy mirth
Thy ascending glory, loose my tongue,
That I with wonder & with praise
May sett forth all thy holy daies.

Borne lowly, then on shamefull Crosse
By Jewes & Romans iudged to dye,

In birth or death not any losse
Empeacht thy immortalitye.
Like Phebus after cloudes of raine
Thy God-head lustred forth againe.

Ascending, thou to men didst giue,
To meanest men, such guifts of grace,
As whether they did dye or liue,
They forct all hearts in highest place
To prostrate scepter, sword, and crowne,
With worship to thy chiefe renowne.

Poore fishermen of lakes, that were
Unapt to sway with eloquence,
That knew not how to menace speare,
Or blandish words that ravish sense,
Even these poore Heralds voyce did tame
And winne all nations to thy name.

When I am lifted up, saith he,
In holy Gospell of Saint John,
Then all men will I draw to me,
That is, to his confession.
To heauen from cratch & crosse he went
With men & Angell's merriment.

Triumphant Lord, no tongue, no thought,
Can reach the wonder of thy wayes,
But we must say, as Paul hath taught
Unto thy euerlasting praise,
The mysterie of godlinesse
Is such, as no tongue can expresse.

God in the flesh made manifest
In the spirit iustified.
Scene of the Angells ever blest,
To the Gentiles verified.
Believd on in the world his story
Was vp received into glory.

The copy of this little book in the Bodleian Library, No. 153, Theol:, was bought at Inglis's sale in 1826, 1039, and is, unfortunately, deficient of two leaves near the end, containing part of the *Good Friday Thought*, and the beginning of the *Christmasse Caroll;* but the editor was fortunate in meeting with another perfect copy, through the kindness of the librarian, the Rev. H. O. Coxe, M.A., in the library of C. C. College.

This was probably James's last published work, but he continued his labours during the next and last two years of his useful life. In fact, his close application to study, and confined and laborious life, brought on, according to Wood, an attack of a quartan ague or fever, while he was staying in the house of Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart., near Westminster Hall, which carried him off after a short illness, in the beginning of December, 1638, in the 47th year of his age; and on the 8th day of the same month he was buried in the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster, in the Burial Register of which Parish he is styled "Mr. Richard James, That most famous Antiquary."

He appears to have died intestate, for the original administration bond is still preserved in the archives of the

Registry Court at Oxford. It is dated February 16th, 1638–9, for £200, executed by the administrator, John Mylles, L.L.B., and Alford Rance, of the city of Oxford, Tailor, for due administration of the effects, of which there is no inventory or account.

Besides his printed works, which he presented himself, bound up in one volume 4to, to the Bodleian Library, with the Verses which he wrote on his confinement, in his own handwriting, prefixed to them, James also left behind him a large collection of MSS. of his own composition, comprised in about forty-three Volumes, all in his own autograph. These are sufficiently enumerated by Ant. Wood, in his *Ath. Oxon.*, vol. ii. p. 631, edit. Bliss.; so that it will be unnecessary to repeat their titles in this place. After the death of James they appear to have fallen into the hands of his friend and colleague, Mr. Thomas Greaves, and on the death of that gentleman, were purchased for the Bodleian Library, where they are still preserved.

In our notice of Thomas James, we have briefly alluded to his literary labours in defence of the Protestant religion, against the tenets of the Church of Rome. In Richard James we have, if possible, a yet more sturdy and vehement advocate of the Reformation, and a more stormy opponent of Popish errors. His mind seems to have been completely enwrapped with enthusiasm in this direction, and these ultra-Protestant feelings appear to have influenced him materially both in his writings and his pastoral duties. We can hardly even select a letter from his pen which is not more or less subject to this observation, and his Sermons may be noticed

as having a similar tendency. At this distance of time we can scarcely enter into the extreme virulence of party feeling between the Roman Catholics and Protestants which then exhibited itself. It is true our own days are not wanting in sad examples of this bitter spirit; but the animosities are much fewer, and of far inferior consideration. James flourished at a period when the evils of the Papal domination in this country were well remembered; when the cries of the Protestant martyrs yet rang from the burning stakes of the previous reign; and when the angry contentions of the mighty revolution effected by Henry VIII. were yet in their full vigour. It was at this period, the age of persecution and alarm of Jesuitical seminaries, that Richard James distinguished himself as one of the most energetic opponents against the see of Rome.

The most important of James's MSS., as showing the bias of his mind and studies, but which has perhaps now lost some of its value, is the large work entitled "Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuariensis et suorum." This volume—the labour in which he chiefly delighted—exhibits more than any other the great variety and extent of his learning. He was rich in Talmudic and Arabic lore, and in the various foreign writers on Scriptural subjects. His knowledge, also, of our own early historical writers and chroniclers, would astonish a modern student. And being himself a writer of poetry, he did not neglect the poets of his own country, but makes frequent quotations from Chaucer, Gower, and others, more especially from *Piers Ploughman*,[1] in which he found a similar

[1] *Piers Ploughman* is an allegorical Poem of great merit, directed against

congeniality of sentiment in attacking the different Monastic orders, and the debasing superstitions of the Romish Church; and from this latter work he makes frequent and long quotations.

In summing up the character of Richard James, we cannot do it in terms more appropriate than those applied to him by his biographer, Ant. Wood, who says, "He was noted by all those that knew him to be a very good Grecian, poet, an excellent critic, antiquary, divine, and admirably well skill'd in the Saxon and Gothic languages." He remarks, also, that James, "though humorous, was of a far better judgment than his uncle Thomas James, and had he lived to his age, would have surpassed him in published books. Nothing, in short, was wanting to our author and his studies, but a sinecure or a prebendship; either of which, if conferred upon him, Hercules his labours would have seemed a trifle."

The Manuscript from which the text of the *Iter Lancastrense* is printed, is a small thin folio volume, bound in a pasteboard cover, written in the bold but singular and difficult hand-writing of the Author. It occupies ten pages, and has numerous contractions and peculiarities in the spelling, which have been carefully preserved in the text. It is marked No. 40, in the Bodleian Catalogue.

In the Biographical Memoir of the Author, the Editor has

the vices and corruptions of the age in which it was written, the close of the fourteenth century. Its author is not positively known; but it was composed by a monk resident in the West of England, most probably in Herefordshire. The best edition is that edited by Mr. Thomas Wright, in 12mo, 1842.

been anxious to include every kind of information he could procure, which was in any way likely to prove interesting to the reader, or elucidatory of James's character and writings; and although he is fully aware that the account is still very imperfect, he trusts that he has been able to bring together from various sources many particulars, some of which are entirely new, and others not generally known to the reader.

With regard to the Notes, should it be considered that they are rather too lengthy and discursive, and that some of them are on subjects which scarcely require annotation or elucidation, the Editor would merely remark, by way of apology, that this fault would probaby be recognized exclusively by the student in this branch of historical literature, and form no subject of animadversion to the majority of the Subscribers to the Chetham Society, who are necessarily engaged in other more absorbing pursuits.

In drawing this extended Introduction to a close, it only remains to acknowledge, with much gratitude, the kind assistance which the Editor has received in the prosecution of his labours.

His first thanks are due to the Rev. Dr. Bandinel, Principal Librarian of the Bodleian, for his obliging permission to examine the entire collection of James's MSS., in that unrivalled depositary, and for obtaining a transcript of the Poem now published.

To the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., the diligent Historian of Hallamshire, the Editor is indebted for much valuable information respecting the Heywood family, and other kind suggestions; and also (not knowing that the Editor had

already performed the task,) for a collation of the printed copy of the *Iter*, with the original MS. at Oxford.

To George Ormerod, Esq., L.L.D. F.R.S. &c., the Editor gratefully acknowledges the many kind favours he has received from him, and his ever ready willingness to impart information from the stores of his accurate and enlightened mind.

But above all, are his thanks especially due to the Rev. F. R. Raines, M.A. F.S.A., the able Editor of Bishop Gastrell's *Notitia Cestriensis*, for his valuable genealogical information respecting the various families mentioned by James in the Poem,—and for the very kind and friendly assistance which he has at all times been ready to afford from his extensive and invaluable Manuscript Antiquarian Collections.

The Editor is also indebted to the Rev. Dr. Bliss, Registrar of the University of Oxford; the Rev. Alexander Dyce; Albert Way, Esq. M.A., Director of the Society of Antiquaries; Thomas William King, Esq., F.S.A., Rouge Dragon Pursuivant; the Rev. Henry L. Jones, M.A. F.S.A.; and the Rev. John Piccope, M.A., for several useful and obliging communications. He must ever account it one of the chief sources of gratification in his labours, to have thus been brought into communication with individuals, so distinguished in their different departments, who have taken an interest in the success of his undertaking.

The Editor has to apologize for the delay which has taken place in the publication of this volume, which has arisen from the pressure of other daily and more important avocations, from the necessity of frequent collations with

the original MSS. to ensure the requisite accuracy, and partly from the dilatoriness of the engraver. The work, however, would have appeared somewhat earlier, had not the Editor's anxiety to avail himself of every source of information led him to take more than usual pains in collecting materials; and he feels assured that whatever be its defects, they will not be ascribed to the want of any exertions in that direction. But apart from these considerations, the Editor takes the opportunity of pleading his inexperience in literary undertakings, as an apology for the indulgence of the Subscribers towards the fruits of his labours, assuring them of his own diffidence in placing them under their criticism. His anxious wishes for their favourable opinion naturally increase his distrust, which is not removed by the reflection that the volume treats of facts, and not of theories. If he were so inclined, he might perhaps claim, that a contribution to the minutiæ of local topography should be exempted from any comparison with the composition required for the generalities of history; but those who are best acquainted with the present class of compilations will scarcely consider reservation necessary, nor will any fair critic adopt such a criterion. Every work should be judged by the manner in which its presumed objects are accomplished, and taking into consideration the unambitious nature of his pretensions, the Editor may fairly conclude with a reiteration of the anxiety which has pervaded his endeavours throughout his researches to give satisfaction to the Members of the Chetham Society. T. C.

THE following entries relating to the family of James, from some of the early Registers at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, for which I am indebted to the Rev. JOSEPH MAUDE, M.A., arrived too late to be made use of in the proper places.

Anno 1570.

Thomas fleming and Maria James mar: ye 13 of februarii.

Anno 1578.

Joan the daughter of Markes James bur^d ye 16 day of ffebruarii.

Jane ye daughter of Mr John James bap. ye 17 of August.

Anno 1579.

Jane James bur. ye 30 of Januarii.

Abraham ye sonne of Markes James bap. ye 25 of februarii.

Anno 1581.

Richard the sonne of Marke James bap. the 7 daye of Aprill.

Richard James bur. ye 10 of June.

Jane ye wife of Richard James bur. ye 22 of June.

Anno 1582.

Dowsabell ye daughter of Markes James bap. ye 8 of Julii.

Dowsabell ye daughter of thomas fleming bap. ye 18 of Julii.

Dowsabell fleming bur. ye 22 of August.

Dowsabell James bur. ye 8 of November.

Anno 1586.

Averen James ye daughter of Markes James bap. ye 12 of June.

Anno 1588.

Richard ye sonne of Marke James bap. ye 22 of March.

Anno 1589.

Thomas James bur. ye 17 of June.

Anno 1593.

Thomas the sonne of Richard Jeames bap. ye 7 daye of September.

Anno 1594.

Mary the daughter of Andrew Jeames bap. ye 5 of Januarii.

Joan the wife of Andrew Jeames bur. the 11 daye of Januarii.

Sir Richard Allheton and Dame Anne his wife.
anno dñi mccccxxiiij.

ITER LANCASTRENSE

RICHARDI JAMESII.

From ye varietie of their name written in ould evidencies all theis conjectures are probable.

Birthe and death are equally ye gifts of nature; he yt is of other minde shall never be quiet.

Peers Ewood, with many other gentlemen thereaboutes, had land given vnto them at ye same time by Adam de Berrye, ye charters of which donations are yet extant. Theis charters are anciently calld books, and signe of a free tenure.

Theis were not chief Lords, but free men, whoe after griew to great worshippe. Whence Chaucer in his character of ye Frankelin—
At sessions there was he Lord and Sire.
Full ofte there he was Knight of ye Shire.

High holtt of woods, or haye enclosed with woods,
Or woddie Isle surrownded with fierce floods
Thy antique bounds; from whence so ere thou haue
Thy name, I blesse ye, Heywoods wombe and graue,
The board and bed vnto thy ofspringe be
Kinde of their seasons with tranquillitie.
Thou bookland Heywood, lett each aged Sire
To well growne children ye with lightsomme fire
Deliver gift of Berries Lord, when pejres
Rejoicd in men, not onely in their steeres 10
And towne-devouring sheepe, about ye date
When second Harrie mightye was of state.
The Lords him followd to ye wars, and they
With their bolde Francklins dowbted not ye day
Of battle, men each other knowing voyd of strife,
Honour resolvd to winne, or laye their life.
Fulchis of Crew in Chesshire, thy braue worde
Once spoken doth to after times afford
Worthy example: when in dismall fight
A horse was offerd to secure thy flight 20

And leave thy fellowes to à bloodie field,
If their stoute couradge did refuse to yeeld,
Thy wordes were, "Hether, trustie friends, we came,
And, if we doe not gaine, weele looze no fame:
Goodwives of Nantwitch and their daughters shall
Nere houle aboute me for their kindreds fall."
So he, so Talbot, Frances terrour, dide,
Because they would not from their fellowes ride.
Such times were those which never heard ye crye,
"Break open ranks for now my Lord doth flye." 30
Free lords free tenants lou'd; againe they trye
To loue their Lords in life and memorie.
Ashton of Middleton, to ye I went
From my deere Heywood once, and there I spent
One space of leasure, to behould and see
The fairenesse of thy seate and courtesie,
In which we kindely fed, slept, rose againe
Next day, with other views to entertaine
Free welcomme, and summe miles beyond thy home
Mounted vppon thy horses we did rome, 40
Vnder thy guidance, to à Roman waye
High cast yet standing, as perchance it laye
From Yorck to Chester. Austins voice is true,
Empire condignly was to Romans due.
Our wayes are gulphs of durte and mire, which none
Scarce ever passe in summer withoute moane;
Whilst theirs through all ye world were no lesse free
Of passadge then ye race of Wallisee,
Ore broken moores, deepe mosses, lake and fenne,
Now worcks of Giants deemd, not arte of men. 50
On theis their stages stood their forts and tombes;
They were not onely streets but halydoms:

Such is ye tradition of him at Crewe once his Lordshippe now in ye possession of Sr Randall Crewe. Every stone speaks ye manner of Talbot's death. Theis Talbots before their Erldom were auncient rich Barons of this kingdome whence of one of them tis sayd, ditissimus baro totius Angliæ, and so no doubt but they came brauely attended into ye wars.

Quâ causâ Deus Romanos secundū quandā formam terrenæ civitatis bonos adjuverit ad antiqui imperii gloriam consequendam. — dedit mercedem bonis Romanor̄ artibus terrenam gloriam excellentissimi imperij. Aug. Civ. Dei.

Nic. Bergier à French Lawyer hath written a lardge historie of theis Roman high wayes.

Peradventure thence in ye North à Roman forte is calld Reisingham. Reus, or Rese in Dutch signifies à giant, and our ould storyes say in à mistake from hence y^t^ giants aunciently inhabited this land and built their citties vppon high hills.

So did their buisnesse speede, and armyes flye
From East to West like lightning in the skye.
Now go we to ye church of Middleton,
To finde out there summe glorye of our owne.
At chardge of those good men, whoe went out far
In suite of our braue Ashton to the warre,
There stands à painted windowe, where I weene
The showe of their departure may be seene: 60
The Lord and Ladye first in skarlett; then
One neere attending of ye chiefest men;
Their garments long, his short and bliew, behinde
The chaplaine of ye warfare you may finde
In robe of ye same colour, for to say
Before an altar praiers of ye daye
On bended knees; him followe neighbours bould,
Whoe doe bent* bowes on their left showlders hould,
Their girdle sheaft with arrowes; as ye squire
So are they all, courtmantells in attire 70
Of blewe; like Greeks in Trojan warre, their haire
In curles long dangling makes ye semblance faire
And sterne; each hath his name, and people tell
That on ye same lands now their children dwell
As yet so called. Larroue, thy camarades
Of men theis were, which feare would never shades
Of death in warlike service; Agincourt,
Cressy, Poitiers, and Floddon field reporte
Their mightye acts, such as were never donne
Greater by Roman or ye Macedon. 80
Were I ye, gentle Ashton, theis should be
In pourtrait honour of my pedigree:
I would in statue or in table make
A commelye niew remembrance for their sake,

Aunciently people did not vse to burye in ye citties much lesse so frequently in churches. Luthers advise in this point is not only civill but allso preservable to ye health of citties. See allso of this William Zepper in his ecclesiasticall policye how monasticall avarice brought funeralls to ye church. See Rivet and Beza.

*The excellent prince Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk with bowemen of England slewe King Jamye, with many a Noble Scotte against Floddon hill, in which battell ye stout archers of Chesshyre and Lancashire for one day bestowed to ye death for their Prince and Countrye sake hath gotten immortall name and praise for ever. Ascham in his Schoole of Shootinge.

Of ye wearing haire long or short Galen hath à verie fine discours. See allso Lycurgus proverb of it in Plutarch. terribile quiddam præ se fert densū Gallor et Scythar̄ capillitiū Clem. Alex.

With such camarades as those of which Larroue speakes ye commendation in his militarie discourses, all our auncient wars were fought, and so it continued I believe vntill ye dissolution of Abbyes, vppon ye lubbers of which pressing beganne to be sufferd. They were so many fitt for no civill course of life ye Bishop Hooper in à sermon complaines, how twentie men could hardly passe safe together vppon ye high wayes. The former service was yeither by tenure or by agremen t, whence in ye pell office

are yet manie obligations extant betwixt ye King ye Nobles and Gentrye of ye Land.

And lett the state learne from my Auncestrye
What course is fittest deeds of warre to trye,
Not men of meanest ranke, whoe prest putt on
Withoute à shirte à poore mandillion,
Whoe in despaire of life more* willing goe
Vnto ye gibbett then against ye foe. 90
Middleton, adieu! ye setting sunne doth trace
Far to ye West, and wee to Heywood pace,
Where dairie worck goes forward, fairies spinne,
And of their ferrs good housewife praises winne.
Ladyes of Courte and Cittie dames, not fleere,
Because I praise my virgins for this gheere:
This worck, this gheere, if storyes do not faine,
Was donne by daughters of great Charlemaine:
This doing keepes them in a liuely heate,
And still preserves à stomack to good meate: 100
They are not lazie, queazie, wanting breath,
Nor in a wan fainte palenesse bourding death;
They covett not as you to cloye their tripes
With coles, lome, asshes, foule tobacco pipes:
Happinesse attends them if they marrye,
And comme lovers whoe not loue to varye:
I wish loue constant.
Let us varie sportes
Whoe are at leasure, and seeke niew resortes
For recreation. Ormeschurch and ye Meales
Are our next jorney, we direct no weales 110
Of state, to hinder our delight. Ye guize
Of those chaffe sands, which doe in mountaines rize,
On shore is pleasure to behould, which Hoes
Are calld in Worold: windie tempest blowes

* Our great Sires were so farre from pressing to warre yt King Edward ye 3, in ye first volume of Froissard, cap. 206, speakes thus to his souldiers at Dovore vppon their departure for France. que son intention etoit teille qúil vouloit passer outre au royaume de France, sans jamais rappasser, jusques a tant quil auroit fin de guerre ou paix à sa suffisance, ou à son grand honeur: ou il mourroit en la peine: et s'il y avoit entre eux, qui à ne vousissent entendre, il leur prioit qu'ils s'en vousissent retourner.

Filios quam primū ætas patiebatur more Francorū equitare, armis ac venationibus exerceri fecit: filias verò lanificio assuescere, coloque ac fuso, ne per ociū torpescerent operam intendere, atque ad oem̄ honestatem erudiri jusset. Eginhartus de vita et rebus gestis Caroli Magni. See allso Vives de xpiana fæmina. Sed fæminam saith he, nullo modo placet mihi artiū quæ manibus tractantur imperitam esse: ac ne principem quidem, aut Reginam. Quid enim aliud potius aget aut melius vacua domesticis negociis? Confabulabitur scilicet cum viris aut alijs fæminis. Quibus de rebus? semper loquetur? nunquam conticescet? At cogitabit quæ? celer est cogitatus fæminæ ac fere constans vagus, perigrinus, nescio quà lubricitate devolvetur sua, etc.

Both christian and heathen writers mention ye reverence of ye sea unto ye sands, but God's providence needs not any such weake proofes. The sand and peobles are indeede rowld up by ye sea and so aboute Winchelsey, Dele, and many other places ye sea doth as it were make a fence against it self. Chrysostome vses ye worde of reverence and Minutius Felix says neerely, mari intende, lege litoris stringitur. But to those whoe haue viewed ye site of sea and land tis apparant yt if God had not made other fenses of high rocks and shores, a reverence of sands would not keepe ye seas from drowning all.

Them up in heapes: tis past intelligence
With me how seas doe reverence
Vnto ye sands; but sands and beach and peobles are
Cast up by rowling of ye waues a ware
To make against their deluge, since the larke
And sheepe within feede lower then ye marke 120
Of each high flood. Heere through ye wasshie sholes
We spye an owld man wading for ye soles
And flukes and rayes, which the last morning tide
Had stayd in nets, or did att anchor ride
Vppon his hooks; him we fetch vp, and then
To our goodmorrowe, "Welcomme gentlemen,"
He sayd, and more, "you gentlemen at ease,
Whoe money haue, and goe where ere you please,
Are never quiett; wearye of ye daye,
You now comme hether to drive time away: 130
Must time be driven? longest day with vs
Shutts in to soone, as never tedious
Vnto our buisnesse; making, mending nett,
Preparing hooks and baits, wherewith to gett
Cod, whiting, place, vppon ye sandie shelvs,
Where with to feede ye markett and our selvs."
Happie ould blade, whoe in his youth had binne
Roving at sea when Essex Cales did winne,
So now he liues. If any Busshell will
Liue west the world, withoute projecting skill 140
Of Ermitage, he shall not neede to seeke
In rocks or Calve of Man an ember weeke:
Heere at ye deserte Meales he maye, vnknowne,
Bread by his owne paines getting, liue alone
Withoute à callott or à page to dresse
Or bring bought meate vnto his holinesse.

But haste we back to Ormeskircke, least, I feare,
Our friends departe, and leaue vs in ye reare;
And home to Heywood, whence I joy to tell
Our next niew sallie to ye holye well, 150
Foure miles beyond Flint castle, where our age
Doth yet behould à doting pilgrimadge.
Authors, y^t legends write and holye tales
Without book, say y^t whilom dwelt in Wales
An amorous young prince calld Caradoc,
The sonne of Alaine, born of Royal stock,
Enflamd of loue of fairest Winefride,
Lord Thebith's daughter, whoe had promised
Vppon Beunous preaching, to liue aye
A votall virgin till hir dying daye. 160
But, when hir parents vnto church were gonne,
Into ye house came Caradoc anonne,
And, as he found hir setting by ye fire
Vndrest, he quickly opend his desire.
To which she mildely sayd, "pray, Sir, lett be,
Vntill my parents from ye church you see
Returnd; you are ye prince, and soone may gaine
Their good consent to make their daughter raigne
A Queene by mariadge: better cloathes I will
In ye meane while putt on, for to fulfill 170
Your lawfull pleasure." To hir chamber so
She went, and soone doth through à posterne goe
To save hir self. She fled, he did pursue;
Loue griew to rage, and forth his swoard he driew,
With which at one blowe, with an angrie looke
Hir louely head he from hir bodie tooke.
The head fell downe, and tumbling rowled was
Into ye Temple where ye priest said mass:

Gilbert de Stone being for ye time a trimme man of his penne was sollicited by ye Monks there to write their founders or saints life: when he required summe memories of him, they had none at all. Wherefore in a letter of his, he says tis no matter, for he would write them notwithstanding a fine legend after ye manner of Thomas of Canterburye, and certainly moste legends are written after ye manner of Gilbert.

Beunous was ye priest; so ghastly sight
Sett him and all ye people in à fright: 180
Yet takes he vp ye head, and marches on
Vnto the body with procession.
Curse falls on Caradoc, and he with it
Doth vanish forthwith to infernall pitt.
The holye man doth often kisse hir face,
And then it aptly on hir body place.
Bothe coverd are with mantle, till he goe
Againe to church and end his masse belowe,
First breathing in hir nostrills; by which breath,
At their returne, she raised is from death 190
As from a sleepe, he praiyng, and ye men
Whoe there came with him, saying, "Lord, Amen;"
And raised is as perfitt as before,
Saving y^t^ all hir after life she wore
A circle in ye juncture white as milke,
Which seemd to view à thread of finest silke:
And so, not loozing aught but in her name,
She thence from Breuna Winefride became.
With Britaines wen is white; but stained red
Still are ye stones where ravisht was hir hed 200
From of hir bodye in à fountaine cleere,
Which at this cruell deede did first apeere,
Since curing each disease, each sore and grief
In those which of this Ladie seeke relief.
Reade Surius and Baronius, whoe more
From Thomas Asaphs Bishop keepes in store.
But Capgraue says, and truth he says I weene,
All things y^t^ are related are not seene.
Nay, here we see,* ye lame, ye halt, ye blinde,
Bothe rich and poore, no health can ever finde, 210

* See Euseb. de prepar. lib. 4, cap. 2, for the Ethnic and now Roman superstition doe much agree. Cogita vero ipse tecũ. saith he, exempla vetera repetendo, quam isti sæpe, cum affectæ valetudinis hominibus, robur, vitam, salutemque promisissent, iisque postea non secus ac dijs fides haberetur, paulo post ingenti pecuniæ vi ex hoc afflatæ divinitus mercaturæ genere corrogatâ, quales tandem essent manifeste deprehensũ fuerit, impostores scilicet ac circulatores, non autem dij cum decepti ab ijs homines infaustũ exitum habuissent. Quid porrò attinet dicere, ne popularibus quidem suis, et ejusdem secum civitatis indigenis vates egregios quicquam præsidij vel opis afferre, cum infinitos ibidem videas morbis laborantes, claudos, cæcos ac toto sæpe corpore mutilatos? Quid verò in causa fuerit, cur peregrinis quidem hominibus, et ex longinquâ regione venientibus rerum meliorum spes quasdam vmbratiles ac fucatas ostenderent civibus autem popularibusque suis non item, quibuscum tamen eos vtpote domesticis amicis, ac civibus derivatum ex numinum præsentia bonum communicare oporteret; nisi quòd extraneos homines veteratoriæ calliditatis ignaros facilius in errorem, quam alios sibi notos ac familiares impellerent, quippe qui artis huius imperiti non essent, sed vsitatæ ludificationis optime conscij? And hence it is y^t^ St. Godric and St. Thomas are sayd to have made a bargaine y^t^ Godric should cure ye South, and Thomas ye North peoples diseases. But for truth Harrye ye eight cured bothe their impostures.

And manye pilgrims dye vppon ye place,
Whoe on their bare feete seeke hir healing grace.
Nay, nothing of the name of Winefride
Is in Geraldus or Galfridus read,
Whoe ye survaye did write and ye storie
Of their deere Wales, in which they glorie.
Theis learned clercks of Wales of hir kniew naught,
Or waud such tales as Salope Robert brought;
They neither him nor yet Elerius cite,
Though summe men say they bothe of hir did write. 220
But here to Templers cell were monkes put in
Vnder our seconde Edward: then beginne
Theis craftie fables: stories they invent;
They purchase pardons which from Rome are sent;
They builde à structure, chappell, cloysters rownd
Aboute ye well; to put of cloathes they founde
A joining roome: in seventh Harryes time
And in Queene Maries, with such toyes they chime
Much people in with coyne to buye no health,
But to encrease their Greene-field Abbyes wealth. 230
The smocks which now for bathing we doe hire,
Were then belike theis monks rent and desire.
From natures secretts poets storyes faine;
Naught els of poets doe theis monks retaine.
This faire cleere springe, which courses through ye hills
Conveys summe mettall tincture in hir rills,
Which they make staine of blood.
But now the tide
Hath left the sandes, and we to Chester ride,
Chester a Roman station, where are fownd
As yet summe of their reliques vnder grownd. 240

See Gabriell Powell in his annotations vppon Giraldus his surveye of Wales.

Of Elerius and Robertus Salopiensis see Ihon Bale; &c.

There is another spring ten miles distant from Winefrides well, where are fownd stones in great number spotted in ye same manner, summe of which Mr. Tredescant shewes given vnto him by Sr Jhon Trever, as theis springs staine their peobles red so Wellingborowe waters make things yellowe, and bothe haue their cause from nature not historye.

The Romans hypocausts did vse, where heate
Of fire putt vnder made them kindely sweate
Aboue; ye bricks of such worke, lardge and square,
In knowing Whitbyes house preserved are.
Theis drie baths were of antique times ye cure,
Which doe in many countryes still endure,
And from my owne experience to be plaine,
I thinke no waters are so soveraigne.
Of bucks and does, strainge beasts with peeled crowne,
Were whilom manye cloysters in ye towne. 250
'T was well contriued; when Friers were so nighe,
I hope no sisters did of molaes dye,
Of which disease ye Jew Amatus sure
Hath writt as well ye pittie as ye cure.
Fond fals imposture! can mans wisedomme haine
The streames of Dee from gliding to ye maine?
Three miles from Chester lyes à common heath,
Famous as yet with people for ye death
Of Bangor Monkes, whoe came to blesse ye fight
Of Brockmail Chesters Consul, put to flight 260
By Ethelfride Northumbrian king: from farre
He came, incited to à bloodie warre
By Ethelbert ye king of Kent, to slaye
The Christian Brittaines scorning to obeye
The pride of Rome in Austin, whoe with slight
Had made that foolish prince his proselyte.
Malice, rage, murder, and confusion
Markes use of Romish superstition:
Rome plants in blood, blood makes her thrive wee see;
The Turke to Christians is more milde then shee. 270
America, thy wofull tragedie,
Was not more fell then this of Brittanie

For is it not pittie yt poore wenches should be putt to ye shifte of abortions molaes and so manye murders of their owne infants, as this forct Virginitie did enforce them to. See Vlrick's epistle to Pope Nicholas and ye repentance of Gregorie ye great in this point after he had fownd six thousand infants' heads in ye foing of his fishponds; see more of this in Honorius Augustoduñ. and Clemangis.

Ethelbert did put Ethelfride uppon ye action by ye instigation of Austin ye bloodie moncke as it is cleere out of ye translation of Bede by King Alfred into ye Saxon tounge, howsoever ye Lattin copies haue it now quamvis ipsa jam multo ante tempore ad cælestia regna translato. see Lisle in his Ælfric. See Mason and Jewell. There was a great conspiracie of religion to destroye ye Britanes, and to this way allso Gildas was no small traitour.

They came with their flags and crosses and having converted him vnto his wives religion, he surrenders to them ye whole power of Canturbury and retires himself to Roculvers in Tenet, inciting blood and warre vpon ye Britains whoe wonld not

submitt themselves to ye insolent pride of ye Romau church. The Brittaiues vnder ye Romaus subsisted still bothe in lignage and laudgnadge, but ye Saxon Christiauitie destroyed both meu and wordes, according to ye Monks conusell vnto Philip king of Frauce, yt he showld destroye all ye Greeks books as well as their persons. See in Malmesburiensis à consideration of theis Saxons whether they were better men iu their Christianitie or their geutilitie, for I much dowbte whether Rome makes Christianitie or manners.

In lignage and in landguadge. Austins worde
From Catnys to ye Mount putts all to sword.
Foule sorceresse of Rome, I leaue thy heape
Of bloodie crimes to God's revendge and threape.
"Penigent, Pendle hill, Ingleborough,
Three such hills be not all England thorough."
I long to climb up Pendle; Pendle stands,
Rownd cop, survaijng all ye wilde moore lands, 280
And Malkins Toure, à little cottage, where
Reporte makes caitive witches meete to sweare
Their homage to ye divell, and contrive
The deaths of men and beasts. Lett whoe will dive
Into this banefull search, I wonder much
If judges sentence with belief on such
Doth passe: then sure thy would not for lewd* gaine
Bad clients fauour, or putt good to paine
Of long pursuite; for terrour of ye fiend
Or loue of God they would giue causes end 290
With equall justice. Yet I doe confesse,
Needs must strainge phansies poore ould wiues possesse,
Whoe in those desert mystie moores doe liue
Hungrie and colde, and scarce see priest to giue
Them ghostlye counsell. Churches farre doe stand
In lay mens hands, and chappells haue no land
To cherish learned Curates, though Sir Jhon
Doe preach for foure pounds vnto Haselingdon.
Such yeerely rent, with right of hegging corne,
Makes Jhon à sharer in my Ladyes horne: 300
He drinks and prayes, and fortie yeeres this life
Leading at home keepes children and à wife.

As Comineus says of Princes they would not be extreme vppon their subjects if they did believe yt God tooke cognizance of their actions. So I say of judges. If they did thiucke there were à Divell no earthly hope or feare could make them doe such things as in severall ages times complain of them. And how ever the truth be, those poore wretches finde pittie and apologie from manye. Whence Ewich yt fee physician of Breme. Impiæ veneficæ quæ vulgò stryges appellantur, gravem quidem pænam merentur, et si multis in locis nimis temere, et nonnunquam illegitime Liceat mihi id hoc loco obiter dicere, satis. enim hanc causam hodie viri eruditi disceptarunt tractari consueverunt, frigidam aut potius focū suffundente Molocho qui talibus holocaustis delectari solet.

An alewife so called. she hath ye horne of plentie according to all.

* Of ye French lawyers and judges wickednesse see ye great chancellour of France Michael Hospitalius in his epistle to Faber and to ye Cardinall of Loraine, to Marilliac ye Arch Bp. of Vienna.

Theis are ye wonders of our carelesse dayes:
Small store serves him whoe for ye people prayes.
But greater wonder calls me hence: ye deepe
Lowe spongie mosses yet remembrance keepe
Of Noahs flood: on numbers infinite
Of firre trees swaines doe in their cesses light;
And in summe places, when ye sea doth bate
Downe from ye shoare, tis wonder to relate 310
How many thowsands of theis trees now stand
Black broken on their rootes, which once drie land
Did cover, whence turfs Neptune yeelds to showe
He did not allways to theis borders flowe.
We reade in Cesar yt no firre trees griew
Within this Isle, if what he write be triew.
But sure I am, yt growing heere, or sent
With storme of seas, theis are an argument
That God, offended with earths crimes, did raine
Till all once drownd was in a hurling maine. 320
Hence, tis* Sarayna, yt on hills we finde
And inland quarries things of sea borne kinde,
Wilks, cockles, oysters: threescore miles from wale
Of sea at Conyngton was fownd à whale
Vppon à high downes, whose ribs and bones
With chance and time were turned into stones;
And ofte earths bosomme yeelds ye rich prizd hornes
Of counter-poyson sea-fish vnicornes.
What shall I speake of southerne yvorie
Which yet seas vast doth in Pechora lye? 330
Such changes doe from ye great deluge springe,
And fire shall all to ye oulde Chaos bringe.
Meane while ye works of nature and of arte
To view and weigh, it is my pleasinge parte.

You may see this at a place calld ye stocks in Worold.

Lib. v. de bello Gallico he says. Materia cujusque generis, vt in Gallia est, præter fagum atque abietem. And it seemes Cæsar did enquire all things of ye Countrye when in ye same place he could say Nascitur ibi plumbũ album in mediterraneis regionibus. And theis mines were after much usd by ye Romans, whence at Castelton a Roman sepulcher lately found had much led ore in it.

Torellius Sarayna. Goropius, Palissi, and divers others have writt of this subject. See allso Fulgosius. Mr. Rowlt allso of Pertenhall in Bedfordshire hath ye rigg bone of a whale petrified found vnder ye arches of St. Neots bridge. he now vses it for a saltseller. See many like things in ye cabbinets of Hubbart and Tredescant, ye later of whome hath binne my fellowe traveller. For ye yvorie fownd in ye northerne partes of ye Russian Empire tis ye constant relation of ye woodmen there whoe goe forth at certaine times to kill beares wolves etc. and ye Emperour Rodolph's lapidarie Anselmus Boetius writes of ye petrified unicornes horne, which is ye horne of a fish, manie of which it seems ye fluds buried in ye maine land.

* See of theis things more in Septalius his treatise de margaritis, and Wernherus de admirandis Hungariæ aquis.

See Thevet's cosmographye where he hath a speciall discourse of ye vnicorne. But I doubt not but yt as

others so he and his Turcke are deceivd in taking it for a land beast, when our North-east and Greenland discoveries have proovd this hornd beast to be a fish.

I Hubberts and Tredescants ernest prize,
Who not of second notions doe devize,
Where endles prate doth vainlye beate ye eare,
But to no worth our vnderstanding reare.
At Norton Abbye, now ye Brookses land,
Twice big as life Saint Christopher doth stand, 340
One giant stone, and in Hale chappell wee
Againe him painted with saint George do see
In ye East windowe. Hylin, lett thy penne
Once more from hence prooue yt theis shews were men:
And I from Wickham, if he be not nesh,
Will fetch Saint Sunday to make vp a lesh
Of retrivd Saints; and George for Sunday stand,
Or els he feares ye strong Maypolian band.
Such things I sawe and thought, in Lancashire,
At Heywood hall to trading Rachdale neere. 350
My safe bould harbour Heywood, much I owe
Of praise and thanks to ye where ere I goe.
I love ye men, ye countrye, and ye fare,
And wish heere my poore fortunes setled were,
Far from ye courtes ambition, citties strife,
Reposd in silence of à countrye life,
Amongst ye Dingles and ye Apennines,
Whose safetye gaue occasion to ould lines
Thus riming, "When all England is alofte
Then happie they whose dwelling's in Christ's crofte," 360
And where thincke you this crofte of Christe showld be
But midst Ribchesters Ribble and Mercy?
My passadge hether I not liste to tell,
Though then I sawe Saint Anne of Buckstones well
Hot with à chimney; for springs colde and warme
Rising together doe ye bathing harme.

See in Aschams epistles how ye wiser Greeks take ye storye of St. George but for a resemblance, although now for a long time they worshippt him as a man with pistle and gospel and hollyday, for all which there is no more warrant than ye meere legend. According vnto which at this daye they showe pilgrims ye verie place where ye Kings daughter was deliverd and ye dragon slaine by him. See Mounsieur Brenis his relation, and other itineraries of ye holye lands. wherefore I maye not vnseemely parallel St. George with Saint Sundaye in ye South casement of Wickham Church.

At Casteltoun ye waters nature strainge,
Which in same day doe divers vertues chainge,
Long-sownding Elden hole, and Pooles vast caue,
The leadmens grooues who liues of mole-warps haue, 370
The loftie Winyates, and wall-tiding springe,
His worships breetch and mystes, I leaue to singe;
I leaue, because I finde my Muse to weake
To sing with arte ye wonders of ye Peke.
To my two hoasts of honour, Chetwyn, Crewe,
Whose feates and bountyes our returne did viewe;
To ye young heyre of Speke, in Stevens right
Whose old Sire did ye standards battle fight,
And from whose house and name of late were seene
Two chiefs of warre vnto our mayden Queene; 380
To Rigby of ye Hut, where to our cheere
We plentie had of clarett ale and beere;
To Sander Butterworth, whoe ledd me cleane
Through all ye cataracts of Healo dene;
To Robin* Howorth, from whose familie
Great Noble peers derive their progenie;
To Roman Nowell, Ashton of Penkith,
Ireland of Hale, to all my Heywoods, with
Brock, Holcroft, Holt, this journall poeme sends
Greeting and faire observance: — so it ends. 390

Hoc iter Lancastrense
fecit scripsitque
Richardus Jamesius Vectensis
An. Dñi. 1636.

Bothe auncient and moderne writers mention springs ebbing and flowing like ye sea, but they are deceivd. They indeede have vncertaine spaces of running and ceasing, but no constant course with ye sea: in Wales see ye like.

* The Howorths are a gentle familie according to Aristotle, because they haue had αρχαιον πλοῦτον being in Edw. ye I. time preferd to be Lords of Howorth castle. yet in parliamentarie pardon of Henrye ye sixts time ye words runne thus, Relaxivimus Thomæ de Haworth in comñ Lanc. yoman alias dcō Thomæ de Hawr de Rachedale in comñ Lanc. yoman, alias dcō Th. de Haw. de Todmerden in comñ Lanc. yoman, alias dcō Th. de Haw. de Todmardene in com. Lanc. gentilman, quocumque nomine censeatur omnimodas transgressiones. Otherwise as themselves reporte they haue another name, at their comming in with ye conquerour.

Of Novellus Tricongius a Milanese read Plinie, lib. 14, cap. 22. accordingly this gentlemans armes are for sume hundreds of yeeres ye three cups. But ye vertues and auncient demeanes of their house giue them a fairre glorie. So yt I should not willingly fetch their pedigree from a drunkard and ye cups may rather be a signe of hospitalitye, three Chrismas cups for Noelle in Frenchsignifieth Christmas of which name there be allso gentle families.

NOTES.

NOTES.

L. 1. "*High holtt.*"] An enclosure, still used in provincial dialects for a small plantation; a wood or grove: — but see *Promptor. Parvul.* ed. Camden Soc., and Mr. Way's note thereon; vol. i. p. 244.

L. 1. "*haye.*"] From the Ang. Sax. hæg; a hedge or fence; a toil to inclose wild beasts in. — "Heywood is the wood abounding in streams of water, or bounded by them, as Heywood is on one side by the river Roch; or the wood inclosed by a paling; but probably the former, the earliest orthography of the word being Eywood," *i. e.* Eau-wood, as pronounced by the common people of Lancashire at this day. See Hunter's *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 3, note.

L. 4. "*Heywoods wombe and grave.*"] At this time the head of the house was Robert Heywood, (probably the author's friend,) son and heir of Peter Heywood, of Heywood Hall, Gent., by his wife Margery, daughter of Mr. —— Holland, of Rochdale, and relict of Roger Gartside, of Ewood Hall, near Haslingden, Gent.[1]— He rebuilt Heywood Hall in 1611, and is characterized by Oliver Heywood, who remembered him as an aged person, as "a pious, reverend old gentlemen, and an excellent Poet." See Hunter's

[1] In Dodsworth's MSS. the mother of Robert Heywood is described as "Margaret, cousin and coheir of Roger Garside." See Dodsw. MSS. in Bodl. Lib. vol. 79, fol. 59.

Life of Oliver Heywood, p. 4. With respect to the latter qualification, whatever may have been the result of Mr. Robert Heywood's acquaintance with the Muses, nothing whatever is known of his writing at the present day.

He died in 1645, having married Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of John Assheton, of Penketh, Gent., by whom he left issue three sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Peter, married his kinswoman Alice, daughter of John Greenhalgh, of Brandlesome Hall, Esq., Governor of the Isle of Man, and widow of Theophilus Holte, of Grizzlehurst, Esq. He was a Royalist, and in 1646 he compounded with the Parliament for his estates, paying £351, and died in 1657. The second son, Robert, was a layman in the second Lancashire Presbyterian Classis in 1646. And John, the third son, adhering to the principles of his father and elder brother, became Rector of Walton-on-the-Hill after the Restoration. He was of Christ Church College, Oxford, and was created D.D. Grand Compounder July 5th, 1666, 18th Car. II. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Olney, of Whitmarsh, in the county of Worcester, Gent., and was a great opponent of the Puritans.—See *Life of O. Heywood*, p. 197, note.

Of this family a meagre pedigree of five descents was recorded by Dugdale, which has since been considerably amplified in a private collection of Lancashire Pedigrees, by an antiquarian member of the Council of the Chetham Society. The last of the family who resided at Heywood Hall was Robert Heywood, who was afterwards in Holy Orders. It appears from some family papers, that in 1717 this "Robert Heywood of Heywood, Gent., son and heir of Peter Heywood, then late of Heywood, Esq. dec^d^. who was son and heir of Robert Heywood, then also, late of Heywood, Esq. dec^d^." in consideration of the sum of £1841 8*s*. 6*d*. sold the Hall and one hundred and fifteen acres of land in Heywood, and several other farms in Heap, Bury, and Middleton, to John Starky, of Rochdale, Gent., whose grandson, James Starky, Esq., is the present owner. The ancient family had been gradually declining in worldly circumstances, occasioned perhaps in part by their attachment to the Royalist cause; for the estate had been previously mortgaged by Robert Heywood the grandfather, and Peter his son, to the Rev. David Jenkins, D.D., and afterwards by mesne conveyances were vested in the Rev. Will. Assheton, B.D., of the Deyne, Rector of Prestwich, and the said John Starky, Attorney at Law. On the 11th of June, 1726, "Robert Heywood, then of the city of London, Clerk, covenanted that £600. left in the hands of Mr. Starky, and part of the purchase

money of the Heywood Hall Estate, should be sunk, in order to raise him an annuity of £50. to be paid by quarterly payments," "so that it might not be in the power of the said Heywood to mortgage, alien, or incumber the said annuity." In 1729, he became still further reduced, having contracted fresh debts, "and thereby involved himself in great difficulties," so that he requested Starky to advance him money to discharge his debts, proposing to permit Starky to retain £30 a year by quarterly payments, until the said principal and interest should be liquidated. And afterwards the whole annuity of £50 should be paid to Will. Bamford, of Bamford, Esq., Rev. Will. Assheton, Rev. Nathan Stock, of Rochdale, and James Haslom, of Falinge, merchant, for the use of the said Robert Heywood, "for his relief, support, and personal maintenance, by such weekly, monthly, quarterly, or other payments, as they, in their discretion, should think fit."

Robert Heywood afterwards retired to the Isle of Man, where he died without issue, some time previously to April 1742, as appears by a letter from Dr. Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, annexed to an agreement.

Notwithstanding, however, their ancient patrimony in Lancashire was sold, and the fortunes of their ancestral house were thus under a cloud, other branches of the family, who were induced by the Earls of Derby to settle in the Isle of Man, rose to eminence there, and "filled the highest offices of trust and importance belonging to that singular political community, being Deemsters, Speakers of the House of Keys, one of them Attorney General," and another Governor of the Island.[1]

[1] This branch of the Heywood family were descended in direct line from Robert Heywood, the friend of James, who died in 1645.

Peter John Heywood, Esq., who was living at Whitehaven, in co. Cumberland, in 1782, and was one of the Deemsters of the Isle of Man, and Seneschal to his Grace the Duke of Athol, communicated an account of his family to Mr. Samuel Heywood, of Nottingham, (great grandson of Oliver Heywood,) in which he says that his father, Thomas, was Speaker of the House of Keys, and his grandfather, Peter, Attorney General, and his great grandfather, Robert, Governor of the Island. This Robert Heywood married for his first wife Mary Haslom, daughter and coheiress of ——Haslom, of Rochdale, Gent., by whom the direct line was continued. He had also a second wife, by whom he had six sons and six daughters, and dying at Heywood Hall, December 19th, 1702, was interred in the Parish Church of Bury, December 22d. A sister of Thomas Heywood, the Speaker, married one of the Christians, a considerable Manx family: and the two married sisters of Mr. Peter

Col. Rosworm in his interesting but angry Complaint against the Inhabitants of Manchester, relative to its siege by the Royalists in 1642, makes mention of Peter Heywood the son of Robert, as secretly employed by Prince Rupert to win him over to the Royal cause, and to induce him to betray the town: — "This Mr. Peter Heywood," says he, "who at this time

John Heywood were the wives of Capt. Holwell, son of Governor Holwell, and of Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley.

Mr. Peter John Heywood in 1782 had a family of five young children, (his eldest son, Thomas, having died young in 1770,) the names of whom were James, Peter, Elizabeth, Hester, and Mary. The eldest surviving son, James, appears to have died early, unmarried. Peter, who then became the head of this branch of the Heywood family, was a Post Captain in the navy, and a remarkable man. He was born at the Nunnery, near Douglas, on the 6th June, 1773, educated at Nantwich in Cheshire, and, at the early age of 15, entered the naval service of his country as a midshipman on board the Bounty, which was sent out by government for the purpose of conveying the Bread Fruit and other useful plants from the South Sea Islands to the West Indies. The melancholy issue of this voyage is very generally known, in the unhappy discord which arose between the commander and his men, and the piratical seizure of the vessel by a part of her crew. Young Heywood, although perfectly innocent of any share in the transaction, was then considered one of the mutineers, and, after undergoing almost incredible hardships and sufferings, was brought to England, tried by a court-martial, and lay for some time under sentence of death. He was, however, afterwards reprieved, and became a very gallant officer, being employed for many years, with honour and distinction to himself, in the service of his country. The details of this eventful affair are well known to our readers, as there is an octavo volume, entitled "*A Memoir of the late Captain Peter Heywood, R.N., with Extracts from his Diaries and Correspondence,*" containing all the particulars, published after his death by Edward Tagart, in 1832; and a more popular work, "*The Eventful History of the Mutiny of the Bounty,*" written by Sir John Barrow, Bart., the late Secretary to the Admiralty, forming the 25th Number of the "*Family Library,*" a work which, from the truthful simplicity and pathos of the narrative, the account of the manly firmness and heroic fortitude of the youthful Heywood throughout his extraordinary and unmerited sufferings — and the beautiful and affectionate letters and occasional poetry of his most amiable and warm-hearted sister, — will always attract the interest of the reader. Capt. Heywood retired from public life in 1816, after having been actively employed at sea for more than twenty-seven years, in which he had distinguished himself as a scientific, intelligent, and honourable member of his profession. In the same year he married Frances, the sole daughter of Francis Simpson, Esq., of Plean-House, in the county of Stirling, North Britain, who survived her husband. Capt. Heywood lived for many years in retirement in the environs of London, dying

sits at his ease, and enjoys his own, whilst I for the want of it endure extreem miserie, was a Captaine in Lancashire for the Parliament, was often in our private consultations; and by holding intelligence with the Enemy, did us much mischief. He went oft to Chester, Oxford, and other Garrisons of the Enemy, discovering our secret results. This being at length found out, and proved against him, he was secured by the Committee, and yet without the consent of the rest of the Committee, contrary to an ordinance touching such cases, released by Col. Holland; two of his friends also being bound for his appearance, which never was questioned; though he presently upon his enlargement went to the Enemy, and was afterwards thought the onely fit instrument to work me to this treacherie. His method was, first to take advantage of the injurious and most unthankfull unworthinesse, which the Town had used towards me, stirring those passions in me which he knew were deeply provoked. This done, he offered in behalf of Prince Rupert, that I should have great preferments under Prince Rupert; besides the perpetuall obligations of affection and honour from many most noble friends, which I should look upon as purchased by the desert of such seasonable and usefull service.

"I was not so little a fool, though I never meant to be a knave, but I gave the propounder audience, to give some encouragement to the businesse, so much as to fish out which way the Enemy would lay the stratagem, and, to secure myself from suspicion on their part, appointed them a time of receiving their hopes. And I must needs say, I could with more ease have sold them, man, woman, and child, with all they had into their Enemies' hands than at any time I could have preserved them; but, alas, I should then have been a Manchester man, for never let an unthankfull man, and a promise breaker, have another name." Rosworm was not to be induced by

without issue on the 10th February, 1831, in the 58th year of his age. His father had, however, some brothers; but whether any of these left issue we are unable to say.

Other branches of the family settled in the West Indies, one of whom, Peter Heywood, was one of the Councillors of Jamaica, and married Grace, daughter of Sir John Muddeford, Bart.

For this information we are chiefly indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.; and for further particulars concerning other branches of this ancient family, the reader may consult that gentleman's valuable and interesting *Life of Oliver Heywood.*

the offers of Mr. Peter Heywood to betray his party, but disclosed the whole design of the enemy and remained true to his cause.

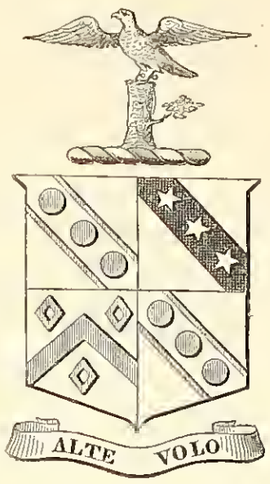
Mr. Ormerod, in a Biographical note, p. 345, of his "*Civil War Tracts*," printed for the Chetham Society, states this Peter Heywood to be of Manchester, and the son of Peter Heywood, of Heywood, a Lancashire magistrate, concerned in the apprehension of Guy Fawkes, and afterwards stabbed in Westminster Hall by a Dominican Friar, and refers to Palmer's *Siege*, p. 83, and Baines's *Hist.* ii. 676. But there is here a confusion of persons. In the Lancashire Pedigrees, Peter the second son of Peter Heywood, of Heywood, Gent., is stated to have lived in London, was a Justice of Peace and Lawyer, and was celebrated for his persecution of the Roman Catholics, one of whom, a Jesuit, of the name of John James, a Kentish man, stabbed him in Westminster Hall, in 1640.[1] He was *uncle* of Peter Heywood, who in 1649, according to Rosworm, "sits at his ease and enjoys his own," although the disappointed Engineer omits naming that the Parliament had, in 1646, fined Heywood in £351 as a malignant. Rosworm's statement is clearly applicable to Peter the son and heir of Robert Heywood, of Heywood, and not to Peter the brother of Robert.

No Pedigree of this family has been given by Baines in his *History of the County of Lancaster*, and as we are not aware that any account of the different descents has ever been published, it may perhaps be interesting to our readers to be able to trace them in the accompanying Pedigree on the other side, which has been drawn up with great care, assisted by much valuable information afforded by several antiquarian friends.

L. 6. "*Kinde*,"] *i. e.* by nature. See marginal note.

[1] In a scarce little tract, entitled "*The Rat-Trap: or, the Jesuites taken in their owne Net, &c. Imprinted* 1641," in the Editor's possession, there is a curious woodcut of this circumstance, representing John James in the act of stabbing Mr. Justice Heywood "with a rusty dagger in Westminster Hall, as he was going to the Parliament House, to deliver up a catalog of divers Papists and Jesuits names which inhabited in or about Westminster, who being commanded, according to his office, to give notice thereof, for the good of his King and Country, was violently assaulted and stabbed in the side, thinking to have deprived him of his life, which God be thanked, proved otherwise." The tract was probably written by that voluminous author Thomas Heywood. See Clarendon's *Hist. Rebell.* v. i. book iii. p. 196. fol. ed. 1707.

Pedigree of Heywood of Heywood.



Peter de Heywood of Heywood, ob. 15 Edw. I. Adam de Burgo or Bury grants lands in Heywood, in par. Bury, co. Lanc., to this Peter de Heywood, whose descendants continued upon them down to the 18th century.

Robert de Heywood of Heywood, living 10 Edw. III. 1337.

William Heywood of Heywood, grants lands in Bury to Richard his brother and his heirs, 18 Edw. III. 1345.

Richard Heywood of Heywood,

Richard Heywood, Vicar of Eccles 7 Henry V.

Nicholas Heywood of Heywood, grants to John de Radcliffe of Chaderton, all his lands and messuages in Bury and Middleton, 40 Edw. III. 1367.

Robert Heywood of Heywood, attorns Henry Buckley of Manchester, to all his lands in Heywood, 5 Hen. V. 1418; conveys lands in Huudersfield with Alex. Butterworth and Will. Bentley to Will. Newall of Town House, Gent., 20 Jan. 22 Edw. IV. 1483.

Geoffrey Heywood of Heywood, living 6 Henry V. 1419, is bound in £100 by statute marchaut to Robert Tunnacliffe, that he shall not demise or encumber his lands which were sometymes Nicholas Heywood's, father of the said Geoffrey, in the townes of Bury and Middleton, but that they may descend to Piers, son of the said Geoffrey, and his heirs male by Margt. his wife, daughter of the said Robt. Tunnacliffe. 8 Hen. VI. 1430.

Piers or Peter Heywood of Heywood, Gent., deceased 24th Nov. 20 Henry VIII., 1529. = Margaret, daughter of Robert Tunnacliffe

James Heywood, 34 Hen. VI., 1456.

Nicholas Heywood.

"Peers Heuwode my bastardo Soue." 1529.

"Elen Heuwode my hastarde Deghter." 1529.

Nicholas Heywood.

Geoffrey Heywood.

James Heywood, younger son of Piers, 1529.

Robert Heywood, of Heywood, Gent., eldest son and heir of Piers, and bound with his father in xx. marks to Edmund Haworth of Haworth and Henry his son, 5th Sept. 5 Henry VII.—Inq. Post Mort., 36 Henry VIII.

James Heywood of Heywood, gentleman, 8th Feb. 1551. A juror 2 & 3 Phil. and Mary, Oct. 10, 1555, in the Inq. post Mort. of Edm. Haworth, Gent. Living 18 Hen. VIII., 1527.

Peter Heywood of Heywood, Gent. son and heir of James Heywood. An awarder 20th Jan. 1568. = ... daughter of M[illegible] storne of Lumm Ha[illegible] feoffee of Lan. Raws[illegible] hall, 3 and 4 Phil. an[illegible]

Adam Rawl[illegible], par. Bury, a [illegible]erne of New[illegible] d Mary.

Agnes, daughter of James Heywood. = John, son and heir of Thomas Chadwyck of Heloy Hall, in co. Lanc., Gent. Marr. cov. dat. 8th Febr. 1551; ob. 1615, æt. 103, and buried at Rochdale.

Peter Heywood of Heywood, Gent. Living 33 Eliz. 1591, ob. 1600, buried at Bury 14th Feb. 1599—1600. = Margaret, daughter [illegible] Mr Roger Gartsydo[illegible] near Haslingden; Quick & Saddlewor[illegible] —Inq. Post Mort., 4[illegible]

[illegible]nd coheir of [illegible]f Ewood Hall, [illegible]had lands in [illegible]h 15 Eliz. 1573. [illegible] Eliz.

Robert Heywood of Heywood, Gent. Rebuilt Heywood Hall in 1611; "a pious reverend old gentleman, and an excellent Poet."—See Hunter's *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 4; æt. 64 13 Car. I. obiit 1645, æt. 71. = Margaret, daughter [illegible] coheir of John Ashe[illegible] Penketh, Gent. Ob[illegible] August, buried at [illegible] 2d September, 1665.

[illegible]and [illegible]on of [illegible]30th [illegible]Bury

Dorothy Heywood, died unmarried at Heywood, an. 1607.

..... 1st ux. ob. s.p. = Peter Heywood of Westminster, 2d son, a Justice of Peace; apprehended Guy Fawkes; stabbed by John James, a Papist, in Westminster Hall, 1640; ob. 1642. = Elizabeth, daughter of ..... Thirrall of Leeds.

Ann Heywood, baptized 1584. = John Holcroft of Holcroft, Esq.

Mary. = Rev. Peter Shaw, M.A. Rector of Radcliffe.

Elizabeth = Adam Holte, of Lower Place, near Rochdale, Gent. Will dated 20 Feb. 18 Jac.

Deborah.

Edith.

Grace.

Caleb, son of Peter Heywood, bur. 5th Sept. 1605

William Heywood of Westminster, ob. circa 1664.

Thomas Heywood of Westminster, Esq., page of the bedchamber and closet keeper to James, Duke of York, æt. circa 66 in 1684. = Frances, daughter of Thomas Soham, D.D., Prebendary of Windsor; coheir to her brother, John Soham.

Catherine. = David Barton of co. Southampton, Clerk.

Peter Heywood of Westminster, Capt. of H. M. Frigate the Norwich, æt. circa 31 in 1684. = Grace, daughter and coheir of Sir James Muddiford, of Jamaica, Bart.

Thomas Heywood of Westminster, æt. circa 27 in 1684, cœl.

John, a Lieut. in H. M. service at sea, ob. 1682.

Robert, ob. cœl. circa 1672.

James, a student of Ch. Ch. Coll. Oxon. æt circa 21 in 1684.

Frances. = Daniel Hill, Rector of Southfleet in co. Kent.

Margaret. = Thomas Morer, Vicar of Hillingdon, in co. Middlesex.

Elizabeth and two other daughters ob. infants.

Thomas Heywood, obiit inf.

Elizabeth, æt. 1, 1684.

James Heywood of Maristowe, in co. Hants; had issue. = Mary, daughter of Sir Abraham Elton, Bart.

Peter Heywood of Heywood, Esq. bapt. 18th March, 1604, at Middleton; married ante 15 Car. I., 1640; compounded with the Parl. for his estates, by paying £351, in 1646; ob. 4th January, 1657; buried at Bury, 8th January, 1657-8. = Alice, dau. of John [illegible] Brandlesome, Esq. [illegible] the Isle of Man, and [illegible] philus Holte of Gr[illegible] She was born at [illegible] Dec. 1610, and bapt[illegible] She is a widow 8th [illegible] and has dower in [illegible] Dutton, Clayton, Ri[illegible] burn, Spotland, and [illegible] and joins her son, T[illegible] Holte, Esq., in a fin[illegible] 1671, buried at Bury

[illegible]reenhalghe of [illegible] Governor of [illegible] relict of Theo[illegible] [illegible]lehurst, Esq. [illegible]shworth 10th [illegible] at Middleton. [illegible]ug. 15 Car. II. [illegible]nds in Steed, [illegible]chester, Black[illegible] Hundersfeld, [illegible]o. Posthumus [illegible] Ob. 27th Dec. [illegible]9th Dec. 1671

Robert Heywood of Heywood, Gent. a layman in the 2d Lanc. Classis, 1646. Ob. s.p. and cœl.

John Heywood of C. C. C., Oxford, created Doct. of Div. Grand Compounder 3d July, 1666; Rector of Walton in Lanc.; "a great opponent of the Puritans"; circa æt. 48, 23 Sep. 1664, bapt. at Bury 6th Oct. 1611. = Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Olney of Whitmarsh, in co. Worc. Gent.

James, ob. 25th Sept. 1613.

Richard.

Dorothy, bapt. at Bury 19th April, 1607. = Oliver Lomax of Heap Lomax, in co. Lanc., Gent. Marr. Licence dated Sept. 23, 1627.

Elizabeth, bapt. at Bury 10th July, 1608. = John Worsley, Gent., second son of John Worsley of Hovingham Hall, in co. York, Esq.

Susannah, bapt. at Bury 4th May, 1606. = ... Holme of Holme, Gent.

Mary.

Cattie.

Anne.

Robert Heywood of Heywood, Esq. son and heir, Clerk of the Green Wax for the co. Palatine of Lancaster, aged 31 years, 1664, living at Heywood 30th May, 1669; was Governor of the Isle of Man; married at Rochdale 20th Dec. 1660, (the other coheiress, Margaret, mar. on the same day Richard Armitage of Leeds, Gent.) Died 7th January, 1690; buried in the chapel of Castletown in the Isle of Man, 27th July, 1699, with his eldest son Peter. = Mary, sister and co[illegible] [illegible] Haslam of Rochda[illegible] died 24th Feb. 1674, [illegible] at Bury 27th Feb. 16[illegible]

[illegible]eiress of John [illegible], Gent. She [illegible]nd was buried [illegible]4.

Peter Heywood, second son.

Martha = Andrew Berry, of Manchester, Esq.

Margaret, ob. 16th January, 1669. = John Garrett, of the Isle of Man, styled "Captain John Garrett of Sulby," ob. 1692.

Dorothy.

Elizabeth, living unmarried 8th Aug. 1664.

Jane.

Laura.

Anne.

Peter Heywood of Heywood, Esq. son and heir, born June 10, 1662, bapt. at Bury June 19, 1662; aged two years and eight months in 1664; Attorney General of the Isle of Man; died 24th July, and was buried at Kirk Malew, in the said Isle 27th July, 1699. = Leonora, daughte[illegible] Hugh Cannell, W[illegible] Isle of Man, son e[illegible] one of the Deems[illegible] Isle, son of Hugh [illegible] Kirk Michael, by [illegible] wife, daughter of [illegible]cott, alias Caldicott [illegible] Nunnery in the [illegible] Dec. 1685. She rem[illegible] 1700, to Major Gen[illegible] Both buried at Kir[illegible]

[illegible]and heir of [illegible] Bailiff of the [illegible] John Cannell, [illegible]s of the said [illegible]nell, Vicar of [illegible] Margaret, his [illegible]pt. Robert Cal[illegible] married at the [illegible]e of Man, 1st [illegible]ried 19th Aug. [illegible]al John Wood. [illegible] Braddan.

Alice, born 17th July, bapt. at Bury 26th July, 1666; married at Kirk Malew, 7th Nov. 1686. = Richard Stevenson of Balladoole, in the Isle of Man, Esq., and left issue.

Robert, born March 23, 1669, bapt. at Bury April 1, 1699; died unmarr.

Mary, born Nov. 1, bapt. at Bury Nov. 8, 1670. = ... Jenkins, D.D. of Strabane, in Ireland, and left issue.

Elizabeth, born June 1, 1674; bpt. at Bury June 9, 1674, ob. s.p.

Robert Heywood of Heywood, Clerk, son and heir, born 10th Sept. 1686, sold the estate at Heywood in 1717, to John Starky of Rochdale, Gent. He died 25th Nov. 1741, in the Isle of Man, in poverty, and unmarried. Buried at Edmonton, in co. Middlesex.

Peter Heywood, s[illegible] bapt. at Rochdale, 1691; died in Jama[illegible] issue.

[illegible]cond son, [illegible]th March, [illegible] without

Thomas Heywood, born at Whitehouse, in the Parish of Kirk Michael, in the Isle of Man. August, 1698; speaker of the House of Keys, in the Isle of Man; died 25th June, 1759; buried at Kirk Braddan. = Hester, daughter of Robert Reeves of Dublin, merchant, son of Will. Reeves of Tubberboo, in Queen's co., Esq., by Bridget, daughter of Richard Nevill of Forness, co. Kildare, Esq.,) by Mary his wife, daughter of Thomas Badely of Dublin, merchant; born at Dublin, 15th April, 1718; married at Kirk Braddon 8th April, 1738; living in 1784.

Nicholas, died s.p.

Mary, ob. s.p. = Isaac Harnon, of Dublin, Esq. ob. s.p.

Elizabeth. = John Christian of Douglas, in the Isle of Man, Esq.; secondly, Will. Murray, Esq., and had no issue.

Helena, died unmarried in London.

Margaret. = Henry Green, of Ireland, ob. s.p.

Peter John Heywood of Whitehaven, in co. Cumberland, Esq., sometime one of the Deemsters of the Isle of Man, and seneschal to the Duke of Athol; bapt. at Douglas in the said Isle 21st Feb. 1738-9; died 6th Feb. 1790, and buried at Kirk Braddan. = Elizabeth, daughter of James Spedding of Whitehaven, Esq. born there 13th Aug. 1743; married at St. James's Chapel at Whitehaven 15th May, 1762; living 1784.

Thomas, bapt. 2d Dec. 1741; buried at Kirk Braddan, 4th Feb. 1741-2.

William, bapt. March 29, 1751; ob. 19th Jan. 1755.

Jo[illegible] N[illegible] co[illegible], bapt. 6th [illegible] 1752, ob. [illegible] in the West Indies.

Thomas, bapt. 11th Sept. 1745; ob. cœl. in France, June 4, 1781.

James, bapt. 5th Feb. 1754-5; ob. 18th Dec. 1755.

Robert Heywood of Douglas, in the Isle of Man, bapt. 27th March, 1739; living 1784. = Margaret, only child of Richard Joiner of Douglas; married at Kirk Braddan 1766; living in 1784.

Calcott Heywood of Douglas aforesaid, bapt. 19th Aug. 1757. = Isabella, da. of Capt. Cuming and Grisé his wife, daughter of .... Svensen of Scanby, in the Isle of Man; ob. s.p. 6th July, 84.

Mary, bapt. June 6, 1744, married = Thomas Pasley of Langholm, co. Annandale, Capt. of H.M.S. Jupiter. Both living in 1784, and had issue.

Leonora, bapt. 1st August, 1745. = Daniel Mylrea of Douglas aforesaid; both living s.p. 1784.

Elizabeth, bapt. 15th Jan. 1746-7; ob. April 10, 1748.

Hester, bapt. July 5, 1748; marr. at Kirk Braddan 21st Jan. 1786. = James Holwell, Esq., Lieut. Col. 93d Foot, and had issue.

Thomas, born at Douglas in the Isle of Man, 1766; ob.

Richard, born March, 1768; ob.

Robert, born Aug. 1769; ob.

John, ob. juv.

Calcott, born May, 1776; living in 1792.

[illegible]lester, [illegible]rn May 1771.

Margaret, born Nov. 1773.

Elizabeth, ob. juv.

Thomas Heywood, born at the Nunnery, in the Isle of Man, July 8, 1763; died at St. Bees, co. Cumberland, 2d December, 1770; buried there.

James, born at the Nunnery, 1st May, 1766; died early and unmarried.

Henry, born at Whitehaven, 21st March, 1769.

Peter, born at [illegible] Nunnery, 6th Ju[illegible] 1773; midshipm[illegible] in the Bounty; [illegible] captain in the na[illegible] died 10th Feb. 1[illegible] æt. 58, without is[illegible]

[illegible]he, [illegible]an [illegible]st [illegible]y; [illegible]1, [illegible]e. = Frances Jolliffe, relict of the late —— Jolliffe, Esq., and sole daughter of Francis Simpson, Esq. of Plean House, in co. Stirling, North Britain.

Robert John, born at Whitehaven, 4th Jan. 1781.

Edwin Holwell, born at Whitehaven, 9th Sept. 1782.

Mary, born at the Nunnery, 27th Nov. 1764.

Hest, born at the Nunnery, 8th March, 1768.

Elizabeth, born at the Nunnery, 12th Dec. 1769.

Isabella, born at Whitehaven, 29th Jan. 1775.

Jane, born at Whitehaven, 1st March, 1777.

L. 7. "*Bookland.*"] See marginal note.

L. 9. "*Deliver gift of Berries Lord,*" &c.] The original charter by which Adam de Burgo, or Adam de Berry, or Bury, the chief lord of the fee in which Heywood is contained, gave land to Peter de Heywood, runs as follows: —

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Adam de Byry dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Petro de Hewode et heredibus suis pro homagio suo et servitio unam partem terræ que vocatur Hewode infra has divisas incipiendo ad Golden et sic sequendo Golden usque in aquam de Ratch et sic sequendo Rache ascendendo usque ad Heedene et sic sequendo Heedene ascendendo usque ad metam Adæ de Byry et Rogeri de Midleton Tendm̄ et heñdum de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis libere et quiete et hereditarie cum omnibus pertinentiis tantæ terræ pertinentibus et cum communibus easiamentis villæ de Hewode Reddendo annuatim mihi et heredibus meis ipse et heredes sui duos solidos argenti ad festum Sancti Oswald regis pro omnibus servitiis et demandis exceptis . . . nisi sit in bosco et si ita contingat quod porci Adæ de Byry proprii veniunt in tempora pascendi infra boscum de Hewode dictus Petrus cito debet removere prædictos porcos sine parcamento de bosco suo. Ego vero Adam de Byry et heredes mei dictam terram sicut prædictum est dicto Petro et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et fæminas in perpetuum warrantizabimus. Et ut hæc mea donatio rata sit et stabilis sigilli mei appositione istum scriptum roboravi Hiis testibus Domino Galfrido de Cheteham, Alexandro de Pilkington, Thoma de Prestwich, Rogero de Midleton, Willō Clerico de Forresta, Rogero de Walmisley, Galfrido de Radclive, Willō de Radclive, Ricardo de Notehoe, Adā de Haslam, Gilberto de Brandollisholme et multis aliis."

The author in his Poem seems to refer the date of this charter to so early a period as the reign of Henry II. But Mr. Hunter, probably with more correctness, says, that it "cannot be referred to a period later than the first fifteen years of Edward the First." See *Life of O. Heywood*, p. 2. The original grant from Adam de Bury, the foundation of the evidences of the Heywood estate, was, in 1782, in the possession of Peter John Heywood, of Whitehaven, Esq., one of the Deemsters of the Isle of Man.

L. 14. Note. "*Frankelin.*"] As there is a better reading of this passage

in Tyrwhitt's Edit., we quote from thence the whole character of the Frankelin: —

"A Frankelein was in this compagnie; *l.* 333.
White was his berd, as is the dayesie.
Of his complexion he was sanguin,
Wel loved he by the morwe a sop in win.
To liven in delit was ever his wone,
For he was Epicures owen sone,
That held opinion, that plein delit
Was veraily felicite parfite.
An housholder, and that a grete was he;
Seint Julian he was in his contree.
His brede, his ale, was alway after on;
A better envyned man was no wher non.
Withouten bake mete never was his hous,
Of fish and flesh, and that so plenteous,
It snewed in his hous of mete and drinke,
Of alle deintees that men coud of thinke,
After the sondry sesons of the yere,
So changed he his mete and his soupere.
Ful many a fat partrich hadde he in mewe,
And many a breme, and many a luce in stewe.
Wo was his coke, but if his sauce were
Poinant and sharpe, and redy all his gere.
His table dormant in his halle alway
Stode redy covered alle the longe day.
At sessions ther was he lord and sire
Ful often time he was knight of the shire.
An anelace and a gipciere all of silk
Heng at his girdel, white as morwe milk.
A shereve hadde he ben, and a countour.
Was no wher swiche a worthy vavasour." *l.* 362.

Tyrwhitt's Edit. of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales.
2d Edit. 4to. Oxford, 1798.

L. 17. "*Fulchis of Crewe in Cheshire*," &c.] Sir Robert Foulshurst, or Fulleshurst, Kn^t^ a younger brother of the house of Foulshurst, of Edlaston in Cheshire, in the time of Edward III., married Elizabeth, daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Praers, of Barthomley, who brought the manor of Crewe and other estates to him. He was one of the four Esquires of Lord Audley at the battle of Poictiers, Sept. 19, 1356, who divided amongst them the present of five hundred marks, which he received

from the hands of the Black Prince for his valour.[1] Sir Robert died in the 13th of Rich. II. 1390, and was interred in Barthomley church, on the north side of the chancel of which still exists his recumbent figure in armour, on an ornamented altar-tomb, with numerous figures at the side; an engraving of which may be seen in Lysons's *Hist. Cheshire*, p. 447. This is the person of whom the author here speaks, but of the tradition mentioned by him, we are unable to furnish any account.

L. 27. "*So Talbot Frances terrour.*"] John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, surnamed for his bravery the English Achilles; of whom Hall in his *Chronicle* says: — "This man was to the French people a very scourge and a daily *terror*, insomuch that as his person was fearful and terrible to his adversaries present, so his name and fame was spiteful and dreadful to the common people absent; insomuch that women in France, to feare their young children, would crye, the *Talbot* cometh, the *Talbot* cometh." And Edward Kirke, in his Glosse or Commentary on Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar*, 4to, 1579, remarks, in his notes on the month of June, that "the Frenchmen used to say of that valiaunt captayne, the verie scourge of Fraunce, the Lorde of Thalbot, afterwarde Erle of Shrewsburie, whose noblenesse bred such a terrour in the heartes of the French, that oft tymes euen great armyes were defaicted and put to flight at the only hearing of hys name. In so muche that the French women, to affraye theyr children woulde tell them that the *Talbot* commeth." See also York's *Union of Honour*, p. 72. *Battels.* — Thus Shakespeare:

> "In open market-place produc'd they me,
> To be a publick spectacle to all;
> Here, said they, is the terror of the French,
> The scarecrow that affrights our children so."
> *K. Henry* VI. Pt. i. act i. sc. 4.

> "The scourge of France!
> —— The Talbot, so much feared abroad,
> That with his name the mothers still their babes."
> *K. Henry* VI. Pt. i. act ii. sc. 3,

The names of the four Esquires who attended James, Lord Audley, at the Battle of Poictiers, on the 19th of September, 1356, were Sir John Delves, of Doddington, Sir Thomas Dutton, of Dutton, Sir Robert Foulshurst, of Crewe, and Sir John Hawkestone, of Wrinehill. See Ashmole's *Hist. of the Garter*; Froissart's *Chron.*, by Johnes, vol. ii. p. 322. Their names are not mentioned by Froissart.

L. 27. "*dide.*"] *i. e.* died. From his mother, Ankaret, or Ancaretta, daughter and eventually heiress of John Le Strange, (by Mary, daughter of Richard Earl of Arundel, &c.,) Lord Talbot inherited the great property of the Le Stranges, of Blackmere, near Whitchurch, in the county of Salop, "and it was from this," as Mr. Blakeway has justly remarked, "and not from the town its capital, that the title of this distinguished warrior was originally designed to be taken, though the subsequent usage of his descendants has denominated them Earls of Shrewsbury." In an extremely scarce work, called "*The Mansion of Magnanimitie,*" by Richard Crompton, 4to. b. l. 1599, which the Editor has in his possession, the author in his 5th chapter, describing the valiant services of the noble house of Talbot, and particularly of the present hero at Mans and other places in France, observes: — "Was not John Lord Talbot, for his approued prowesse and tried valiancy performed in the warres of France, created Earle of Shrewsburie, about the nineteenth yeare of Henry the sixt, and after sent againe with 3000 men into Normandie for the better defence thereof, who neither forgot his duty, nor forflowed his businesse, but daily labored, and hourely studied how to molest and indanger his enemies? Did not the Kings Counsell then send the said Earle with an army into Aquaitaine at the earnest sute of the magistrates and inhabitants of the citie of Burdeaux, who receiued him and his power into that citie by a posterne gate, where they slue many of the Captaines, and others of the Frenchmen, and so was Burdeaux taken by the said Earle, which he fortified, and after rode into the countrey thereabout, and obtained divers cities and townes without dint of sword. And among others, did he not take the strong towne of Castillon in Perigot? where the French King whē he understood thereof, assembled twenty thousand men, and entered into Aquataine, (where Castillon is,) and besieged the said towne of Castillon with a strong siege: whereupon the Earle of Shrewsburie assembled 800 horsemen and 5000 footmen, and went to the rescue of the said towne, in which battell very valiantly he behaued himselfe, and there was slaine with a small shot: and this was the end of this noble Earle, after he had with much honor, more fame, and great renowne, serued his Prince in warres foure and twenty years in France, and was honorably interred amongst them, on whose Tombe is engrauen as followeth: —'Here lieth the right noble night, Iohn Talbot Earle of Shrewsbury, Washford, Waterford, and Valence, Lord Talbot of Goodrige, and Urchenfield, Lord Strange of the Black meere, Lord

Verdon of Alton, Lord Crumwell of Wingfield, Lord Louetoft of Worksop, Lord Furniuall of Sheffield, Lord Faulconbridge, Knight of the Most Noble Order of S. George, S. Michaell, and the Golden Fleece, Great Marshall to King Henry the sixt of his realme of France: — who died in the battell of Burdeaux in the year of our Lord 1453.'"

The circumstance of the venerable Earl's death, together with that of his son, John Talbot, Viscount Lisle, at the siege of Chastillon, on the 7th of July, 1453, may be gathered from the Chronicles of Hall and Monstrelet. Dugdale relates that he was buried at Rouen, in Normandy, but was afterwards removed and reinterred at Whitchurch, in Shropshire. Leland also says; "This John Talbot had among his brethren one caullid Gilbert Talbot, after a knight of fame, the which buried the Erle his grandfathers bones brought out of Fraunce at Whitchirche in a fair Chappelle, where he is also buried hymself."—Whether his bones were removed from France or not, it is certain that his heart was brought here for interment. In rebuilding the present church at Whitchurch in 1712, the urn was found which contained his heart embalmed in a crimson velvet covering: and the Editor has in his possession two curious relics of horn edged with silver, with the images of our Saviour and the Virgin Mary stamped upon them, which were taken out of the urn at that time. They belonged to the beads of the great Lord Talbot, and were enclosed in a crimson velvet purse in the urn. They were taken out by a Mr. Maisterson, who was Churchwarden at that period, by whom the urn, with the rest of its contents, was restored to its original resting place.

There is a monument still existing to his memory preserved out of the ruins of the old Church at Whitchurch It is a recumbent stone figure of a knight in armour, a profile and front view of which is engraved in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, p. 96, whose brother in law, Mr. A. J. Kemp, remarks, that "the face, as far as we can judge from its fractured condition, possessed fine character: the wrinkled forehead, and sunk cheek of age are ably expressed by the sculptor. The earl wears the mantle of the Garter, of which he was a knight. The tassets of his armour and cuisses are fluted. The greaves are broken away. His feet rest upon a couchant talbot or hound." A writer in the *Gent. Mag.* has remarked that "there are only four monuments of this description now perfect in England, which are excellent specimens of the style of monumental architecture in the latter part of the reign of Henry VI. and that of Edward IV. One is in the

Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick, over Richard Earl of Warwick, ob. 1439. The second is in Salisbury Cathedral, over Lord Hungerford, ob. 1455. The third is at Great St. Helen's Church, London, to Sir John Crosby, ob. 1475. The fourth is at Whitchurch, Salop, over John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, the Achilles of his day, ob. 1453. On the recumbent figure of Shrewsbury, is a long mantle or cloak decorated in front of the left shoulder with the Order of the Garter. Crosby has a mantle over the armour. The others have none and are plain."

L. 28. "*Because they would not from their fellowes ride.*"] It is probable that the author, in this passage, had in view the affecting scene between Talbot and his son, described by Shakespeare in the First Part of *King Henry* VI. act iv, scene 5. It is thus alluded to by Yorke, in his *Union of Honour:* — "It is said by some, that when they were in this fight," at the siege of Chastillon, "and that the Earle John perceived that he could not escape, hee admonished his sonne, the Lord Lisle, to fly, saying, thou mayest revenge my death afterwards, unto whom he answered, it shall never be said, that your sonne shall flie, whilst his father is fighting." See Yorke's *Union of Honour*, p. 266, ed. 1640.

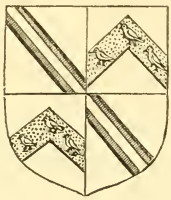
L. 33. "*Ashton of Middleton to ye I went,*" &c.] The Assheton of Middleton here spoken of was Ralphe Assheton, Esq. M. P., the celebrated Parliamentary Commander and General of the Lancashire Forces. He was the son and heir of Richard Assheton, Esq., by his wife, Mary, daughter of Thomas Venables, Esq., Baron of Kinderton, in Cheshire, and was born about 1605. In his minority he was contracted to, and in 1623 married, Elizabeth, only daughter of John Kaye, of Woodsome, in the county of York, Esq., by whom he had three sons and three daughters. He was called to the Bar as a Bencher of Gray's Inn, London, August 13, 1639, and was Knight of the Shire at the commencement of the Civil Wars. He was afterwards actively engaged in the service of the Parliament, by whom he was appointed to the command of the militia of the county, and made Major-General; and dying in 1650, was buried with his ancestors, in their private chapel within Middleton church, according to the Register of Burials, on the 25th February, 1650, in the 45th year of his age. See Whitaker's *Whalley*, p. 523, third edition, and Mr. Ormerod's *Civil War Tracts*, p. 337, who, relying on Whitaker, has given the date of 1652

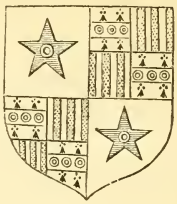
as that of his death. But in the Register Book, the entry is made thus: —

"Ralphe Assheton of Middleton, Esq., Major Generall, &c., was buried 25 February, 1650."

The Poet might also have been intimate with William Assheton, M.A., a younger brother of the above, who was at this time Rector of Middleton, and one of the Presbyterian Committee of Ordination; of whom see Martindale's character of him, and Mr. Parkinson's Note thereon. — *Life of Adam Martindale*, p. 59. The Parliamentary Commander lies buried under a black marble slab, beneath a flight of stairs leading to a gallery in the south aisle of the church. On the slab are two fine brasses, in excellent preservation, containing effigies of the Colonel and his wife, Elizabeth Kaye, of Woodsome. He is clothed in complete armour, with his sword unsheathed at his side, and a truncheon in his right hand; while the lady is represented in the flowing costume of the period. On a shield over his head are these arms: Quarterly first and fourth, argent, a mullet sable, charged with an annulet, or, for Ashton; second and third, quarterly first and fourth, ermine on a fesse, gules, three annulets, or, for Barton; second and third, paly of six, argent and azure. Over the lady are these: Quarterly first and fourth, argent, two bends, sable, for Kaye; second and third on a chevron, or, three rooks. — Beneath the figures, the inscription in capital letters, as given in the woodcut on the next page, is engraved on a brass plate on the slab. Below this inscription, on the same stone, are two other small brasses, representing the children of the above, which are partly hidden from sight by the foot of the stairs.

A few years ago, this monument was entirely concealed from the public view by the boarding on the side of the stairs, and was made a receptacle for old carpets, matting, brushes, and every sort of filth; but the present Rector has very judiciously removed the boarding, with all its dirty accumulations, and thrown the monument open to sight. He is also laudably employed in the preservation and repair of other portions of his church, in which his excellent taste and judgment have appeared equally conspicuous. Mr. Thomas Barritt, the antiquary, of Manchester, in the year 1782, made an etching of the figure of Col. Assheton from this monument, and the accompanying woodcut is reduced from an accurate tracing of the





MEMORIÆ SACRVM
RADVLPHI ASSHETON ARMIGERI, DOMINI DE MIDLETON, PII IN DEVM PATRIAM ET SVOS, COPIARVM OMNIVM IN AGRO LANCASTRENSI (SVPREMI SENATAS AVTHORITATE CONSCRIPTARVM) PRÆFECTI FORTIS ET FIDELIS, QVI CVM E CONJVGE SVA ELIZBETHA (FILIA IOHANNIS KAYE DE WOODSOME IN COM. EBORACENS ARMIGERI) SVSCEPISSET FILIOS TRES, RICHARDVM, RADVLPHVM, IOHANNEM, TOTIDEMQ. FILIAS ELIZABETHAM, MARIAM, ANNAM, OBDORMIVIT IN IESV 17 FEB. ANNO DOMINI 1650, ÆTATISQ. SVÆ 45 CVRRENTE.

same, lent to the Editor by the kindness of the Rev. Thomas Vere Bayne, M.A., incumbent of Broughton.

L. 34. "*From my deere Heywood.*"] There is something more than meets the eye in this affectionate notice of Heywood by James. It is difficult to conjecture how he should have become acquainted with the family of the Heywoods at all, still more how so close an intimacy should have grown up between them. This is a point which we have not been able to solve; but it might possibly arise from John, the son of Robert Heywood, and the future Rector of Walton, being sent to Oxford, and placed under the care of James, both being of the same College.

L. 36. "*The fairnesse of thy seate.*"] Middleton Hall, being the original manor house, and the ancient residence of the Asshetons, is situated a little to the south of the church, and has capacious barns and other appurtenances on a large scale, contiguous to it. It was an ancient structure, erected at different periods, those parts built anterior to the time of Henry VIII. being of lath and plaster, and the recent and more substantial parts of stone. The south front, of red brick, was added by the first Lord Suffield about forty years ago, and is devoid of all architectural character. A panelled dining-room, with an ornamental oak chimney-piece, and some remarkable arabesques on the plaster ceilings of some of the rooms, still remain in their original state.[1] A few portraits of the Assheton family were lately permitted to adorn the walls, although it is said that the greater part of them were given away in the neighbourhood of Middleton by the late Lord Suffield. The ancient park or demesne, attached to the residence, is now converted into farms.

[1] Since the above note was written, Middleton Hall has been stripped of its furniture, the materials of the building sold, the whole of it pulled down, and the land upon which the house and garden stood, let for building factories upon. *Stat nominis umbra.* In the ancient panelled dining-room was found a large stone chimney-piece, bearing the date of 1587, at each corner of which was carved the figure of a wild boar's head. The tradition of the place is, that these heads were in memory of a wild boar which attacked a lady in the early part of the fifteenth century, who was then the owner of the Middleton estate, and who narrowly escaped the danger.

The male line of the Assheton family became extinct in 1766, by the death of Sir Ralph Assheton, Bart., without male issue, when Middleton Hall, together with the manor of Middleton and other adjoining property, came into the possession of Harbord Harbord, of Gunton, in the county of Norfolk, Esq., afterwards created Baron Suffield, of Suffield, in the same county, who had married Mary, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Sir Ralph Assheton; the late Sir Thomas Egerton, Bart., of Heaton, afterwards Earl of Wilton, and grandfather of the present Earl, marrying the other daughter. The present Lord Suffield, owner of Middleton, is the fourth in succession from the first proprietor.

L. 40. "*Mounted vppon thy horses we did rome.*"] The Author's head quarters are at Heywood; his first excursion is to Middleton, and to the Roman road near Hollinwood.

L. 41. "*A Roman waye high cast yet standing.*"] This is the Roman road near Hollinwood, about three miles from Middleton: the description is too accurate and minute to admit of doubt. It forms part of the road leading from Mancunium to Cambodunum, which is so admirably traced and described in Whitaker's *Hist. of Manchester.*

In the *Archæol.*, vol. i. art. xv. p. 62, 4to, 1770, is part of a letter from Thomas Percival, Esq., dated Royston, (*i. e.* Royton Hall, near Oldham,) July 6, 1760, relating to a Roman road, which he had traced, with the Rev. John Watson, the Historian of Halifax, from Manchester to Yorkshire, by Kirklees. He thinks Clifton or Kirklees, the *Cambodunum* of the ancients, the Roman camp being between Clifton and Kirklees. He alludes to a camp of large size, and many other proofs of a station, at Castleshaw, in Saddleworth. Watson afterwards seems to have proved satisfactorily that the Cambodunum of the Romans was situated at *Slack*, near Huddersfield, where a splendid Hypocaust, and other veritable Roman relics, have been discovered.—See *Hist. Halifax.*

Her Majesty's Ordnance Surveyors, in the progress of their work, lately discovered portions of this road, in an excellent state of preservation, on the edge of White Moss, in the township of Failsworth.

L. 44. "*Condignly.*"] Deservedly, according to merit.

L. 48. "*ye race of Wallisee.*"] *Race*, Cursus, "a strong or rapid current of water, or the channel or passage for such a current, as a Mill-race." Webster's *Dict.* Thus Portland Race. — "A Race (for Men and Horses to run in) Stade, Race. A Horse-Race, Carriere." — Randle Cotgrave's *French-Engl. Dict.*, by Howel, fol. 1650. Rese, reuse, Gigas, à verbo rijsen, id est, in altum surgere. — *Joan. Beccan.* Kiliani *Etymol. Teut. Ling.* 4to. 1777. — See the side note. Sir Walter Scott, in his Notes to *Rokeby*, p. 319, derives Risingham as James does. See also Davies's *Celtic Researches*, p. 527.

Dr. Holme informs me that at Shap in Westmoreland there are, or were, two rows of large upright stones, placed at regular distances, running parallel with the turnpike road for nearly three quarters of a mile, called there Shap *Race*, and in a work, the name of which he cannot at present recollect, Shap *Giants*. The remains of the Ancient Britons at Stonehenge are also frequently called the Stonehenge *Giants*. This seems to confirm James's side note on the Teutonic origin of the word *reus*.

It is possible that *Shap Race* might obtain its name from being supposed (locally) to have been a British *Cursus*. If so named from its *stones*, their gigantic size might have something to do with the conjectured etymology, and so in that case *might* such stones at Wallesey, if they had ever existed, but we are not aware that such was ever the case.

But the most probable idea is, and in this conjecture I am supported by the opinion of Mr. Ormerod, that "y^e *race* of Wallisee" means simply Wallesey Race Course, in the present popular sense; and that James meant only to say that the Roman roads were as clean and unincumbered as such courses. The reader will find this Wallesey Race Course mentioned in Ormerod's *Hist. Chesh.*, vol. ii. p. 262, with reference to Webb's description of the Races there, vol. ii. p. 195. col. 1. whose *Itinerary of Cheshire* was composed about a dozen years before the Poem of James.

This appears to be the meaning of the word in the *Life of Adam Martindale*, p. 227. "That summer the Duke of Monmouth came into Cheshire to Wallasie-Race, and thence to Rock Savage," &c. The Duke of Monmouth visited Cheshire in 1682, and then attended the Races at Wallesey; in 1683 he again was present at them, in August, (see extract from Cowper's MSS. in *Hist. of Chesh.*, vol. i. p. 210,) when the riots took place, which were alluded to in the presentations at the following assizes. — See *Hist. Chesh.*, vol. i. p. xlii.

L. 48. "*Wallisee.*"] Wallesey, in the hundred of Wirral, in Cheshire.—See Webbe's *Itinerary*, printed in Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. ii. p. 195; and the same, vol. ii. p. 261.

L. 50. "*Now worcks of Giants deemd.*"] The side note here commencing "Peradventure thence," &c., appears not so much to refer to the word *race*, as to the "worcks of Giants," and may be understood thus: "theirs," viz. the roads of the Romans, "are now deemed works of giants, not art of men;" and perhaps from this vulgar idea the people "in the North have called a Roman fort Reisingham," (looking to the Teutonic etymology of the name,) and "old stories erroneously talk of ancient cities being inhabited by *giants.*"

L. 52. "*halydoms.*"] This word refers here to "tombs," as sanctuaries or depositories of holy relics.—See Bosworth's remarks on Haligdom, in voce, *Ang. Sax. Dict.* 34. "Sanctuary" is there given as its primary sense.

L. 55. "*Now goe we to ye church of Middleton,*
To finde out there some glorye of our owne."]

The parish church of Middleton was built in the year 1524, by Sir Richard Assheton, Knt. of Middleton, who married Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Foulshurst, of Crewe, in the county of Chester, as appears from an inscription on the south side of the building which records this event:

Ricardus Assheton et Anna uxor ejus. Anno D'ni. MDXXIIII.

This Sir Richard Assheton was the person who led the Middleton archers to the battle of Flodden Field, in 1513, and by whom, along with those whose figures are shown, the painted window descriptive of that event, so flattering to their bravery, was placed in the church. He is recorded to have distinguished himself by his valour in that memorable fight, and to have taken prisoner with his own hand "Sir John Forman, Knt., serjeant porter to King James IV. of Scotland, and Alexander Barrett, high sheriff of Aberdeen, with two others, whom he delivered to Thomas Lord Howard, Earl of Surrey, the general of the English army, and for his valorous service received the honour of knighthood from the King, with divers privileges for his manor at Middleton." It is also recorded that on his return from the land of Scotland, into which the victorious army had penetrated, he dedicated his standard and armour to St. Leonard of Middleton.

The Lancashire bowmen, who went to this memorable battle under the banner of Sir Edward Stanley, who commanded the left wing of the English army, and whose skill and prowess helped so much to turn the fortune of the event, were celebrated in the history of that day for their deeds of valour and courage. In the old Poem of "*Flodden Field, in Nine Fits,*" &c., first printed, but very incorrectly, in 1664, from an ancient MS. in the *Harl. Collect.* in the British Museum, 3526,[1] it is particularly recorded that

"All *Lancashire* for the most part
The lusty *Stanley* stout can lead,
A stock of Striplings strong of heart,
Brought up from Babes with beef and bread.

From *Warton* unto *Warrington,*
From *Wigham*[2] unto *Wirsdale,*
From *Wedicar* to *Waddington,*
From *Ribchester* to *Ratchdale.*

From *Poulton* and *Preston* with pikes
They with the *Stanley* stout forth went ;
From *Pemerton*[3] and *Pillingdikes,*
For battel bilmen bold were bent,

With Fellows fresh and fierce in fight,
Which *Horton*[4] Fields did turn in fores ;
With lusty Lads liver and light,
From *Blaikborn* and *Bolton* i'th Moors."

The Poem describes the varied events of the battle, and in celebrating the victory in the "*Ninth Fit,*" thus picturesquely alludes to the part

[1] Ritson says that this Metrical History was the composition, as it was conjectured, of some North-Country Schoolmaster, in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Besides the edition of 1644, (penes me,) there have been several later ones published, — in 12mo 1774, at Berwick, with a number of interesting notes and historical remarks by the Rev. Robert Lambe, Vicar of Norham upon Tweed — and by Joseph Benson, Philomath, in the same year — again at York, by Thomas Gent, 12mo, n. d. — at Edinburgh, 8vo., 1808, with Notes and Illustrations, by Henry Weber — and at Newcastle in 1819.

[2] Wigan. [3] Pemberton, or Penwortham. [4] Hoghton.

which Sir Edward Stanley and the Lancashire men took on that great occasion, attributing even the death of the Scottish King to Stanley himself; and that till his appearance, during a momentary panic, "the victory in doubt did stand."

"Till at the last the *Stanley* stout
Came marching up the mountain steep
His folks could hardly fest their feet
But forc'd on hands and feet to creep.

And some their boots left down below
That toes might take the better hold,
Some from their feet the shoes did throw
Of true men thus I have heard told.

The sweat down from their bodies ran,
And hearts did hop in panting brest
At last the mountain top they wan
In warlick wise e're *Scotchmen* wist.

Where for a space the *Stanley* staid
Till time his folks had taken breath
To whom all *Sam*[1] even thus he said,
Most hardy mates down from this heath,

Against our foe fast let us hye
Our Country men to comfort and aid
With fighting fierce I fear me, I
Through lingrink long may be o'relaid.

My *Lancashire* most lively wights,
And chosen mates of *Cheshire* strong
From sounding bow your fethered flights
Let fiercely fly your foes among.

March down from this mountain top
And brunt of battle let us bide,
With stomack stout lets make no stop
And *Stanley* stout will be your guid.

* * * * *

[1] Alsam, or alsaume, *i. e.* altogether.

The noise then made the mountains ring
And *Stanley* stout they all did cry
Out went anon the gray goose wing
Against the *Scots* did flickering fly.

Then showrs of arrows sharp were shot,
They ratling ran as rank as hail
And pierc'd the scalp of many a *Scot*
No shield nor pavish could prevaile.

Although the *Scots* at *Stanley's* name
Were stonisht sore yet stout they stood
Yet for defence they fiercely frame
And narrow dint with danger boad.

* * * * *

Which when the *Stanley* stout did see
Into the throng he thundring thrast
My lovely *Lancashire* lads quoth he
Down with the Scots, the day we wast.

Then foes he forc't to break their ranks
Where many a life was lost that while, &c.

* * * * *

And last of all among the lave,
King *James* himself to death was brought,
Yet by whose fact few could perceive,
But *Stanley* still most like was thought.

After the King and Captain slain,
The Commons straight did fall to flight
The *Englishmen* pursued a main
And never ceased while Sun gave light.

* * * * *

This field was foughten in *September*,
In Chronicles as may be seen,
In the year of God as I remember,
One thousand five hundreth and thirteen.

Præconia Post funera manent."

L. 57. ——————— "*whoe went out far*
In suite of our braue Ashton to the warre."]

"The constant tradition of the place," alluded to by Dr. Whittaker, is confirmed by this statement, and a relic of Flodden is thus preserved.

L. 59. "*There stands à painted windowe, where I weene*
The showe of their departure may be seene:"]

In one of the windows on the north side of the church, at Middleton, there still exist most of the figures which are here so minutely and picturesquely described by the Author. They consist of figures of some of the principal persons of Middleton and its neighbourhood, who accompanied Sir Richard Assheton to the Flodden fight, and represent, first, himself and his lady in scarlet, in long garments, with an attendant squire, arrayed in blue. The Chaplain, Henry Taylor, also in a robe of blue, kneeling before an altar, and the seventeen warriors after him, all "on bended knees," each having on his left shoulder his bow, with loosened string, and his quiver, "sheaft with arrowes," slung at his girdle. These are all in mantles of blue, with long curls of hair on each side of their heads, and the name of every man was originally placed over each figure. Beneath was the following inscription, which has since been much mutilated or transposed in repairing the window:—

Orate pro bono statu Richardi Assheton et eorum qui hanc fenestrā fieri fecerunt quorū nōina et imagines ut supra ostenduntur. Anno Dñi M°CCCCC°V°.

There appears to have been an X dropped by accident in the date, which, as it now stands, is eight years before the battle of Flodden took place.

Of these figures, "the semblance faire" of Sir Richard Assheton himself is still partly preserved in another window, and represents him clothed in scarlet, with long flowing hair, kneeling before an altar, on which is an open book, with a sheaf of arrows appearing at his back. Behind him, but in a more mutilated state, are some portions of that of his lady, also in scarlet, kneeling before another altar; but this figure is so mingled and transposed with parts of other windows, as to render it difficult to be traced with much accuracy; while that of the attendant squire appears to be totally destroyed. We are not aware that any of these figures have ever been engraved, except in a curious etching of the chaplain and seventeen archers, made by Philip

de la Motte, in 1786, for the loan of which, as it contained one or two of the names not now in existence, we have been indebted to the obliging kindness of John Pegge, Esq., of Newton Heath, near Manchester, who has lately caused drawings to be taken, the exact size and fac simile of the originals, of the whole of the stained glass in this church; and as much of it is decaying, and likely soon to perish,[1] the valuable exertions of this gentleman in the preservation of such curious and interesting memorials of a past age are deserving of the highest praise.[2]

For the admirable fac-similes, from the drawings of Mr. J. Shaw, which form the frontispieces to the volume, we are indebted to the well known skill of Mr. J. Harris, of Sidmouth Street, London, whose talents in the repair and restoration of early printed books, are universally acknowledged and appreciated.

L. 70. "*courtmantells.*"] A Curt or Courtmantell means simply a short mantle.

L. 73. "*each hath his name.*"] In a Subsidy-Roll for the Hundred of Salford, dated 8th March, 15th Henry VIII., (1505,) are found the following names, corresponding with those in the window at Middleton.

Manchester Parish.

James Tailor, in lands 20s.

Robert Blomely in goods 40s.

This confirms the reading of the inscription in the window, Roger Blomele, by showing that the surname Blomele existed at that period in these parts of Lancashire, as it does to this day.

Rochdale Parish.

John Scolfeld in lands 40s.

Thomas Warberton in lands £3., but no Philip.

[1] Since the drawings of Mr. Pegge were taken, one of the female heads has been blown out and lost, and more will follow, unless speedily examined and repaired.

[2] There was a great deal of stained glass introduced into the South Yorkshire Churches in the reign of Henry VIII. just about the period when the Middleton window must have been executed. And it is probable that there was some Artist in that line, of great reputation at that particular time, whose name and character, if possible, it would be gratifying and interesting to know, but which, we fear, is now hardly recoverable.

Middleton Parish.

Rich. Assheton, Esquire in lands £66.

Ralph Assheton in lands £6. 13s. 4d.

James Gerrarde in goods 40s.

Oldham Parish.

Here is a Robert Wilde in lands £3.

We suspect that the reading of Kyllo is incorrect, and that it should be Wylde.

A Rauffe Chetham in goods £13. 6s. 8d.

Bury Parish.

Hugh Chetham in goods £4.

A Seddon, but the name Richard, in goods, 40s.

The surnames of Pilkington and Prestwich were, no doubt, derived from the townships of those names.

L. 75. "*Larroue.*"] Errat. for Lanoue. Francis de la Noue, an eminent warrior and statesman, was born in Bretany in 1531. He was early trained to arms, and distinguished himself as a soldier in various countries. He was at the siege of Orleans in 1567; at the battle of Jarnac in 1569; and at the taking of Fontenoy, where he received a wound in his left arm which rendered amputation necessary; and its place being supplied with an arm of steel, with which he was able to manage his bridle, he derived from thence the surname of Bras de Fer (Iron arm,) which he bore ever after. He served also in the Low Countries, where he rendered great assistance to the States General, but was taken prisoner in 1580, and detained by the Spaniards in prison for five years. During his confinement, he employed himself in literary occupations; and composed his *Discours Politiques et Militaires*, first printed at Geneva in 1587, 4to. and at Basle in the same year, in 8vo. and since frequently reprinted. He continued to serve with honour under Henry IV. and was at last killed by a musket ball, at the siege of Lamballe in 1591. La Noue was a follower of the doctrines of Calvin in religion, and was one of the earliest writers, if not the first, who advocated unlimited toleration of all religions. He was also against the practice of duelling. An English translation of the *Discours Politiques et Militaires* was published in the same year in which they first appeared abroad, under the title of "The Politicke and Militarie Discourses of the Lord de la Novve; whereunto are adjoyned certaine observations of things happened during the three

late Ciuill Warres of France: all faithfully translated out of French by E. A." Lond. 1587. 4to.

L. 75. ——————"*thy camarades*
Of men theis were which feare would never shades
Of death in warlike service."]

The construction of the latter part of the sentence is,—"which would never fear shades of death in warlike service."

L. 83. "or in *table* make."] i. e. picture.

L. 88. "*a poore mandillion.*"] Mandiglione—Ital. a jacket. Randle Holme says, "This was a kind of loose coat worn upon a doublet, either buttoned or open; and much in use in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It had no sleeves, but two broad wings on the shoulders, and hanging sleeves at the back, with side skirts or laps."—*Academy of Armoury*, 1688. Book 3. ch. ii. p. 18.

See Samuel Rowland's *Knave of Hearts: his supplication to Card-makers.* 4to. Lond. 1613, last line but four:—

"Short cloakes, old *mandilions.*"

L. 93. "*Where dairie worck goes forward.*"] We have here the daughters of a family of some consideration employed in the dairy, and in spinning. How different are the pursuits and occupations of the present inhabitants of Heywood from the peaceful and domestic employments here described by James. In consequence of the introduction of manufactures and commerce, with their attendant spirit of gain, the whole face of the country is changed; the resident gentry have quitted their old ancestral halls; and few places have risen more rapidly in the amount of its population than Heywood. From being only an insignificant village in the Author's time, with its few simple inhabitants employed in works of agriculture and domestic affairs, it is now an important manufacturing town, comprising a population of upwards of 12,000 persons.

L. 93. "*fairies spinne.*"] This, probably, alludes to their reputed love of neatness and cleanliness of apparel; and to their being commonly supposed to assist in all kinds of domestic drudgery and work, and being extremely

useful in household occupations.—See Brand's *Popul. Antiq.* by Ellis, vol. ii. pp. 327, seq.

L. 94. "*ferrs.*"] *i. e.* feres, meaning here, of course, husbands. A companion, generally.

L. 95. "*fleere.*"] To mock, to gibe, to flout.

L. 96. "*Because I praise.*"] In the original MS. the word *praise* is written, secundâ manû, *prize*, which is perhaps the better reading.

L. 96. "*my virgins,*"] This expression sounds rather oddly to modern ears, and what follows still more so, especially when it is considered that James was but a young man when he wrote this poem, at least not very old.

L. 96. "*gheere.*"] Stuff of any sort—furniture, dress, habit, &c.

L. 97. "*faine.*"] *i. e.* feign. It occurs in this form in Chaucer, and several other writers.

L. 102. "*bourding.*"] *i. e.* mocking.

L. 109.] The Author's second excursion to Ormskirk and to North and South Meoles.

L. 109. "*ye Meales.*"] Perhaps so derived from "Moel, a heap or pile, a conical hill, a towering hill with its top smooth, or void of rocks and woods." See Owen's Welsh Dict. 8vo. Ed. 1803. It is probable that Meales or Meols may be the district of Sand hills with reference to this British word Moel.

L. 112. "*chaffe sands.*"] Chaffe sands are dry sands blown about by the winds, in opposition to moist or wet sands, and are still so called in the North.

L. 113. "*which Hoes are called in Worold.*"] *Hoes* from Hou, a mountain, mons. See Lye's *Dict. Sax.*; Bosworth's *Anglo Sax. Dict.*; *hoga*, a

how or hoe, a term applied to small eminences as well as greater ones. *Tumuli* are so called in several parts of England. We find it appended to Clider-how in Lancashire, Fox-how in Westmoreland, and Pen-how in Monmouthshire. But see more on this word How or Halgh under Dunkenhalgh, in Whitaker's *Hist. Whalley*, 4to, 3d Ed. 1818, p. 407; Thoresby's *Duc. Leod.* by Whitaker, vol. ii. p. 129, on the word Gled-how, and p. 276; also under How-royd in Watson's *Hist. Halifax*, p. 161, and Baker's *Hist. Northampt.* p. 543, under Ayn-ho. The chief difficulty appears in the application of expressions referable to hills of so much loftier a character, to the petty ranges of star hills or sand hillocks, such as we see on the coasts of Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales.

L. 114. "*Worold.*"] *i. e.* Wirrall in Cheshire.

L. 138. "*Roving at sea when Essex Cales did winne.*"] The expedition of the brave and accomplished Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the favourite of Queen Elizabeth, in company with Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, to Cadiz, or Cales as it was then called, took place in 1596. In this expedition Essex was the commander of the land forces, and is said to have thrown his hat into the sea for joy, when the Lord Admiral, after some delay, at length consented to attack the Spanish fleet. The enterprize proved completely successful, the city being taken, and the Spanish fleet destroyed. For his services in this Cadiz affair, the Queen created Essex, Earl Marshall, in 1597.

L. 139. "*If any Busshell will,*" &c.] Thomas Bushel, in order to try how far a life of severe abstinence would promote longevity, retreated to the Calf of Man, (an islet about three miles distant from Port Erin, in the Isle of Man,) and made it his abode in the reign of James I. In that dreary and melancholy solitude he appears to have died; for not only is a small ruinous building still shown, which is called Bushel's house, but also a place on the top of an adjoining rock, named Bushel's grave.

"This cemetery is most curiously constructed in the form of a cross, containing two cavities six feet long, three wide, and two deep. Immediately on the edge is a wall of stone and mortar, two feet high. The whole is roofed and slated; but except the before-mentioned application of this repository to the purpose of sepulture, no probable conjecture has

been formed of the use or design for which it was constructed. The rock itself is only accessible on one side, and is called the Eye or Burrow. It adjoins the Calf at low water, but at high water there are forty feet of intermediate sea."[1]—See Bullock's *Hist. of the Isle of Man*, 8vo, 1816, p. 223.

This Thomas Bushel must not be confounded with the person of the same name who was employed by Lord Bacon to assist him in his philosophical experiments — was celebrated for his knowledge of mineralogy, — and became afterwards Superintendent of the Mint to Charles I. at Aberystwith and Shrewsbury. This Thomas Bushel lived many years later, and did not die till 1674, and therefore could not be the person alluded to by James. See Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. iii. p. 1007, and Blakeway's *Hist. Shrewsb.* vol. i. p. 423, &c.

L. 142. "*Calve of Man.*"] See the preceding note.

L. 145. "*a callot.*"] *i. e.* a serving-wench, properly a trull, a jade, or drab.

L. 150. "*Our next niew sallie.*"] The third excursion from Heywood to Holywell.

L. 150 "*Our next niew sallie to ye holy well,*
Four miles beyond Flint castle."]

This account of the legend of St. Wenefrede is related by James from a MS. Latin life of her, still existing, which was then in the possession of his friend Sir Robert Cotton, in a volume written on vellum about the middle of the eleventh century, containing a collection of chronicles and lives of saints, and now in the Cottonian Library, Claud. A.V. The authorship is attributed by James himself to St. Elerius a Cambrian or British monk, An. 660; but Mr Blakeway, in the *Hist. Shrewsb.* vol. ii. p. 33, has clearly proved that it was written at a much later period, and that "there is no document respecting St. Wenefrede for five centuries after the time of her

[1] The reader will find an excellent illustration of these rock places of sepulture in Whitaker's account of the Parish of Heysham, in his *Hist. Richmondshire*, vol. ii. p. 317.

supposed existence." It was from this Cottonian MS. that our author compiled his narrative of this legend; and it is plain that, though constantly occupied in his studies and researches in the Bodleian Library, he had not seen another MS. Latin life of St. Wenefrede in that library, written by Robert of Shrewsbury, prior, and afterwards abbot, of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul in that town, in the reign of King Stephen. This is addressed to his father, Guarin, the prior of Worcester, and extends over a space of forty-four closely written folio pages, containing an account of the life and adventures of St. Wenefrede, and ending with a long statement of the translation of her remains from Gwytherin Church, near Llanrwst in Denbighshire, where she was buried, to the abbey of Shrewsbury, in which translation Robert the prior, and author of this account, took a leading and prominent part. For further information on this subject see Alfordi "*Fides Regia Britannicæ, sive Annales Ecclesiæ Britannicæ;*" Leodii, 1663, Fol. vol. ii. p. 304: J. Capgravii *Nova Legenda Angliæ;* Lond. 1516, Fol. p. cclxxxxvi., b: Capgrave's *Lives of the Saints*, in Cat. Lib. MSS. Bibl. Cotton. p. 40. Tib. E.I. edit. 1802.—See also Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Nov. 3d: Owen and Blakeway's *Hist. of Shrewsb.* vol. ii. p. 34, where a facsimile of the writing of each of these MSS. is given; and Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, vol. i. p. 46, and vol. ii. p. 180. edit. 1810. Robert of Shrewsbury's *Life of St. Wenefrede* was translated or "reduced" into English by William Caxton, and printed by him in folio, without date, fifteen leaves, a copy of which is in the Royal Library.—See Dibd. *Typog. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 341. Another translation of this life was published in 1635 by a Jesuit, under the title of "The admirable Life of Saint Wenefride Virgin, Martyr, Abbesse. Written in Latin aboue 500. yeares ago, by Robert, monke and Priour of Shrewsbury, of the Ven. order of S. Benedict. Deuided into two Bookes. And now translated into English, out of a very ancient and authenticall manuscript, for the edification and comfort of Catholikes.—By J. F. of the Society of Jesus. Permissu Superiorū M.DC.XXXV." Small 8vo, with an engraved Frontispiece, containing a view of St. Winefride's Well, and the Virgin herself kneeling before an altar. In 1712 was published "The Life and Miracles of St. Wenefrede, together with Litanies, with some historical observations made thereon. By F. Metcalf, S.J." 12mo. Lond. 1712. With an engraved Frontispiece. And in 1713 appeared the last and most copious Life of St. Winefrede, by the learned Bishop Fleetwood; being the last mentioned work, republished with Notes and

Observations, and a Preface by the Bishop, with the following title, "The Life and Miracles of St. Wenefrede, together with her Litanies. With some Historical Observations made thereon." 8vo. 1713.

L. 199. "*With Britaines wen is white.*"] "*Wen* in the old British tongue signifies *white*, and other letters were by an alteration added to this syllable, to render more agreeable the sound of the new name."—See Bp. Fleetwood's *Life of St. Wenefride*, p. 61. ed. 1713.

L. 199. ——————"*but stained red*
Still are ye stones where ravisht was hir hed."]

In the translator's "*Preface to the Reader*" of the Life of this Saint published in 1635, after remarking on the multitude of Pilgrims who visited the place of St. Winefrede's martyrdom, he adds: "The waters of this holy Well seeme to haue in thē more then naturall vertues, by giuing a musky, and most delightfull sweetnes tó the greene mosse growing on the wals of this stately enclosure, and colouring all the stones which lye in the bottome thereof with spots, as it were of pure bloud, in them strangely appearing." In the Life also, the author speaks of the place being "seene and honoured by multitudes of people, daily visitting her Well, as the miraculous Trophy of her martyrdome there susteyned; wondring first, to see such a source of pure water breaking out of the ground vpon which her head first fell; next, to behould the stones therein, as with drops of her bloud strangly stayned, or died rather; and lastly, to smell the greene mosse growing about the Well, with a musky sweet odour more than naturally perfumed."—*Life of St. Wenefride*, p. 179. ed. 1635.

The supposed bloody stain upon the stones is occasioned by an odoriferous vegetable production, the *byssus jolithus* of Linnæus, who says that "the stone to which it adheres easily betrays itself by the colour, being as if smeared with blood, and if rubbed, yields a smell like violets." The sweet scented moss which grows on the sides of the well, and is found in other springs in the neighbourhood, is the *jungermannia asplenoides* of Linnæus.

L. 201 ——————"*a fountaine cleere*
Which at this cruell deede did first apeere."]

It is evident that James had seen the *Poly-Olbion* of Drayton, first published in 1613, fol., who in this celebrated and fanciful work thus alludes to the well and legend of St. Wenefrede:—

——————"The sacred fount of *Winifrid*—
Of all the *Cambrian* Springs of such especiall grace,
That oft the *Deuian*[1] Nymphs, as also those that keepe
Amongst the Corall-Groves in the Vergiuian Deepe,
Haue left their watry bowers, their secret safe retire,
To see her whom report so greatly should admire
(Whose waters to this day as perfect are and cleere,
As her delightfull eyes in their full beauties were,
A virgin while she liu'd) chaste *Winifrid:* who chose
Before her mayden-gem she forcibly would lose,
To haue her harmlese life by the leud Rapter spilt:
For which still more and more to aggrauate his guilt,
The liuelesse teares shee shed, into a Fountaine turne.
And, that for her alone the water should not mourne,
The pure vermillion bloud, that issu'd from her vaines,
Vnto this very day the pearly grauell staines;
As erst the white and red were mixed in her cheeke.
And, that one part of her might be the other like,
Her haire was turn'd to mosse; whose sweetnesse doth declare,
In liuelinesse of youth the naturall sweets she bare:
And of her holy life the innocence to show,
What-euer liuing thing into this Well you throwe,
Shee strongly beares it vp, not suffring it to sinke.
Besides, the wholesome vse in bathing, or in drinke
Doth the diseased cure, as thereto shee did leaue
Her vertue with her name, that time should not bereaue."

DRAYTON'S *Poly-Olbion*, fol. 1622, p. 160.

L. 205. "*Reade Surius and Baronius*," &c.] "The Life of this Noble Virgin and Martyr, was diligently and authentically gathered by *Robertus Salopiensis*, a learned Monke and *Priour of Shrewsbury*, of the holy order of S. Benedict, liuing in King *Stephens* tyme, and for his great sincerity, by *Cardinall Baronius*, *Surius*, *Capgraue*, *Pits*, *Posseuinus*, and others, worthily commended. Whose booke coppied truly out of an old authenticall Manuscript, I haue heere in sense faithfully translated, and done no otherwise in altering the Authors old phrases, scarsely expressible in good English, then as if I had stripped some body out of Welsh course frize, and put him into a suite of English playne Karesay."— Translator's *Pref.* to the Edit. 1635.

[1] Of Dee.

L. 205. "*Surius.*"] Laurentius Surius, a voluminous writer and compiler, was born at Lubeck in 1522, and became a Monk of the Carthusian order in that city. He was eminent for his virtues and learning, and died at Cologne, May 25, 1578, aged 56. His principal works are "A Collection of Councils," in four vols. fol. 1567, — "A History of his own Times from 1500 to 1566," 8vo. 1569, — and "The Lives of the Saints," seven vols. fol. 1618. It is remarked that Surius "did not want learning, but those of his own communion allow that he gave credit blindly to fables, and was deficient in critical knowledge."

L. 205. "*Baronius.*"] Cæsar Baronius, a Cardinal of the Roman Church, and an eminent writer of ecclesiastical history, was born at Sora in the kingdom of Naples, October 30, 1538, educated at Rome, chosen Confessor to Pope Clement VIII. by whom he was raised to the dignity of a Cardinal, June 5, 1596. Ho was afterwards appointed Librarian of the Vatican, and died June 30, 1607, in his 69th year. His great literary work, in which he laboured for more than thirty years, was his "*Ecclesiastical Annals,*" published in twelve vols. fol., the first printed in 1588, the last in 1607, in which the history of the Church was brought down to the year 1198. There were numerous editions of it afterwards published.

L. 206. "*Thomas Asaphs Bishop.*"] "Thomas Goldwell sub initium Octobris 1555 consecratus, circa solstitium æstivale 1559 (Elizabethæ Reginæ primo) solum sponte mutavit, et in exilio viginti postea per annos vixit. Magno conatu magnas nugas. Multis precibus à Papâ impetravit Goldwellus indulgentias renovari nescio quas ad tempus certum concessas, superstitionis gratiâ peregrinationes suscipientibus ad fontem qui sanctæ Winefridæ appellatur, et oblationes sacrificulis exhibentibus qui ibi loci ex hoc lucelli genere victitabant."[1] — F. Godwini *De Præsulibus Angliæ Comment.* vol. ii. p. 222. fol. Cantabr. 1743.

L. 207. "*But Capgraue says.*"] John Capgrave, who lived in the reign of Henry VI. was Provincial of the Augustine Friars, and Confessor to the famous Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the first founder of the University Library at Oxford. He collected together the various Legends of the

[1] "Moritur et sepultus est Romæ circa 1581."

British Saints, which he published in a more correct form than had yet been done. These Lives of the Saints were printed by Wynkyn de Worde, under the following title, "Nova Legenda Anglie. Lond. ī domo Wynādi de Worde 1516," folio. The Lives extend in alphabetical order to fol. cccxxxiiii. a list of which may be seen in Catal. Libr. MSS. Bibl. Cott. p. 40. Tib. E. I edit. 1802. The work was reprinted at the same press, with similar decorations, in 1527, folio. Capgrave, who is supposed to have died A.D. 1464, does not appear to be noticed by any of our later writers on biography.

L. 213. "*Nay, nothing of the name of Winefride*
Is in Geraldus or Galfridus read,
Whoe ye survaye did write and ye storie
Of their deere Wales, in which they glorie."]

"It is very singular," remarks Mr. Blakeway, "that Giraldus, whose turn of mind, at once inquisitive, credulous, and rational, would scarcely have let him pass over a worker of miracles of his own country; and whose subject, a description of Wales and its marvels, would necessarily have led to it, should not notice Winefride in the slightest degree; and a learned philologist,[1] himself a Welshman, boldly declares, that she was never anything more than a *name;* Gwenvrewy, signifying, according to him, '*the white hill water,*' the copious fountain of Holywell: an opinion which will not appear destitute of probability to those who call to mind the numerous examples in heathen mythology of wells that have sprung from events similar to that of the legend before us, and recollect how closely the religion of the dark ages copied the reveries of paganism."—See Blakeway's *Hist. Shrewsb.* vol. ii. p. 42.

L. 214. "*Geraldus.*"] Gerald de Barry, better known by the name of Giraldus Cambrensis, was born at the Castle of Manorbeer, in South Wales, about 1146. In 1172 he was made Canon of Hereford, and Archdeacon of Brecon in the Diocese of St. David's; and on the death of his uncle, David Fitzgerald, Bishop of that See, he was elected by the Chapter to succeed him, but was opposed in this appointment by Henry II. In 1188, he accompanied Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a tour through some of the wildest parts of Wales, to preach the Crusade. The results of his

[1] Will. Baxter. See his Note on *Hor. Ep.* 1, xv. 3.

travels were given to the world in the most celebrated of his works, his "*Itinerarium Cambriæ.*" Little appears to be known of the later years of his life, but he is said to have at last attained the great object of his ambition, the Bishopric of St. David's, and having died there some time after 1220, to have been buried in his own Cathedral.

Giraldus deserves our admiration for his enthusiastic love of British antiquities, and was a voluminous writer, also, on other subjects. The reader may see a full list of his works in Tanner's *Biblioth. Britann.* Portions of these were printed by Camden in his folio collection of English Chronicles, but a complete edition of the works of Giraldus is still a desideratum.

The *Itinerary* was translated into English, with annotations and a Life of Giraldus, by the late Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart., and published in 1806, in two vols. 4to, with the Latin text as a supplemental volume in the same year, the whole reflecting great credit to the taste and research of its learned Editor.

L. 214. "*Galfridus.*"] Jeffery or Geoffrey of Monmouth, a contemporary of Giraldus Cambrensis, and a writer of British History, who flourished in the time of King Stephen, was born at Monmouth, and probably educated at the Benedictine Priory in that town. He was made Archdeacon of Monmouth, and promoted to the Bishopric of St. Asaph in 1152, but resigned his See soon after, on account of some tumults in Wales, and retired to the Monastery of Abingdon, of which he was made Abbot by Henry II. Here he devoted himself to study, and wrote various works, of which the one best known is his *Chronicon sive Historia Britonum*, first printed at Lyons, in 1508, 4to. It is filled with marvellous and fabulous relations, and must be considered more in the light of a romance than as a piece of real history. An abridgement of it was made by Virunnius an Italian; and an English translation of the work appeared in 1718, 8vo., by Aaron Thompson, with a preface "concerning the authority of the history."

L. 218. "*waud.*"] *i. e.* waved, rejected.

L. 218. "*Salope Robert.*"] Robertus Salopiensis, or Robert of Shrewsbury, whose name, on the authority of Lloyd's MS. History of Shropshire, is believed to be Pennant, was probably one of the ancient family of the historian of that name, still existing at Downing, in the immediate

neighbourhood of Holywell. He became Prior of Shrewsbury Abbey in the reign of King Stephen, and was afterwards made Abbot. He was the person who caused the translation to be made of the bones of St. Wenefrede out of Wales, to his own abbey at Shrewsbury, to enrich his foundation; and afterwards wrote the life of that Saint, and an account of the proceedings on the removal of her remains in 1136.

L. 219. "*nor yet Elerius cite.*"] St. Elerius is said, according to ancient legends, to have been a Monk of St. Asaph, who lived A.D. 660, and afterwards settled at Gwytherin in Denbighshire, where he became the instructor of St. Wenefrede, who was placed by him in a convent of Nuns at that village, under the rule of his mother, Theona, on whose death she succeeded to the government of the Nunnery. He was canonized at his death, and his body was afterwards removed to the Abbey of Shrewsbury.

L. 221. "*But here to Templers cell were monkes put in*
Vnder our seconde Edward."]

Basingwerk Abbey, called by the Welsh *Maes Glâs*, or Greenfield Abbey, about a mile from Holywell, was founded, according to Tanner and Dugdale, by Ranulph, Earl of Chester, in 1131, for Monks of the Cistercian order. Others affirm that it was founded by Henry II. subsequent to the year 1150. While Gabriel Powell in his annotations on Giraldus, and Bishop Gibson in his additions to Camden, both place its foundation so late as the reign of Edward II. in 1312, thus agreeing with James in the Poem. Pennant is of opinion that there had been a religious community here considerably anterior to any of these periods. He also states that Henry II. established here a house of Knights Templars, for the protection of the English pilgrims in performing their vows at the sacred well of St. Wenefrede, of which the spacious and elegant chapel is still standing. If a house for Templars existed at Basingwerk, it must have been contemporaneous with the existence of this older foundation; but the existence of Templars here is not certain; The Monks of this Abbey kept a Priest in the Chapel of the well, for whose maintenance they had special estates granted. — See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, edit. Ellis.

L. 222. ——————————— "*then beginne*
Theis craftie fables: stories they invent."]

The author of the Poem seems inclined to agree with Gabriel Powell in

ascribing the invention of the legend of St. Wenefrede to the Monks of the adjoining Abbey of Basingwerk, from the circumstance of no mention being made of it by any writer previous to the foundation of that monastery. But there is every reason to believe the tradition to have preceded the foundation of the Abbey by a long period. Mr. Pennant, indeed, thinks the legend of St. Wenefrede was known previous to the Conquest. Holywell was anciently called in Cymric, *Tre-ffynnon*, "the town of the well," and in the charters of Basingwerk Abbey it is called *Haliwelle.* — Leland, in his Genethliacon, in mentioning Holywell, calls it

——— "cæsa Trefontem virgine clarum."

L. 224. "*They purchase pardons which from Rome are sent.*"] The revenues of the Abbey were yearly increased from the sale of pardons to such as came in solemn pilgrimage to the fountain of St. Wenefrede. Selden, in his learned notes on Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, relates that Pope Martin V. in the reign of Henry V. furnished the Abbey of Basingwerk with pardons and indulgences to dispose of to the pilgrims.

L. 225. "*They builde a structure, chappell, cloysters round*
About ye well; to put off cloathes they founde
A joining roome."]

The well of St. Wenefrede is one of the greatest curiosities of the county of Flint. It is situated in a deep dell between the town of Holywell and the sea, and is most probably caused by some streams descending into the chinks and cavities of the carboniferous limestone range of the Flintshire Hills, and thus forcing their way out at this spot. The supply of water is always very considerable, and after heavy rains great discoloration takes place in it; otherwise it is exceedingly pure, limpid, and cold. Above it is a beautiful edifice of the perpendicular style of pointed architecture, erected by Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of Henry VII., all the parts of which are constructed of the best materials, and finished in the most exquisite and masterly manner. This building consists of a lower open hall built over the well, with a wall all round, and monialled arcades looking into the well. The roof, which forms a canopy over the fountain, is most delicately carved in stone, the intersections being filled with sculptured figures of animals, and armorial bearings. Above is a room once used as a chapel, but probably afterwards turned into an apartment for the bathers to unrobe in.

At present the bathers put their clothes in small wooden closets, built at the south end of the lower hall, and the upper room is converted into a school. Outside the wall is a swimming bath constructed within an open court, and the spot is greatly resorted to at the present day by persons affected with maladies for which a "cold-water cure" may be desirable. The effects of the aqueous application are indeed so rapid and complete, in some cases, that the superstitious belief of olden times may be well accounted for, and perhaps pardoned.

It is much to be regretted by all lovers of mediæval architecture that the building over the well is in such a dilapidated state as to create fears of its total destruction. Its decayed condition has been recently advocated by some of the Committee of the Archæological Institute, in the hope that some timely aid might be gained towards rescuing this interesting structure from the ruin which threatens it in consequence of the decay of the foundations. It is reported that a small sum would be sufficient to avert the immediate danger, and it is to be hoped that a subscription may be raised, and the necessary funds acquired for this purpose. The woman who shows the well to strangers receives money for this purpose; and few who see so beautiful a monument would refuse to contribute their mite.

L. 226. "*ye well.*"] The reader will see an interesting article on the subject of holy wells in Wales, including this of St. Wenefrede's, by the Rev. John Williams, of Nerquis, near Mold, in the first number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis.* We believe it is intended to give a historical and architectural account of St. Wenefrede's Well, with descriptive plates, in some future number of the same publication.

L. 227. ——————— "*In seventh Harryes time*
And in Queene Maries, with such toyes they chime
Much people in with coyne."

Pardons and indulgences continued to be sold by the Monks in the time of Henry VII., and in the reign of Queen Mary were again obtained from Pope Julius III. through the assistance of Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, who fled from this country into Italy on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and died there in 1581. James II. and his amiable consort, Queen Maria Beatrice d'Este, came here, in order that her Majesty might derive benefit from the water; and it is said, not without good effects being produced.

L. 230. "*But to encrease their Greene-field Abbyes wealth.*"] "Multitudes of offerings," says Mr. Pennant, flowed in: — marks of gratitude from such who had received benefit by the intercession of the virgin." — Pennant's *Tours*, vol. i. p. 51. Edit. 1810 — "Greene-field Abbey." See note on line 221.

L. 235. "*This faire cleere springe, which courses through ye hills,*
Conveys summe mettall tincture in hir rills,
Which they make staine of blood."]

It has been already shown that the supposed "staine of blood" is derived from a vegetable production. James here attributes it to the water being impregnated with iron or other metal, for which, however, there does not appear to be any good ground of supposition. We have seen it asserted somewhere, that persons in Holywell used to remember the Roman Catholics painting some of the stones with red paint every year! "Credat Judæus!"

Mr. Bingley says, "In this stream it is remarked that the water-wheels are very soon destroyed — so much so that an oak wheel, which in most other waters ought to have lasted at least thirty years, has been known to become unfit for use in twelve; a species of moss, the *hypnum riparium*, vegetates on the wood, and harbours the larvæ of some species of insect in such immense quantities, that they soon eat even into the heart of the wood. On this account water-wheels formed of cast iron are used in the place of timber." — See Bingley's *North Wales*, vol. i. p. 52.

We do not know the other spring alluded to by the author in his side note, "ten miles distant from Wenefredes well," but in that limestone country springs sometimes both disappear and burst forth in very curious localities.

L. 237. "*But now the tide,*" &c.] The fourth excursion from Holywell to Chester and its neighbourhood.

L. 239. "*Chester a Roman Station.*"] Chester, the ancient Deva of the Romans, was the head quarters of the 20th Legion for upwards of two hundred years, and one of the most important of their military stations in Britain. Considerable remains of Roman antiquities have been found at various times within its walls, consisting of altars, statues, pottery ware, coins, and other relics; and also two baths. Of one of these, some remains

are still in existence, consisting of a *hypocaust*, situated in Bridge-street, near the Feathers Inn, and engraved in Lysons's *Hist. of Cheshire*, p. 431. It is thus described by Mr. Pennant: — "This hypocaust is of a rectangular figure, supported by thirty-two pillars, two feet ten inches and a half high, and about eighteen inches distant from each other. Upon each is a tile eighteen inches square, as if designed for a capital; and over them a perforated tile two feet square: such are continued over all the pillars. Above these are two layers; one of coarse mortar, mixed with small red gravel, about three inches thick; and the other of finer materials between four and five inches thick; these seem to have been the floor of the room above. The pillars stand on a mortar-floor, spread over the rock. On the south side, between the middle pillars, is the vent for the smoke, about six inches square, which is at present open to the height of sixteen inches. Here is also an anti-chamber, exactly of the same extent with the *hypocaust*, with an opening in the middle into it. This is sunk near two feet below the level of the former, and is of the same rectangular figure; so that both form an exact square. This was the room allotted for the slaves who attended to heat the place; the other was the receptacle of the fuel designed to heat the room above, the *concamerata sudatio*,[1] or sweating chamber, where people were seated either in niches, or on benches placed one above the other, during the time of the operation."— *Tours in Wales*, vol. i. p. 152, ed. 1810; and Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 295. Mr. Pennant also gives an account of a second hypocaust, discovered in Watergate-street, in January, 1779, of greater extent than the former, containing two sudatories, but now entirely destroyed.

L. 243. ——— "*ye bricks of such worke lardge and square,*
In knowing Whitbyes house preserved are."]

Some of these bricks, or large square perforated tiles for conveying the steam, are now in the possession of Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart., of Oulton Park.

L. 244. "*In knowing Whitbyes house.*"] Edward Whitby, Recorder of Chester, and M.P. for that city, was the Antiquary here named. He was the son of Robert Whitby, who was Mayor of Chester in 1612, and had a brother, Thomas Whitby, Sheriff in the same year, who died before his

[1] Vitruvius, lib. v. c. 11.

brother Edward, leaving a family. Edward Whitby the Antiquary was chosen Recorder of the city of Chester 13th August, 1613, 11 Jac. I., and was elected M.P. for the same city in the following year, 12 Jac. I. He continued to sit for Chester to the time of his death, which took place April 8, 1639, at the Bache. He was connected by family marriages with the Gamuls, Alderseys, and other respectable Chester gentry; and it is mentioned by Mr. Ormerod that among the MSS. of the Randle Holmes in the British Museum, "are several of his papers relating to Cheshire antiquities, in a hand generally illegible." His Will bears date 17th June, 1633, in which he appoints his wife Alice Whitby and Thomas Branand, Esq. his Executors, by whom it was proved the 29th April, 1639; and mention is made in it of his estate, capital messuage, manor, or lordship of Bach, &c. &c. Bache Hall, or The Beach, as it is now called, the "house" or mansion here referred to, in which Mr. Whitby resided, and "preserved" his collection of antiquities, was garrisoned by the Parliament, and destroyed during the siege of Chester. It was pleasantly situated about a mile from that city, above a rocky valley from which the place took its name, Bach being the Saxon denomination of a valley. — See Ormerod's *Hist. Chesh.* vol. i. p. 187, and vol. ii. p. 423.

L. 249. "*Of bucks and does,*"] *i. e.* friars and nuns.

L. 249. "*peeled,*"] *i. e.* bare, shaven, alluding to the shaven heads of friars.

L. 252. "*molaes,*"] *i. e.* false conceptions. See Facciolati in v. *Mola.* It is merely the Latin word borrowed, a practice common among old writers. Gouldman, in his curious *Latin and English Dictionary*, 4to, 1664, gives the term "mill" as used for such an abortion. Mola, μύλη, caro informis, seu moles carnea, in uteris concepta, a mill, a piece of flesh without shape, a hard swelling, a moon calf, &c.

L. 253. "*ye Jew Amatus.*"] John Roderigo Amato, a Portuguese physician and medical writer, of Jewish origin, flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century. He studied at Salamanca, and practised surgery in that city, and afterwards in Italy. His attachment to the Jewish faith brought him under the notice of the Inquisition, which obliged him to fly,

first to Ragusa, and afterwards to Thessalonica, where he openly professed the Jewish religion. His writings chiefly consist of a large collection of observations on physic and and surgery, entitled, "Curationum Medicinalium Centuria Septem," published separately from 1551 to 1557, a work of great learning and information. The time and place of his death are not known.

L. 253. Note. "*foing.*"] Cleansing, or making clean. Forby, in his *Vocabulary of East Anglia*, has to fie, fey, or fay, as still used in Norfolk in this sense. In Craven, to fie, or fay, now signifies to clean out, as fish-ponds or ditches. — See *Promptor. Parvul.* p. 160 and p. 175.

L. 255. "*haine.*"] This word is still provincial, meaning to exclude, as cattle from a grass field, Somersetshire, Gloucestershire. It is obviously Ang. Sax., henan or hýnan, impedire. It is equivalent here to hinder. — See concerning this word, Jamieson's *Scotch Dict.*

L. 257. "*Three miles from Chester lyes à common heath,*" &c.] This event of the defeat of the Britons and the capture and pillage of Chester, took place in 607, when Ethelfrid King of Northumbria, urged on by Ethelbert King of Kent, came to avenge the quarrel of St. Augustine, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whose jurisdiction and authority, and that of the Romish Church, the British Monks and Ecclesiastics refused to submit. "Ethelfrid," says Mr. Pennant, "was opposed by Brochwel Yscythroc, King of Powis, who collected hastily a body of men, probably depending on the intervention of Heaven, as in the case of the *victoria alleluiatica*, for that end he called to his aid one thousand two hundred religious from the great convent of Bangor, and posted them on a hill, in order that he might benefit by their prayers. Ethelfrid fell in with this pious corps, and finding what their business was, put them to the sword without mercy. He made an easy conquest of Brochwel, who, as the Saxon Chronicle informs us, escaped with about fifty men."—Pennant, vol. i. p. 162. Ed. 1810.—"Hoc anno 607, Æthelfrithus ducebat exercitum suum ad Legirciester, et ibi Britannos interfecit innumeros. Brochmail dictus est eorum dux, qui cum quinquaginta plus minus evasit."—*Chron. Sax.* 4to. 1692, p. 25. See also *Ran. Higden inter Rerum Ang. Scrip.* iii. 228; and *Bedæ Eccles. Hist.* ibid. p. 177.

L. 271. "*America, thy wofull tragedie,*
Was not more fell than this of Brittanie,
In lignage and in landguadge."

James, in his fierce and bitter enmity against the Romanists, is here of course alluding to the horrible outrages and cruelties practised by the Spaniards in the conquest of Mexico, by Fernando Cortez, and their cruel treatment of the unfortunate Emperor Montezuma, and of his officers, who were publicly burnt alive; and also in the conquest of Peru by the same nation, under the celebrated Pizarro, whose treatment of the innocent and defenceless Peruvians calls forth feelings of the most genuine pity and compassion, and has left an eternal stain of infamy on the Spanish name.—See Robertson's *Hist. of America.*

L. 274. "*From Catnys to ye Mount,*"] *i. e.* from Caithness in Scotland to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall.

L. 276. "*threape.*"] To threap, Ang. Sax., ȝreapian, or ȝreaȝian signifies to persist in a fact or argument, be it right or wrong; also to chide or censure, to blame or rebuke. But here it rather means reprovement, or punishment. See on this word Grose's *Prov. Gloss.*; Nares's *Gloss.*; and Jamieson's *Scotch Dict.*

L. 277. "*Penigent, Pendle hill, Ingleborough,*
Three such hills be not all England thorough."]

This is an old local proverb, or sort of proverbial rhyme, and may be found in Grose's *Provincial Glossary*, amongst the Yorkshire Proverbs, p. 94. Ed. 1841. 4to. Ray gives it thus:—

"Ingleborough, Pendle, and Penigent,
Are the highest hills between Scotland and Trent."
PROVERBS, p. 238, ed. 1768.

L. 277 and 279. "*I long to climb up Pendle.*"] Another excursion commences here, being the fifth.

L. 279. ——————— "*Pendle stands,*
Rownd cop, survaijing all ye wilde moore lands."]

Pendle Hill[1] is situated on the borders of Lancashire, in the northern part of the parish of Whalley, and rises about eighteen hundred feet above

[1] So called from *Pen*, or the Head.

the level of the sea. The views from the summit are very extensive, including the Irish Sea on one side, and York Minster at a distance of nearly sixty miles on the other. But notwithstanding the boast of the old proverb above, there are several hills around it of much higher elevation. Dr. Whitaker, in describing this part of the country, says—"A very singular phenomenon appears, which is this, that whereas the mineral beds of Lancashire preserve a general inclination nearly from east to west of one foot in five; and thence to one foot in seven; here on a sudden the crust of the earth appears to have undergone a violent disruption, in consequence of which the edges of the beds are thrown up into the air, and downward towards the centre of the earth. At an angle of no less than forty-five degrees to the horizon, immediately beyond this appearance, rises the huge mass of Pendle, which seems to have been thrown up by the same convulsion; and immediately to the north again, appears a surface of limestone, with its concomitant system of plants and minerals, which, had the strata to the south maintained their natural position, must have lain at a vast depth beneath. The effect of this convulsion is felt over a tract of forty miles to the north, scarcely a seam of coal being found before we arrive at Burton in Lonsdale."—See Whitaker's *Hist. Whalley*, p. 278. 3d Ed. 1818.

L. 281. "*And Malkins Toure, à little cottage, where*
Reporte makes caitive witches meete to sweare
Their homage to ye divell."]

Malkin Tower, in the Forest of Pendle, in the county of Lancaster, stood on the declivity of Pendle Hill, and was the place where, according to vulgar belief, a sort of assembly or convention of reputed witches took place on Good Friday in 1612, which was attended by seventeen pretended witches and three wizards, who were afterwards arraigned, August 18, 1612, before Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, at Lancaster, and ten of these unfortunate creatures were found guilty, and immediately put to death. The account of this may be read in Potts's "*Wonderful Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*," 4to. Lond. 1613; and reprinted in the third volume of Lord Somers's *Tracts*, 4to. 1810, with an Introduction and Notes by Sir Walter Scott, Bart.; and since then for the Chetham Society, with an admirable and masterly Preface by Mr. Crossley, who observes in a note to his Introduction, p. xlix:—

"Baines confounds Malking Tower with Hoar-stones,[1] a place rendered

[1] Hoar-stones, of which there are many in different parts of the kingdom, have been very satisfactorily proved by Mr. Hamper to be Boundary stones.

famous by the second case of pretended witchcraft in 1633, but at some distance from the first-named spot, the residence of Mother Demdike, which lies in the township of Barrowford. The witch's mansion is now, alas! no more. It stood in a field a little elevated on a brow above the building at present called Malkin Tower. The site of the house or cottage is still distinctly traceable, and fragments of the plaster are yet to be found imbedded in the boundary wall of the field. The old road to Gisburne ran almost close to it. It commanded a most extensive prospect in front, in the direction of Alkincoates, Colne, and the Yorkshire moors; while in another direction the vast range of Pendle, nearly intercepted, gloomed in sullen majesty. At the period when Mother Demdike was in being, Malkin Tower would be at some distance from any other habitation; its occupier, as the vulgar would opine —

> 'So choosing solitary to abide
> Far from all neighbours, that her devilish deedes
> And hellish arts from people she might hide,
> And hurt far off unknown whomever she envide.' "

Thomas Shadwell wrote a comedy on this subject, entitled "*The Lancashire Witches, and Tegue o' Divelly the Irish Priest*," published in 1682, 4to. and again 1691, which met with great opposition at the time, on account of the character of Tegue o' Divelly the Irish Priest. The plot was founded in some degree on these trials in 1612, and the proceedings of Old Demdike and her companions. The play, by Heywood and Broome, called "*The Late Lancashire Witches*," 4to. 1634, related to the other circumstances of pretended witchcraft, which took place in 1633.

L. 286. "*If Judges sentence*," &c.] See the side note.

L. 294. ——— "*and scarce see priest to give*
Them ghostlye counsell."]

James, though living at the time when the later trials of the witches of Pendle Forest took place, in 1633, was superior to the superstitions that then prevailed, and attributed these idle and baneful "phansies" to their right cause, the lonely and desert country in which the thinly scattered population lived, and the ignorance and want of spiritual instruction and "ghostlye counsell" under which they laboured. The large parish of Whalley had been deprived of its rich revenues by the dissolution of the Monasteries under Henry

VIII. which had swept away, with rapacious hand, the munificent fruits of piety and religious feeling, and which, says the elegant historian of this parish, "by thus diminishing the numbers of the clergy, destroyed much of that influence which near inspection and personal intercourse with the people always produces, and by impoverishing the foundations which remained, effectually prevented the introduction of learned and able preachers. For the effect was what might be expected — the inferior clergy of that and the succeeding times have been too often contemptible for their poverty among the rich, their ignorance among the refined, and their bad morals among the devout; so that from the want of a well-informed, respectable, and respected ministry, a country antecedently superstitious and stupid, has never been thoroughly evangelized to the present day." We sincerely trust that this melancholy state of things is gradually disappearing. By the building and endowment of additional churches, the multiplication of schools for the instruction of the ignorant and benighted poor, and a greater increase of general knowledge and intelligence, accompanied by purer and better conceptions of the divine agency, these ancient absurdities and debasing delusions are fast dying away. The increase also of commerce and manufactures, and of the attendant comforts and conveniences of life, gives promise of increased bodily and mental improvement, the happy effects of which are daily appearing in the progressive extinction of those horrid and fanatical superstitions which prevailed so extensively here in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and rendered this parish so celebrated in the annals of witchcraft and sorcery.

L. 295. ——— "*Churches farre doe stand*
In lay mens hands."]

Bishop Gastrell, in his *Notitia Cestriensis*, observes in his remarks on the parish of Whalley, that "The Abp. [Cranmer] in his lease of this Rect: reserves to himself and Succ: ye right of Nominating ye Vicar and all ye Curates of ye sev^ll Chappells wch are therein named, viz. Padiham, Colne, Burnley, Church, Altham, Haslingden, Bowland, Pendle, Trawden, Rossendale, and Chap. of Castle at Clithero."

The Patronage of the Chapels, however, was exercised by the Vicar of Whalley, which right was afterwards questioned by Dr. Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, but ultimately resigned in favour of the Vicar. For particulars of this contest, with some curious letters on the subject, see Whit. *Hist. of Whalley*, pp. 152 and seq. 3d Ed. 1818.

L. 296. "*In lay mens hands.*"] It is not to be understood from this that the patronage of the Churches was vested in unworthy individuals, who neglected to supply the Cures with fit and proper clerks; but that the persons who officiated were merely *laymen.*

"They scarce see *Priest.*"

These lay ministers were styled Readers, and had no orders; and it is a curious fact, which we learn from James, viz. that the larger parochial Cures of Colne, Burnley, Church, &c. were so impoverished that they could not support an educated Ecclesiastic. It is quite certain that at no time after the Reformation were the Churches of Whalley parish in "laymen's hands" as Impropriators.

It is a circumstance now too much forgotten, that the ravages of the lay Reformers of the sixteenth century stripped the poorer Churches of their ministers, and left them entirely destitute of the ordinances of religion; and that in a large proportion of the lower foundations in the remote parts of this diocese there were only Readers to be obtained, who were supported by the meagre voluntary offerings of their hearers. This state of things continued until the operation of Queen Anne's Bounty began to effect a change for the better. The following passage on this subject from Southey's *Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society*, is too interesting to be omitted:—

"An increase of clergy proportionate to the increase of the people is still wanting. But the first steps have been taken towards this necessary measure, and something has also been done towards training up a supply of clergy for those remote parts of the country where the cures are miserably poor and the peasantry are the only inhabitants. Such cures were held in these northern counties by unordained persons till about the middle of George the Second's reign, when the Bishops came to a resolution that no one should officiate who was not in orders. But, because there would have been some injustice and some hardship in ejecting the existing Incumbents, they were admitted to Deacon's orders without undergoing any examination. The person who was then Reader, as it was called, at yonder chapel in the vale of Newlands, and who received this kind of ordination, exercised the various trades of tailor, clogger, and butter-print maker." pp. 66—67, vol. ii. 1839.

It is somewhat surprising to find how many laymen were formerly admitted to officiate in the remote Chapels of the Diocese. But it ought also to be remembered, that when laymen leased the Tithes of a district, they nominated or appointed the Officiating Minister to the Church. This

was a right supposed to be vested in the individual who enjoyed the tithes; not a right in the way of privilege, but of duty and obligation. "He who has the tithes shall see that the cure of souls is supplied." Still the *Churches* would not have been in the *hands* of these *lay men*, but the original *endowments* only; whereas if the duties were performed by a Sub-deacon or a Reader, it did not follow that such functionary was in Holy Orders, but the contrary.—See Burn's *Eccles. Law*, under the head *Reader*.

L. 296. "*chappells haue no land.*"] This was a literal fact as regarded nearly every chapel in the parish of Whalley at the time when James wrote this Poem, 1636.

L. 297. "*Sir Jhon.*"] John Butterworth, Clerk, Curate of Haslingden, is mentioned in Wills and Licenses from about 1608 to 163–. But the description here given alludes rather to a class than to an individual, although the subsequent account of this person, and his forty years incumbency, would rather lead to the inference that he was a real than a fictitious character. The title of "Sir John" was merely a soubriquet for an illiterate priest, and often occurs in old writings. How late it continued to be in use, as applied to the inferior clergy, appears from this passage. The reader will find other apposite instances cited by Mr. Way, in his notes on the name John in the *Promptor. Parvul.* vol i. p. 264, as occurring from Chaucer downwards.

L. 298. "*Doe preach for foure pounds vnto Haselingdon.*"] Bishop Gastrell, enumerating the several items of the endowment of Haslingden, records, in 1719, "old allowance, 4^{l} p. an.; — added by Abp. Juxon 7^{l} 10^{s}, as appears by receipt of Curate, an. 1663." James's allusion to this pension settled upon the tithes, and afterwards augmented by a worthy Prelate, is evidently historically accurate.

L. 299. "*hegging corne.*"] Probably errat. for begging corn. Mr. Ormerod mentions that in Cheshire "a custom of *begging corn* begins three weeks before Christmas and ends on Christmas eve. The farmers in the centre of the county are all waited upon by the poor, especially those of their own township, and give generally about a quart for each member of their family; sometimes meal and flour are given in lieu of corn."—*Hist. Chesh.*

Gen. Introduct. vol. i.p. lii. It was not unfrequently the case that parish clerks claimed once a year "a bowle of corn" from each parishioner of substance in former days; and this dole might also have extended to the Curate. The Clerk of Rochdale parish, about 1692, had such a recognised privilege, which he relinquished for a money payment out of the Church rates, and the latter being now withheld, his ancient stipend has been lost.

L. 305. "*But greater wonder calls me hence.*"] The commencement of another excursion.

L. 307. ——————"*on numbers infinite*
Of fir trees," *&c.*]

Although there is hardly any timber now growing on the coast of Lancashire, remarkable only for its dreary and barren sand hills, yet it is clear that the country formerly abounded with wood, for in the moss lands near the sea, large quantities of trees, "black, broken on their rootes," are still found only a few feet from the surface, as if overthrown by some violent commotion, or sudden irruption of the sea.

L. 307.—Note.—"*a place called ye stocks in Worold..*"] The "stocks" here alluded to by the author were probably "the Meoles stocks," which were trunks of trees on the sea shore, above New Hall, now called Leasowe Castle, in Wallesey parish, in Wirral. This part of Cheshire, though now so bare of trees, was once, according to tradition, so well planted with timber as to give rise to the saying, that "a man might have gone from tree-top to tree-top from the Meoles stocks to Birkenhead;" and to another proverb of the same kind, that—

> "From Blacon Point to Hilbree,
> A squirrel might leap from tree to tree."
>
> See *Hist. Chesh.* vol. ii., p. 262.

L. 308. "*cesses.*"] i. e. probably, excavations filled with water. (So *cess*-pool.)

L. 321. "*Sarayna.*"] Torelli Sarayna, to distinguish him from others of that name, was a Doctor of Laws, but is not to be confounded with the celebrated Lelio Torelli, editor of the Pandects. His book was printed at

Verona in 1540, with the following title, "Torelli Sarayna Veronensis Leg. Doct. de Origine et Amplitudine Civitatis Veronæ. Veron. 1540." fol. It is ornamented with a fine portrait of the author, and several large woodcuts of the architecture and antiquities of that city. An Italian translation of the work by Orlando Pecetti, was published at Verona in 1586, and again in 1646, 4to. The work is also printed in the large and valuable collection by Grævius, entitled "Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Italiæ," fol. Lugd. Bax. 1704—23. Vol. 9, Pars. 7.

L. 323. "*wale,*"] or wall, i. e. wave. Sax. unda, fluctus: from the same root with Wele; or Eng., well, a fountain;—all as conveying the idea of ebullition.—See Jamieson's *Scot. Dict.*

L. 324. "*at Conyngton was found a whale,*"] Conington, a village in Huntingdonshire, not far from Stilton, was the property and residence of the friend of James, the celebrated collector, Sir Robert Cotton, Bart., who, on making an excavation for a pond, found the skeleton of a sea fish, twenty feet long, lying in perfect silt, about six feet below the surface of the ground, and on a mound above the level of the fens.

L. 324.] "*And ofte earths bossome ye rich priz'd hornes*
Of counter-poyson sea-fish vnicornes."

It is curious to find, from this passage, how late the vulgar error of the counter-poison qualities of the horn of the unicorn obtained. Few persons, however, have correctly assigned the horn to the Narwhal and not the quadruped as James does, who perhaps took the hint from his friend and fellow-traveller, Tradescant. At the King's Library at Paris, the gigantic horn, long preserved as a treasure beyond all price in the Abbey of St. Denis, and presented, we believe, by St. Louis, is still shown. There is scarcely an inventory of the plate, jewels, and treasure of the Sovereign or of great Estates, in which mention of the unicorn's horn does not occur; and we remember that even among the valuable effects of the warlike Henry the Fifth, given in the Parliamentary Rolls, it appears that he was possessed of a piece of this valued preservative.

L. 330. "*Pechora.*"] There is a town called Petchora in Russia, in the province of Riga, near to a large lake called Lake Pskovskoie. But the

author is here more probably alluding to the river Petchora, in the province of Archangel, which rises among the Oural mountains, and after a long course, and receiving several tributary streams by the way, empties itself into the Arctic sea on the north. James might possibly have visited this river in his early travels in Russia, and were his MS. "Observations" which he made on that country still in existence, they might have afforded some illustration of the author's allusion to this river Pechora.

L. 335. "*I Hubberts and Tradescants ernest prize,*"] i. e. their museums of natural curiosities.

L. 335. "*Hubberts.*"] Robert Hubbert, alias Forges, who styles himself "servant to his Majesty" Charles II., collected many natural curiosities, which he exhibited at the Mitre, near the west end of St. Paul's. A Catalogue of these was printed in 1664, with the following title, "A Catalogue of many Natural Rarities collected with great industry and cost and thirty years Travail into foreign countries, by Robert Hubert (alias Forges) Gent., Sworn Servt to his Matie, and daily to be seen at ye place called ye Musick house at ye Mitre near ye West End of St Paul's Church." They were afterwards sold, and bought by Mr. Colville for £30, and given by him to the Royal Society. — See Bagford's MSS. in the British Museum, Harl. Coll. 5898, fol. 41.

L. 335 "*Tredescants.*"] John Tradescant, celebrated for his knowledge of botany, and collection of natural curiosities, was a native of Holland. It is not known when he first came into England, but in 1629 he was gardener to King Charles I., and resided at South Lambeth in Surrey. He had travelled much in different parts of Europe, and, as appears from the side note, had been accompanied by James in some of his journeys. He was one of the first persons in this country who formed a collection of natural and artificial curiosities, and was followed by his son in the same pursuit. An account of this museum was printed in 1656, entitled "Museum Tradescantianum; or, a Collection of Rarities preserved at South-Lambeth neer London, by John Tradescant," 12mo. Lond. 1656, to which are prefixed two portraits of the father and son, by W. Hollar, and a plate of arms of the Tradescants; the original paintings of which are now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. John Tradescant the younger died in 1662, and either sold or bequeathed the collection to Elias Ashmole, who at his death left it, with his own additions, to the University of Oxford, and thus founded the

Ashmolean Museum. There is a curiously ornamented monument in memory of the family in Lambeth Church yard, erected by the widow of the younger Tradescant.

L. 339. "*At Norton Abbye now ye Brookses land*
Twice big as life Saint Christopher doth stand."]

In the garden at Norton Priory in Cheshire, the seat of Sir Richard Brooke, Bart., is an ancient gigantic figure of St. Christopher, carrying the infant Jesus, which is given in Buck's View of the Priory taken in 1727, and of which there is also a neatly engraved vignette in Ormerod's *Hist. Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 505.

L. 341. "*One giant stone.*"] Villegas, in his *Lives of the Saints*, observes of St. Christopher, — "He was very bigge of body, and talle of stature, and carried in his hand a great staffe agreeable vnto his strength. . . . . Before his death the holy Saint made his prayer vnto God, and desired him humbly, that in the place where his body was buried, or any part thereof should be, that tempests and earthquakes might doe no harme. This (as it seemeth) is the cause that the picture of S. Christopher is ordinarily in euery Church, more than the pictures of other saints; and though his body or his reliques cannot be in euery place, yet at the least they set his Image there, that they may resort thither in time of such necessitie, and be deliuered from the rage of tempests, stormes, and earthquakes, by the merits and intercession of this holy Saint. Therefore the Christians depaint him in euery Church and place, that all men may enjoy that fauour."

"Neither neede we to wonder, if S. Christopher were great of stature, for S. Augustine in the 15. booke, 9 chap. *De ciuitate Dei*, saith, that in ancient times, men were very taule. Plinie in the 7. booke, 2 chap. saith there be found men in Scithia of 50 cubits. S. Isidore affirmeth, that the Macrobii, people of India, are 12 foote high. Strabo in the 7 booke saith, that in the sepulchre of Antheus, was found his body, which being measured was of 60 cubits."—See *The Lives of Saints*, by Alph. Villegas, 3d edit. 4to, 1630. p. 510.

L. 341. ———— "*and in Hale chappel wee*
Againe him painted with Saint George do see
In ye East windowe."]

The present chapel at Hale having been rebuilt so lately as 1758, there

exist no remains of the painted East window, containing these figures of St. George and St. Christopher; but there can be little doubt that this window was originally placed there by Adam Ireland, Lord of Hutte and of Hale, (in right of his wife, Avena, the daughter of Sir Robert Holland of Hale,) who built a portion of the original chapel at Hale, and was living in 1315.

L. 343. ——— "*Hylin lett thy penne*
Once more from hence proue y' theis shows were men."]

Dr. Peter Heylin, an eminent divine of the Church of England, of considerable learning and industry, and the author of numerous works which are now rising again into esteem, was born at Burford in Oxfordshire in 1599, educated at Oxford, made Chaplain in ordinary to Charles I., from whom he received valuable preferment, and was much noticed and employed by Archbishop Laud. During the ascendancy of the parliamentary party he was stripped of all his preferment, deprived of his curious and valuable library, and reduced to great poverty and distress. But on the restoration of Charles II. he recovered all his various spiritualities, which, however he did not long enjoy, but died in 1662 in the sixty-second year of his age. In 1631 Dr. Heylin published "The Historie of that most famous Saint and Souldier of Christ Jesus, St. George of Cappadocia; asserted from the Fictions of the Middle Ages of the Church and Opposition of the present, Lond. 1631," 4to., in which he endeavoured to prove, that such an individual really had existed in opposition to the general belief that he was an imaginary being. A second edition, corrected and enlarged, but with some omissions, was published in 1633, 4to.

Heylin had the misfortune to fall under the censure of Dr. Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, at that time a popular man with the puritanical party, who had, however, some time before, published a Latin Lecture on the Sabbath, and advocated opinions therein not much in unison with those maintained by the Puritans. When the Proclamation generally called the *Book of Sports* was re-issued, a great clamour was raised against Charles I. and Laud, of which Heylin, as Chaplain to both, had his share. To vindicate the proceedings of the King and Archbishop, and to lessen Prideaux's influence with the Sabbatarians and Puritans, Heylin translated Prideaux's Lecture upon the Sabbath, and added a pungent Preface, which answered the objects that he had in view. This was in 1633, and it is not improbable that James

had this controversy in his mind when he, with much dry sarcasm, makes allusion to "Saint Sunday," in line 346. A full account of Heylin, and of his controversies with Prideaux and Archbishop Williams, with a copious notice of his numerous works, will be found in Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* v. iii. p. 552. 4to. ed. Bliss. See also Newcourt's *Rep. Eccles.* vol. i. p. 925; and Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 90. part ii.[1]

[1] The editor may perhaps be pardoned for reprinting from the *Ath. Oxon.* vol. iii. p. 568, the following copy of verses, which appear to him to possess considerable merit. They were written by Heylin on the occasion of presenting his intended wife, Mrs. Letitia Highgate, of Middlesex, with a very richly gilded copy of the Holy Scriptures: —

Could this outside beholden be
  To cost and cunning equally;
Or were it such as might suffice
  The luxury of curious eyes;
Yet would I have my dearest look
Not on the cover, but the book.

If thou art merry, here are airs;
  If melancholy, here are prayers;
If studious, here are those things writ,
  Which may deserve thy ablest wit;
If hungry, here is food divine;
If thirsty, nectar, heavenly wine!

Read then, but first thyself prepare
  To read with zeal, and mark with care;
And when thou read'st what here is writ,
  Let thy best practise second it;
So twice each precept read shall be,
First in the book, and next in thee.

Much reading may thy spirits wrong,
  Refresh them therefore with a song;
And, that thy musick praise may merit,
  Sing David's Psalms with David's spirit;
That as thy voice doth pierce men's ears,
So shall thy prayer and vows the spheres.

Thus read, thus sing, and then to thee
  The very earth a heav'n shall be;

L. 344. "*prooue y^t theis shews were men,*"] i. e. that these saints really had an existence, and were not merely imaginary beings.

L. 345. "*Wickham.*"] There are several places of this name in England, so that it is difficult to ascertain to which of them James here refers. We fear, also, that the painted glass mentioned in the side note as adorning "the south casement of Wickham church," has not escaped the destructive hand of the Puritans, like the Middleton window, but perished in the great Rebellion; otherwise such a personification of St. Sunday would be a fact of a novel and interesting nature, and worthy of further investigation.

L. 345. "*nesh,*"] soft, tender, delicate, but here perhaps used in the sense of nice, scrupulous, unwilling to come. This is a Lancashire word, and also still retained in the central counties, but generally in the first named sense.

L. 346. "*Saint Sunday.*"] This is a very remarkable passage in the poem, and the first time we have ever heard of the personification of St. Sunday, who is completely unknown to hagiographers. There is no doubt the day was converted into a saint in the same manner as St. Cross, St. Trinity, or St. Saviour, now generally called *Holy* Cross, *Holy* Trinity, &c.; although examples of the former mode of expression are yet found in some old places, as at York and Winchester. It is evident that the author considers Saint Sunday quite as apocryphal as St. Christopher or St. George.

It is possible that Saint Sunday may be St. Dominica. There appear to to have been two females of that name. One of them, a virgin, was born at Carthage, and flourished about the time of Theodosius the great; she visited Constantinople with four other virgins, and was baptized by Nectarius. She died in 475; her day was January 8. It is a singular coincidence that with her were canonized S. *Georgius* Chozebites, and S. Æmilianus.—See Zedler.

L. 346. "*a lesh,*"] i. e. a leash — three; viz. St. Christopher, St. George, and St. Sunday.

If thus thou readest, thou shalt find
  A private heaven within thy mind;
And singing thus before thou die
Thou sing'st thy part to those on high.

L. 348. "*Or els he feares ye strong Maypolian band.*"] The meaning of this line appears to be, that Heylin, the undaunted and haughty opponent of the Puritans, would be considered afraid of that body — the vigorous enemies of Maypoles and Sunday sports — unless he vindicated opinions and usages which they rejected.[1]

L. 350. "*At Heywood hall.*"] Heywood Hall, in the township of Heap, the residence, at the time of James's visit, of one of the most ancient families in the parish of Bury, is situated about half a mile to the north-east of the populous village of the same name. It is beautifully embosomed in wood, consisting of lofty beech, oak, chesnut, and other trees, on a rising elevation above the valley of the river Roach, which flows not far from the grounds. The house, which is partly covered with ivy, has been entirely modernized, so that with the exception of an old gable, and some portion of the offices, little remains visible of the more ancient edifice. The interior is replete with every comfort, and surrounded with extensive gardens and pleasure grounds, and is at present occupied by James Fenton, Jun., Esq.

L. 350. "*trading Rachdale.*"] In post mortem inquisitions in the time of Henry VIII., "Walk Mills," or Fulling Mills, frequently occur; and in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., the woollen trade of the parish of Rochdale was very considerable. It is supposed to have been originally introduced by Flemish emigrants in the time of Edward III.

L. 351. ——————"*much I owe*
Of praise and thanks to ye where'er I goe."

James continues here to speak with great affection of this place, and of the family of that name, who then owned it. From what motives he

[1] Since the note on Saint Sunday was printed, the Editor has had his attention called by a friend to a singular corroborative evidence of the supposed existence of such a Saint as is in vain sought for in the Calendar, which is afforded by the letter of Oliver Cromwell to Speaker Lenthall, written from Dublin, September, 1649, in which he recites the sanguinary details of the capture of Drogheda by the Parliamentary army, and how a body of the besieged garrison took refuge in a strong round tower next the gate called *St. Sunday's*.

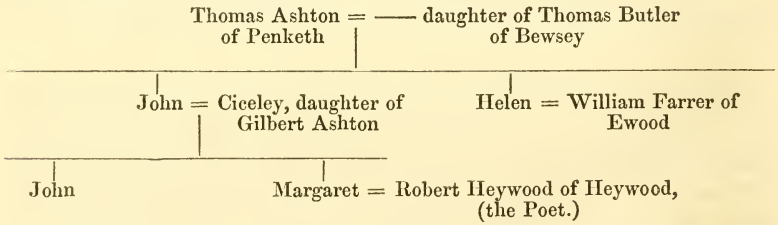
This is curious, and it is not improbable that this unknown Saint may yet be found in Ireland.

was induced to visit it, or to become so tenderly attached to it, is still involved in obscurity. The editor is unable to impart any further light on this subject, beyond the conjecture thrown out in the note on line 34; unless the following information may be thought by our readers to bear further on this point.

William Farrer, of Ewood Hall, in the parish of Halifax, Esq., married *Thomasine* daughter of *Richard James*, of *Portsmouth*, Esq., and had a daughter, who died January 10, 1660. Their son, John, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of the Rev. James Creswick, B.D., of Beal, near Ferry-bridge, (whose manuscript *Memoirs* are named by Thoresby,) and died 1722-3, leaving a son and heir, James, who married at Rochdale in 1696, Mary, daughter and co-heiress of John Brearley, of Rochdale, Gent., and dying suddenly December 18th, 1718, left a son, James, Lord of the Manor of Wortley in 1764. His representative is the present Walter Hawkesworth Fawkes, of Farnley, Esq.

Isaac Farrer, Gent., a younger son of John Farrer, of Ewood, Esq., Justice of Peace, by his third wife, Judith, daughter of Edward Oldfield, of High Oldfield, in the parish of Halifax, Gent., married at Rochdale, Patience, third daughter of Thomas Buckley, of Little Howarth, Gent., third son, and eventually heir general, of Abel Buckley, of Buckley, Esq. Isaac Farrer died at Rochdale in 1708, and his widow in 1721.

The Buckleys were connected by marriage with their neighbours, the Howarths of Howarth; and several of the other families mentioned by James in his Poem were either nearly or remotely allied to them. The following slight Pedigree will show that a connection also existed between the Farrers of Ewood and the Heywoods; but their precise degree of relationship to the author of the *Iter* still remains to be discovered.



L. 357. "*Amongst y^e Dingles and y^e Apennines.*"] These words appear to refer to the mountainous district of country, diversified by romantic vallies

and dells, (commonly called dingles,) lying between the Ribble and the Mersey. The description, however, is peculiarly applicable to the scenery in the neighbourhood of Heywood and Rochdale.

L. 359. ——————— "*When all England is alofte*
Then happie they whose dwelling's in Christ's crofte.
And where thincke you this crofte of Christ should be
But midst Ribchesters Ribble and Mercy?"]

This old rhyming proverb is not given in Ray's Collection, nor in that of Grose.

Like some others of the same kind, it serves for different counties besides Lancashire. In Yorkshire it is given thus: —

"When all the world shall be aloft,
Then Hallamshire shall be God's croft," &c.

L. 363. "*My passadge hether I not liste to tell.*"] The author here starts off to the subject of another excursion which he had made.

L. 364. "*Though then I sawe Saint Anne and Buckstones well.*"] There appears to be little doubt that the warm springs at Buxton were known to the Romans, and that the lead mines also in this neighbourhood were worked by them, as alluded to by James in the side note near the bottom of page 11. The warm baths at Buxton began to be be in much repute in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and have continued so ever since.

It is unnecessary here to say anything of the well known wonders of the Peak, of which this enumeration by James is both an early and curious notice.

L. 370. "*mole-warps,*"] i. e. moles. It is so used by Shakespeare and other old writers. Thus Hotspur, in the first part of Henry IV. iii. 1 —

"Sometimes he angers me
With telling me of the *mold-warp* and the ant."

L. 371. "*wall-tiding,*"] i. e. wave-tiding. See Wall, a wave. Jamieson's *Scotch Dict.* This alludes, of course, to the ebbing and flowing well near Tideswell. See note on line 323.

L. 372. "*His worships breetch.*"] We cannot but admire the delicacy with which James here alludes to the popular name of the celebrated cavern at Castleton.

L. 375. "*Chetwyn.*"] Sir Walter Chetwynd, of Ingestrie, in the county of Stafford, Knt., was the eldest son of Sir William Chetwynd, Knt., who died June 14, 1612, by his first wife, Atalanta Huick, of Stillested, in the county of Kent. Sir Walter Chetwynd was sheriff of Staffordshire in 1607, and married, first, Mary, daughter and heiress of John Molyns, of the county of Somerset, Esq., by whom he had no issue; secondly, the Lady Catherine Hastings, eldest daughter of George, fourth Earl of Huntingdon, and widow of Sir Edward Unton, by whom he had two sons, Walter, his heir, and John the father of the first Lord Chetwynd.

Walter Chetwynd, of Ingestrie, Esq., his eldest son and heir, married Frances, daughter of Edward Haslerigg, Esq. She survived her husband, and married, secondly, Sir Wolstan Dixie, Knt., and died in 1686. This Walter Chetwynd was succeeded by his only son, Walter Chetwynd, of Ingestrie, Esq., the celebrated antiquary, (Bishop Nicholson's "venerandæ antiquitatis cultor maximus,") who rebuilt the Church at Ingestrie in 1677, and died without issue 21st March, 1692-3.

We are not aware that any relationship or connection existed between Sir Walter Chetwynd, James's "hoast of honour," and his other friends mentioned in the poem. It does not, however, follow, that anything more than friendship or acquaintance should have existed, to have brought them together; and doubtless, at the table of his friend Sir Robert Cotton, James would meet with many learned and distinguished individuals, who would honour him for his erudition, and, from his knowledge of foreign countries, find him an agreeable companion.

L. 375. "*Crewe.*] This was Sir Randulph Crewe, who purchased the Manor and Lordship of Crewe, about the year 1610, from the heirs of Sir Christopher Hatton, Knt., and built the present hall at Crewe, which was completed about 1636. The Lordship of Crewe had from a very early period been the seat and inheritance of a family of this name, Henry de Criwa, or Crewe, being an attesting witness to a deed executed so early as the middle of the twelfth century. Joan, eldest daughter and coheiress of Thomas de Crewe, who died 21st Edw. I. the last heir male of the elder

branch of the family, married Richard Praers of Barthomley, whose granddaughter, Elizabeth, conveyed Crewe, by her marriage, to Sir Robert Fulleshurst, Knt., mentioned in page 24, from whose descendants it was purchased by Sir Christopher Hatton, Knt., afterwards Lord Chancellor in 1578.

Sir Randulph Crewe, the restorer of this branch of the family to the seat of their ancestors, was born in 1558, bred up to the study of the law, in which he was so successful as to be appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, which office, however, he held for only two years. He attained the age of 87 years, and dying January 13th, 1645, was buried at Barthomley.

L. 377. "*To ye young heyre of Speke.*"] This would probably be Edward, son of William Norris, Esq. and Margaret, his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Salisbury, Knt., of Chawens, in the county of Denbigh. He died early in life in 1664, having married Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas Powell, Knt., of Horsley, in the county of Denbigh; and leaving no issue male surviving, the estate passed to his brother Thomas, born September 23, 1618, and died July 6, 1700.

L. 377. "*In Stevens right.*"] Alan le Noreis, or Norris, of Sutton, in the county of Lancaster, with whom the Pedigree begins, occurs in a deed, sans date, but probably as old as the middle of the twelfth century; and this reference no doubt is to King Stephen. The sixth in descent from Alan le Norris was Sir William, who obtained the Manor of Speke by marriage with Jane, daughter and heiress of Sir John Molyneux, of Sefton, Knt. This Alan le Norris might be the "old Sire" who fought at the Battle of the Standard.

L. 378. "*Whose old Sire did ye standards battle fight.*"] The battle of the Standard was fought at Northallerton, in Yorkshire, on the 22d August, 1138, in the reign of King Stephen, when David, King of Scotland, who had advanced into Yorkshire in support of the title of his niece, the Empress Matilda, the only legitimate child of Henry I., to the throne of England, against the usurpation of Stephen, was totally defeated by some of the powerful Barons of the North, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the English. It was called the battle of the *Standard* from a high crucifix erected by the English on a waggon, and carried along with the army as a military ensign.

L. 379. "*And from whose house and name of late were seene*
Two chiefs of warre vnto our mayden Queene."]

One of these would be Sir William Norris, of Speke, K.B. at the coronation of King James the First. He married Helen, daughter of Sir William Molyneux, of Sefton, Knt., by whom he had issue seven sons and four daughters, and died about 1626. The other was doubtless Sir John Norris, Knt., a brave and accomplished General in the reign of Elizabeth. He was the second son of Henry Norris, of Wytham, in the county of Berks, summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Norris, of Rycot, in the county of Oxford, by Margaret, daughter of John Lord Williams, of Thame. He is said to have had three horses killed under him in one day, whilst fighting abroad in the Netherlands. He was sent over to Ireland as Commander in the reign of Elizabeth, and died there unmarried in 1597, of grief and disappointment at not having been appointed Deputy of Ireland on the recalling of Sir William Russell, Knt. The Earl of Abingdon is the present representative of the Rycot branch of the Norris family. — See Torre's MSS. vol. v. p. 767, folio, and Fuller's *Worthies*, Lond. 1662, folio, p. 335.

L. 381. "*To Rigby of ye Hut.*"] We are not confident in our conjectures respecting this person, but we believe him to be Col. Alexander Rigby, the Parliamentary Commander, and friend of Col. Assheton, also visited by James. He was the eldest son and heir of Alexander Rigby, of Wigan and Peel, in the county of Lancaster, Esq., by Alice, daughter of Leonard A—Shaw or Ashaw, of the Shaw, in the county of Lancaster, Esq. He was born in the year 1592, (the same year that James was born,) being æt. 21 at the time the Visitation of Lancashire was taken in 1613, and was brought up to the profession of the law; but, in those spirit-stirring times, exchanged his pen for a sword, and became a distinguished commander in the service of the Parliament, and was actively employed at the siege of Lathom House in 1644. He represented Wigan in Parliament in 1640, and married Lucy, sister to Thomas Legh, of Adlington, Esq. He was the elder brother of George Rigby, of Peel, Esq., to whom the estate of Peel appears to have descended, who was clerk of the Peace for the county of Lancaster, married Beatrix, eldest daughter of William Hulton, of Hulton Park, Esq., and rebuilt the Hall at Peel in 1634. From the Rigbys the estate passed into the family of Kenyon, by the marriage of Roger Kenyon with Alice Rigby, and is now the property of the Right Honourable George, second

Lord Kenyon. According to Dugdale, Col. Alexander Rigby was of "Middleton in Goosnargh," near Preston, and died in 1650. We are unable to state why he is called "of ye Hut," which at that time belonged to the family of the Irelands. — See Ormerod's *Civil War Tracts*, p. 351.

L. 382. "*We plentie had of Clarett.*"] "Port wine was usually called Claret in the North, (in 1691,) as it is still by the common people." See Whitaker's *Whalley*, p. 478, third edition.

L. 383. "*To Sander Butterworth whoe ledd mee cleane,*" &c.] This was Alexander Butterworth, second son of Alexander Butterworth, Esq. (who died in 1623), by his wife, Grace, daughter of William Asheton, of Clegg Hall, in the parish of Rochdale, Esq., and co-heiress of her sole brother, Dr. Theophilus Asheton, a Lawyer. He was of the ancient family of Butterworth, of Butterworth in the parish of Rochdale, seated there early in the reign of Stephen, who removed in 2. Edward I. to Belfield Hall, adjacent to the banks of the Beile, in the same parish, (which had formerly been part of the possessions of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.) He was baptised at Rochdale 10th April, 1597, and was dead in 1664-5. The last heir male of this ancient family was Alexander Butterworth, of Belfield Hall, Esq., High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1675. He married Sarah, daughter of William Horton, of Barkisland, in the county of York, Esq., by whom he had several children, all of whom he survived; and dying in 1728, æt. 88 years, devised his large estates in Lancashire and Cheshire, and the whole of his personalty, to his agent, Mr. Richard Townley, of Rochdale, a stranger in blood, (said to be a descendant of the Townleys of Royle, near Burnley,) and great grandfather of Richard Greaves Townley, of Fulbourn, Esq., late M.P. for the county of Cambridge, by whom they are now possessed. Colonel Richard Townley, in the year 1752, repaired and new fronted the old Hall of Belfield; which, however, is now deserted by its owners, and has been for some years occupied by wealthy and respectable tenants.

L. 384. "*Through all ye cataracts of Healo dene.*"] The hamlet of Healey (Highfield), in the township of Spotland, is remarkable for its deep and woody dingles, or ravines, in which the Spodden "struggles for its passage through a channel of excavated rock;" and forms by the way several small falls, or "cataracts," before it empties itself into the Roach. In this hamlet,

placed on an elevated site, immediately above one of these woody dingles, and commanding an unbounded prospect over the surrounding country, as far as the forest of Delamere, stands Healey Hall, the abode, for a long period, of the ancient family of the Chadwicks, and still the occasional residence of its present proprietor, Hugo Mavesyn Chadwick, of Mavesyn Ridware, in Staffordshire, Esq. The house, though standing high on the skirts of the hills, is well sheltered by growing plantations, which, "added to the natural beauties of its hanging woods, rocks, and rude cascades, form some delightful scenery on the romantic banks of the Spodden."

The family of the Chadwicks were nearly connected with the author's friends, the Heywoods; John Chadwick, of Healey Hall, Esq., having, in 1551, married Agnes, daughter of James Heywood, of Heywood, gent. He died in 1615, having attained the patriarchal age of 103, and is buried in Rochdale Church. Robert Chadwick of Healey Hall, Esq., also married Alice, daughter of Edward Butterworth, of Belfield, gent., in 1581, who was the aunt of Alexander Butterworth mentioned in the preceding note, which may account for the ramble commemorated in the Poem, had not the splendid scenery of Healey Deyne, which retains some of its ancient and romantic features even in our day, been a sufficient inducement for the visit.

L. 385. "*To Robin Howorth from whose familie*
Great Noble peers derive their progenie."]

This was Robert Howorth of Howorth, Esq., in the township of Hundersfield or Honorsfeld, in the eastern portion of the parish of Rochdale, on the borders of Yorkshire, descended from an ancient family seated there in the time of Henry II., who bestowed certain lands in Howord, in the vill of Honorsfeld, upon Osbert Howord de Howord, for his good and faithful services, and made him Master of the Royal Buck Hounds. Robert Howorth was the twenty-second in lineal descent from this Osbert de Howord, whose name appears in a deed without date, but undoubtedly of the time of Henry II. He was son and heir of Edmund Howarth, of Howarth Hall, Esq., and was baptized at Rochdale in 1601. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Lieut. Col. Alvery Copley, of Batley, in the county of York, and was buried with his ancestors in the chancel of Rochdale Church, March 28, 1639. His only surviving son, Robert, dying in London unmarried in 1654, (having been called to the Bar a short time previously,) the estates reverted to Theophilus

Howarth, M.D., of Manchester,[1] whose grandson, the Rev. Radclyffe Howarth, D.C.L., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxon., (being Founder's kin,) died unmarried in December, 1768, and by Will, dated 13th October, 1767, devised his lands in the parish of Rochdale, not to the daughters of his aunt, but to Miss Elizabeth Sams, a descendant of the Buckleys, of Buckley, a lady apparently unconnected by any near ties except those of friendship, by whom the Howarth estate was sold to John Entwisle, of Foxholes, Esq., grandfather of the present possessor.

L. 386. "*Great Noble peers derive their progenie.*"] Dr. Whitaker, in his *Hist. Whalley*, p. 544–5, 3d edit., has entered very minutely into this supposition by James of the Ducal family of the Howards being derived from the Howards or Howarths of Howarth Hall, in Honorsfeld, and has shown that Sir William Dugdale is unable to bring forward any proof of the existence of such a connection. Dugdale's allusion to this subject, and to Richard James, B.D., is in the following words, transcribed from the original:—

"Venerabilis viri Richardi Jamesii, Vectensis, de præclarissimorum et honoratissimorum Howardorum ortu et origine judicium et testimonium. *Iter Lancastrense* a venerabile viro Richardo Jamesio, Vectensi, sacro sanctæ Theologiæ Bac: è Coll. Corporio Christi Oxon. Socio seniori, nec non celeberrimi Antiquarii Roberti Cottoni Militis Aurati amicissimo, heroico metro compositum (Añ servatoris millesimo sexen^{mo} trigesimo septimo) prænobiles et honoratissimos Howardorum duces comites Barones ab Howardorum de Howard Hall (in Honorsfield in Parochiâ de Rachdale in Com. Lancastriæ) ortum et illustrem stemmatis originem deduxisse contestatur,

[1] Theophilus Howarth, M.D., of Howarth Hall, was baptized at Rochdale 2d January, 1613–14; entered of Magdalen College, Cambridge, M.D., July 2, 1661; married Mary, daughter of Henry Ashurst, of Ashurst, in the county of Sussex, Esq.; and was a resident in Manchester, where he was an able and active Magistrate, and much esteemed by the Royalist party. He died on the 9th of April, 1671, at Manchester, where he had distinguished himself by his fidelity to the cause of Charles I., and was buried on the 12th of the same month, within the Vaults of the Collegiate Church. He was an attesting witness to the Will of Humphrey Chetham, December 8, 1651, and had doubtless attended that good and charitable person in his last illness.—See the *Life of Adam Martindale*, p. 193, and Mr. Parkinson's Note on the same.

Will. Dugdale Arm. Norroij Rex Armor: heroicos Richardi Jamesii versus perlegit cujus sententiæ prefatus W. D. subscripto propriâ manu."

In the possession of John Elliott, Esq., of Rochdale, there exists another document, in English, to the same effect, in the handwriting of Dugdale, a copy of which was inserted, by Mr. Elliott's permission, in Baines's *Hist. of Lancash.*, vol. ii. p. 643; and as it varies a little from the former statement, and also mentions the place of custody of the original MS. of the *Iter Lancastrense* at that period, it is here added:—

"Whereas I, William Dugdale, esquire, Norroy Principall Herald, and Kinge of Armes of the Northerne parts of England, or the further side of Trent, have seene and read a MS. entituled, 'Iter Lancastrense,' or the 'Lancashire Itinerary,' written by Richard James, born in the Isle of Wight, Bachelor of Divinity, and one of the Senior Fellows of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford; a diligent researcher into, and a great lover of ancient records, an intimate acquaintance and friend of the famous and learned antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, Knt., which he writ in heroicke verse, with large marginal notes, in the year of our Lord God 1637:—I doe hereby make known to all the Nobility and Gentry of England that the 'Iter Lancastrense' doth attest and beare record that the Illustrious Dukes, the Honourable Earls, the Noble Barons, and Knights of the renowned family of the Howards, did derive their originall from the ancient progeny of the Howords of Howord Hall, in the vill, or territorie of Howord, in Honorsfeld, in the parish of Ratchdale, and county of Lancaster; which said MS. being by me, William Dugdale aforesaid, perused, and nowe in the custody of Theophilus Howard of Howard, Doctor of Physicke, and one of the candidates of the Colledge of Physitians in London,—I, for record and testimony of these things above specified, sett to my hand and seale of my office, the 8th of April, 1665; 17th of Chas. II.

"WILLM. DUGDALE,
NORROY KING OF ARMES."

It is somewhat remarkable that no account exists in the Heralds' College respecting this instance of what Whitaker terms "the capacious faith" of Dugdale; nor is there any notice of the Lancashire Howarths in his account of the ducal house of Howard, in *The Baronage*. A short pedigree, not very carefully deduced, is the only notice of this truly ancient family now remaining in the former depository.

L. ibid, Note. "*Howorth castle.*"] There is no memorial of such a place in Rochdale, unless the Howarths were the descendants of the old Lords of Rochdale, who are supposed to have occupied the *Castle* in Castleton, which is very doubtful, and not on record.

L. ibid, Note. "*Thomæ de Haworth.*"] Thomas de Haworth, son and heir of William de Haworth, of Haworth Hall, in the parish of Rochdale, by his wife Alice, daughter of Hugh del Holte, in Butterworth, in the parish aforesaid.

Thomas Haworth married, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, whilst yet a minor, Margaret, daughter of —— Mylne, of Mylne House, in Hundersfield; but the marriage does not appear to have been solemnized, and was probably only a contract afterwards annulled.

He married secondly, Annette, daughter of William de Butterworth, of Butterworth, in the parish of Rochdale, a female related in the second degree to Margaret; and being "sybbe," the marriage was pronounced invalid. By this wife he had a son, Hugh de Haworth, living in 1448 — 1461.

He married thirdly, during the lives of his first two wives, at Heptonstall Church, in the county of York, Sir John de Bury being the officiating Priest, Isabella, daughter of William de Butterworth, and sister of Annette aforesaid, ante October 16, 1416, and by her had issue Edmund and four other sons, and a daughter, married to Elias de Deurden.

In the 30th Henry VI., 1452, considerable litigation ensued between Hugh de Haworth and Edmund de Haworth, respecting the inheritance of their father's lands, he being alive, but not knowing which son was his legal heir. To legalize his second marriage, he obtained a divorce from his third wife, and declared that Hugh was his right heir. But afterwards, when he came to lie upon his death-bed, he acknowledged, in the presence of many witnesses, that Edmund was his lawful heir, and that he devised his lands to him. This was on the 13th March, 1461.

The whole of these legal proceedings, and the subsequent very curious disputes between Edmund and his cousin Bernard de Haworth, son of James, next brother of Thomas de Haworth, who claimed the lands as heir at law, and was living 9th Edw. IV. 1470, are still amongst the Haworth Evidences.

There seems to be little doubt that this "parliamentane pardon of Henrye ye sixts time," mentioned in the side note, had some connection with these

extraordinary marriages, which even at that period excited a very strong feeling of disapprobation throughout the country.

Perhaps it ought to be added, that after a variety of contrary opinions had been pronounced, both by ecclesiastics and laymen, Edmund de Haworth succeeded as heir of his father.

L. 387. "*To Roman Nowell.*"] Roger Nowell, Esq., of Read Hall, near Clitheroe, baptised March 13, 1605, a colonel in Charles the First's service, deputy-lieutenant, and a justice of the peace for the county of Lancaster. He married Dorothy, daughter of John Holte, of Stubley Hall, near Rochdale, Esq., and, dying at the advanced age of ninety years, was buried at Whalley, May 25, 1695. He was one of the twenty gentlemen of this county, who, for their loyalty, were returned, in 1660, as qualified to be made Knights of the Royal Oak, his estate being estimated at £1,000 per annum. The arms of the family are engraved in Whitaker's *Hist. Whalley*, p. 264, edit. 3d. His marriage with Dorothy Holte would bring him into affinity with the Heywoods, through the Greenhalghs, and Holtes of Ashworth.

L. 387. "*Roman Nowell.*"] For the addition of the word *Roman*, as applied to Nowell, see the marginal note at the end of the poem, and the reference to Pliny.

L. ibid, Note. "*ye three cups.*"] "The word Nowell, or Noel, a corruption of Natalis, meaning *Deus nobiscum*, indicates the festival of our Lord's Nativity, and likewise a cry of joy appropriate to the season, and by degrees came to signify a convivial cry in general; in which sense it appears to have been in use as late as the days of Chaucer.[1]

Of the occasion on which the name was assumed, or imposed perhaps on some one eminent for his festive talents, there is no tradition; but whether the Christmas cry, or the Christmas cup, like the wassail bowl, (et calices

[1] "And drinketh of his bugle horn the wine :
Before him stant braune of the tusked swine,
And *nowel* crieth every lvsty man."
See Tyrwhitt's edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, line 11,567, 4to, Oxford, 1798 ; and Mr. Tyrwhitt's note upon it.

poscit majores,) were the distinct meaning, there is no doubt that the covered cups in the family arms allude to the circumstance; and as heraldry delights in such devices or parodies, three similar cups in the escutcheon of Butler unquestionably allude to the name and office of a butler or cupbearer."

The Nowells probably were followers of the Lacies out of Normandy. Robert Noell is the first that appears in Lancashire, being the last subscribing witness but one to the memorable grant by Roger de Lacy of the Villa de Tunleia to Geoffrey, son of Robert, Dean of Whalley.—See Archdeacon Churton's *Life of Dr. Alexander Nowell*, 8vo, pp. 1, 2.

L. 387. "*Ashton of Penkith.*"] Thomas Asheton, of Penketh, son and heir of Hamlet Asheton, of Blakebrook, by his wife Christiana, eldest daughter and coheiress of John Asheton, of Penketh, gent., which estate her son Thomas inherited in her right. He married Catherine, daughter of Robert Brocke, of Upton, in Cheshire; and was nephew of Robert Heywood, of Heywood, the elder, who had married Margaret, the younger daughter and coheiress of the above John Asheton, of Penketh, gent. Thomas Asheton, of Penketh, our author's friend, was one of those who suffered for their loyalty to King Charles I.; and was fined in the sum of £192. 8s. 4d. A pedigree of this family, of eight descents, occurs in the last *Visitation of Lancashire.* The Manor or Lordship of Penketh is situated in the parish of Prescot, and came into the possession of the Ashetons by the marriage of Richard Asheton with Margaret, sole daughter and heiress of Richard Penketh, of Penketh. It is now the property of Lord Lilford.

L. 388. "*Ireland of Hale.*"] John Ireland, Esq., son of Sir Gilbert Ireland, of Hutt and Hale, Knight, and father of Sir Gilbert Ireland, of the same, descended from Sir Robert Ireland, of Hutt, Knt. temp. King John. He died in 1635, having married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Hayes, Knight, Alderman and Lord Mayor of London. This poem being dated 1636, would be written shortly after the death of John Ireland, to whom the allusion is probably made, as his son Gilbert, born April 8th, 1624, would be too young to be the poet's friend. The Lordship of Hale is now possessed by John Ireland Blackburne, Esq., M.P. for Warrington.

L. 388. "*To all my Heywoods.*"] See note on l. 4, at the commencement of the poem.

L. 389. "*Brock.*"] This probably refers to William Brocke, of Upton, in the county of Chester, Esq. He was born about 1595, was a member of the Inner Temple in London, and married Anne, daughter and coheiress of Robert Mohun, of Baynton, in the county of Dorset, Esq., by whom he had several children. He died on the 4th April, 1640, and was buried on the 8th, at St. Mary's Church, in Chester. He was the relative of Asheton, of Penketh, by the marriage of his sister Catherine with that gentleman, and of Robert Heywood. On the death of William Brock, Esq., in 1734, the great-grandson of the above, the manor of Upton passed into the family of the Egertons, of Oulton, by the marriage of his eldest sister and coheiress, Elizabeth, to John Egerton, of Oulton, Esq.—See Ormerod's *Hist. Chesh.*, vol. ii. p. 444.

L. 389. "*Holcroft.*"] Thomas, eldest son of Geoffrey Holcroft, of Hurst, Esq., married Winefred, daughter of Mr. Christopher Tonge, of Tonge Hall, in the parish of Prestwich, and died about 1638; being succeeded by his son Geoffrey, æt. 49, September 23rd, 1664. The family of Holcroft was connected with the Irelands of Hale, Hopwoods of Hopwood, Bamfords of Bamford, and other kinsfolk of the Heywoods.

L. 389. "*Holt.*"] The family of Holt, here alluded to, is probably that of Ashworth Hall, in the parish of Middleton, from its relation to the Heywoods. Richard, son and heir of Robert Holt, of Ashworth, Esq., married his cousin Jane, (sister of Mrs. Peter Heywood) the youngest daughter of John Greenhalgh, of Brandlesome Hall, Esq.; being the fourth instance, in as many successive generations, of marriages being solemnized between members of these two wealthy and ancient families. Richard Holt, Esq., was buried in Middleton Church, September 28th, 1668.

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ERRATA.

L. 1.—For "holtt" read, *holte.*
L. 4.—Heywood, wombe and grave.
L. 9.—For "pejres" read, *peeres.*
L. 16.—For "laye" read, *looze.*
L. 75.—For "Larroue" read, *Lanoue.*
L. 94.—For "ferrs" read, *feres.*
L. 105.—For "attends" read, *attend.*
L. 157.—For the first "of" read, *with.*
L. 182.—For "body" read, *bodie.*
L. 214.—Read, *Giraldus.*
L. 268.—For "use" read, *are.*
L. 299.—For "hegging" read, *begging.*
L. 318.—"theis" is altered into *they*, *secundâ manu.*

ERRATA IN THE SIDE NOTES.

P. 3, *l.* 7.—For "preservable" read, *preservative.*
Note 4, *l.* 2.—For "Larroue" read, *Lanoue.*
P. 3, *l.* 15.—For "ye Bishop" read, *ye Bishop.*
P. 4, note 1, *l.* 17.—For "on" read, *ou.*
P. 12, *l.* 6.—For "discoveries" read, *discoverers.*
P. 13, note 3, *l.* 10.—For "fairre" read, *fairer.*

Part of Warrington,

From the Legh MS.

Via ducens ad pontem et Molendina de Sonkey
Sonkey Ga
Slyghers Lane

WARRINGTON

IN

M.CCCC.LXV:

AS DESCRIBED IN A
CONTEMPORARY RENT ROLL OF THE LEGH FAMILY, IN THE
POSSESSION OF THOMAS LEGH, ESQUIRE,
OF LYME PARK.

EDITED BY

WILLIAM BEAMONT, ESQ.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XLIX.

Manchester;
Printed by Charles Simms and Co.

INTRODUCTION.

In the year 79 of the Christian æra, the once flourishing and populous city of Pompeii was suddenly overwhelmed and entombed by a deep shower of ashes and scoria thrown out during an eruption of Vesuvius. From that time until less than a century from our own day, this gay city of a sunny clime, with its inhabitants, their arts, their treasures, their public and private buildings, and much of their domestic history, lay deeply imbedded beneath the black and heavy pall which had thus suddenly and unexpectedly descended upon them. But although the history of this terrible calamity had been handed down by the pen of an elegant writer, himself an eye-witness of the event, no adventurous or curious explorer appears to have attempted to discover, or resuscitate the buried city, until the year A.D. 1755. From that time to the present, the work of excavation and restoration has gone on; and the traveller, who is privileged to tread the deserted streets of this once busy city, reads, in vivid characters, what was its state and condition seventeen hundred years ago. Passing a long line of ancient tombs, the last resting places of a generation who had passed away before the eruption, and who slept in their

marble abodes, unconscious of its appalling ravages, he enters the place by one of its original gateways,—

> "He stands within the city disinterred,
> And hears the autumnal leaves, like light footfalls
> Of spirits passing through the streets."
>
> *Shelley*, vol. iii. p. 82.

In the tracks worn in the pavements, the flint bears witness how long, and how well frequented the streets had been by an equestrian throng, before the period when the city was destroyed. He enters this or that dwelling-house, distinguished by the character of its architecture, or the richness of its decorations. He admires the splendour of the forum, the magnificence of the theatres, or the majesty of their temples; and, beholding on every side the multiplied traces of ancient and advanced art, the truth of the wise man's observation forcibly recurs to him, that there is nothing new under the sun. But the wonder and surprise which seized the first explorers of Pompeii, on revisiting its buried recesses, may be more easily conceived than described. An interval of more than fifteen hundred years was at once obliterated, and the discoverers saw before them, in all their vividness, the habits and abodes of a generation of men who were separated from themselves by the sea of many ages. Transported thus suddenly back, they were able to identify the names and abodes of the former occupants of the city; they would see and admire their domestic economy, and their skill in the fine arts; and would grow at once familiar with their streets, their trades, their religious rites, their superstitions, and their tombs!

This book, presenting to the reader Warrington as it existed during the Wars of the Roses, offers a few traits of resemblance to the recovery of Pompeii, and affords at the same time a greater number of strong points of contrast. Laid by for a period of nearly four hundred years, it is now by the kindness of its owner, Thomas Legh, Esq., of Lyme, offered to the Society; and, in its pages, our distant ancestry become familiar to us in their names, their occupations, their money, their habitations, their customs, and their religious worship. Theatres, and the fine arts, are found only in Pompeii, — cemeteries and tombs, are met with both there and in Warrington!

The work, of which a small portion is now offered to the Society, contains a full and minute enumeration of the particulars of the large property at that time belonging to the Leghs; from which is here extracted all that relates to Warrington, and the immediate neighbourhood. Some account of the book itself will not be out of place, before we proceed to examine its contents. The book is a small folio in size, and extends over three hundred and thirty-three pages of vellum. It is written throughout principally in the same hand, but there are occasional alterations, indicated by the colour of the ink and a variation in the writing, which must have proceeded from some other scribe. The character of the hand-writing bears a resemblance to, and yet differs from, the writing in which deeds were then written; it is a sort of law character, in undress,—such as an educated gentleman of that day, would almost necessarily be taught to use. It is strong, legible, and plain, and

minutes like the following occurring in various places, shew that it has been carefully examined by the writer. As for instance, at pages 218 and 236 of the original, we read "corrigitur istuc;" and at page 260, "corrigitur hucusque." It is bound in a strong original binding, which is probably as old as the volume; but the lettering on the back, "Manuscript relating to Lyme Estate," has evidently been added at a later period, and is probably not more than a century and a half old. With a particularity unusual in such cases, the writer has been careful to record the exact date of his manuscript. He tells us that it was begun on the third Wednesday of Lent, in the year 1465, [i.e. according to the civil and legal computation,] and in the sixth year of King Edward IV. We can only reconcile the above year of Grace with the year of the King's reign, by supposing that the writer adopted the civil and legal, and not the historical computation; for as Edward IV. began to reign, according to the latter, on the 4th of March, 1461, and as the manuscript was commenced on the 5th of March, the writer of the manuscript must necessarily have written the year 1466, unless he had been guided by the computation which we have supposed. But a passage in Hollinshed's *Chronicles*, (p. 664,) will serve to make this matter more clear:—"King Edward" says he, "was proclaimed in the year of the world 5427, and from the birth of our Saviour 1461, after our accompt, beginning the year at Christmas, but after the usual accompt of the Church of England, 1460." After all, however, there seems to have been some uncertainty in the writer's mind as to

which computation he ought to use, for in a subsequent page in the volume, where he has given a separate heading for the description of the Lyme estate, he tells us that that portion of the work was written on the 29th of March, 1466, anno Regni Edward IV. 6°; from which it follows that he must, in this latter instance, have adopted the historical, and not the legal and civil computation.

We have no positive evidence of the actual hand by whom the book was written, nor do we know with certainty whether it was the work of the knightly owner, whose possessions it so minutely records; or of one of his two chaplains, whose names we shall have occasion to introduce; or by some Scottish agent, who betrays his country by his occasional spelling of the names of places. The adoption of an ecclesiastical mode of dating would seem to point out the profession of the scribe,—while, on the other hand, there are reasons for supposing the knight to have been his own amanuensis. Notices occur, here and there, of what he intended to do in matters, some of which are not immediately connected with his subject; and once or twice, the expression meets us, "ut ipse dicit," while in an age when the statute of additions was in full force, and knighthood was punctilious of respect, he is constantly spoken of as the "said Peter," or the "said Peter Legh," without further addition. Hence there arises a strong presumption that Sir Peter Legh penned the work himself; a presumption which will be further strengthened by the magistrates' forms occurring at the end of the volume,—a circumstance which will be alluded to in the sequel.

It was hardly to be expected that the composer of the Legh rent-roll, in the time of Edward IV., should write Latin like Cicero or Quinctilian, and perhaps the reader of the manuscript will not be surprised to find the latinity full of more than ordinary faults. The breaking of Priscian's head did not subject the offender to a charge of assault in those days when neither readers, nor perhaps the generality of writers, were capable of discerning the fault. We shall hardly wonder at this, when we remember that in a later age, even an University thought it necessary to condemn such errors as, "ego currit, et Socrates legere."—Fosb. *Brit. Monachism*, p. 249.

It has not been thought necessary in the printing of this work, to follow the numerous contractions which occur in the original, and which serve to puzzle ordinary readers. There being, however, nothing unusual in most of them, it is believed that they have been faithfully decyphered and interpreted by the transcriber. On one occasion, it appears from a modern notice, that the volume was produced as evidence in a court of law.

There are few Cheshire families the history of which is more interesting than that of the Leghs of Lyme, and as the reader of the extract now published will naturally be desirous to learn some particulars of its presumed compiler, I will proceed to introduce, by way of notice of his family,[1] the following:

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[1] The authorities for this pedigree are principally to be found in Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, vol. ii. pp. 246, 304; Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. iii. p. 338; Baines's *Lancashire*, vol. iii. p. 644.

PORTION OF THE LEGH PEDIGREE.

I. Sir Piers Legh, who became the grantee of Lyme in 1397, was Steward of Macclesfield and the forest, and was beheaded at Chester, 1st Aug. 1399. He was third husband of Margaret Danyers, whom he married in Nov. 1388, and who survived him. In 4th Henry VI., she gave to her son Piers her moiety of the Boydell property in Grappenhall, and died 6th Henry VI. See her Inq. p. m. Sir Piers and Margaret Legh had two sons, and one daughter:

Sir Peter, who succeeded;
John Legh, escheator of Cheshire, 12th and 13th Henry VI.; and
Margaret, who married Sir John de Ashton.

History of Lancashire, vol. ii. p. 533.

II. Sir Peter Legh of Lyme, K^t^ Banneret, was at the battle of Agincourt, Oct. 25, 1415, and died of his wounds at Paris, 1422, æt. 31 or 32. Nicolas, in his *Battle of Agincourt,* mentions this Sir Peter as having been in the battle, and as having been one of the important personages there, (p. 128.) He calls him Sir Peter de Legh. In the muster-roll, (*Ibid,* p. 354,) we find him entered thus,—

Monsr. Piers de Legh, ov. sa retenu,
Robert Orell,
Hugh de Orell,
Thomas Sutton,
John Pygott,
George de Asheley.

He was buried at Macclesfield.[1] He married Joan,[2] daughter

[1] In Mr. Ormerod's *History of Cheshire,* vol. i. page 479, an account is given of a foray made by Sir Peter Dutton and others, one of whom was

and heiress of Sir Gilbert de Haydock,[1] who survived him, and afterwards married Sir Richard de Molyneux, and died 1439. Sir Peter and Joan had issue,

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this Peter Legh, described as of Clifton, (the property of his mother,) on Sir William Athurton of Athurton, in which forty oxen and forty cows were taken out of his closes at Athurton. Unless this transaction took place several years before the award of restitution, Peter Legh must have returned to France a second time, for restitution was only made the 9th of April, 1419; which was several years after the battle of Agincourt.

[2] [See p. ix.] The subjoined is a copy of the inscription remaining on her tomb, in Sefton Church:—

"Hic jacet Domina Johanna quondā uxor
Petri Legh militis et postea uxor . . . .
Molineux militis que fuit D̃na de
Bradley Haydoke et similiter tertiæ
partis villarū de Warrington Mikille*
Sonke et Burtonwode ac eciam D̃na
diversarū parcellarū terraru' et
tenement' infra villas de Newton
Golbron Lauton Bold et Walton-
le-dale—quæ obiit in festo S.
Sulpitii Epi. in Ao. Dni. m.cccc.xxxiv cu-
jus animæ p'pitietur Deus. Amen."

(*From Mr. Raines's Copy of Dr. Theo. Howard's MSS.*)

[1] The name of Sir Gilbert de Haydock, probably the immediate ancestor of this Sir Gilbert, has acquired an unenviable notoriety, as appears from the following extract from the *Quarterly Review*, No. lxxvii. January, 1829, pp. 62, 63:—"In the 17th Edward II., we find an indictment preferred against the Sheriff of Lancashire for a false return of knights who had not been elected by the county. But the gravamen was not so much in the nomination of these spurious representatives, as in the job which William le Gentil had concocted for the benefit of his friends. When he returned

* *i. e.* Much Sonky.

III. Sir Peter Legh, of Bradley, knighted by the Duke of York, at Wakefield, 31st Dec. 1460, died at Bradley, 1478, æt. 73, aut circ^r., Inq. p. m. 18th Edward IV. He married (about 1432, ut putatur,) Margaret, daughter of Sir Richard de Molyneux, by Ellen, daughter of Sir William Harrington of Hornby.—Smith's *Visitation of Lancashire*, 1599, *Chet. Lib.* They had issue,

Peter Legh, of Haydock and Bradley, who married (about 1460, ut putatur,) Mabel[1] daughter and co-heir of Sir James Croft, of Dalton. He died at

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home with the writ de expensis, he caused his bailiffs to levy £20 for their use, whereas the men of the county alledge that if they had been left to their own choice, they could have had sufficient men to go to Parliament for half the money, or even for less, for ten pounds, or ten marks. The indictment, which relates to the Parliament, 15th Edward II., sets forth that when the writ came down for the election of two knights, qui eligi debuissent per totam communitatem comitatus idem Willielmus elegit Gilbertum de Haydock et Thomam de Thornton sine assensu communitatis qui cum redissent de parliamento tulerunt breve pro expensis suis levandis, per quod præceptum fuit Ricardo et Willielmo de Winwick ballivis ejusdem vicecomitis quod levarent xx libras pro expensis prædictorum militum, ubi communitas istius comitatus habuisse possent de electione suâ propriâ duos sufficientes homines ad eundem parliamentum pro decem marcis vel decem libris."

[1] By the kindness of Mr. Langton, (the Treasurer of the Chetham Society,) I am enabled to present the reader with the Will of Mabel Legh, made during her widowhood, which is curious in itself, and as a specimen of our mother tongue in that day. It is as follows:—"This indenture made ye viij day of July ye year of our Lord mcccclxxiiij, witness y^t it is ye will of Dame Mabill Lye, be tho avyce of Peres son and heyre to ye said Dame Mabill, S Peres Lye and S Richard Redmayne Knights, y^t ilkon of hir sones have c.^s of ye lyvelode of ye said Dame Mabill. That is to say Hammund c.^s James c.^s and John c.^s Dewryng their lyfes. And after ye decesse of any of y^em ye said Hammond James or John, then ye said c.^s remayne to y^e

Macclesfield, on the 2d Aug. 1468, in the lifetime of his father, and was buried at Winwick. His wife survived him, and died at Dalton, in 1475. Besides Sir Peter Legh, who succeeded on the death of his grandf^{r}, they had issue, Hamond, James, John, and several daughters.

Margaret married Richard Bruche of Bruche.

IV. Sir Piers Legh, of Lyme, was at the siege of Berwick, 22d Edward IV., where he was made a banneret. He died at Lyme, 11th Aug. 1527, æt. 65, aut circ^{r}, and was buried at Winwick. He married Ellen, daughter of Sir John Savage, of Clifton, who died at Bewgenett, in Sussex, 17th May, 1491. In 1511, twenty years after his wife's decease, he became a priest. In 1521 he joined Sir Thomas Butler and others in soliciting contributions to build Lymm steeple. He built Disley Church, and the Cage in Lyme Park, in

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said Peres and his heyres. And if it appyn eny of thaym of ye said Hammund James and John to be evell disposit or wrang mynddit and noght be ye avice of yair Brother Peres and S. Richard Redmayne Knyght, then ye forsaid c s. remayne to ye forsaid Peres and his hayres. Also it is ye will of ye said Mabill y^{t} ye feoffatos y^{t} is feoffined in Dalton fulfill ye will of Peres Lye late husband to ye said Dame Mabill as touchyng ye maridge of Peres son and heyre to ye said Dame Mabill. And all ye resedewe of ye Lyvelode of ye said Dame Mabill y^{t} remaynes ov^{r} ye feoffament of ye said Peres and ye xv. li. of ye said Hammund James and John to be deposit by Sir Richard Redmayne Knyght and ye said Peres Lye to helpyng and maryng of ye sisters of ye said Peres, and ye money y^{t} salbe receyved for ye feoffament of ye said Peres go to ye helpyng of ye said sisters by the avyce of ye said Richard and Peres. And as for ye said xv. li. assigned to Hammund James and John to be disposit by ye forsaid Richard and Peres to yai be at resonable age to yair behove. In witnes hereof to y^{s} p'sent writyng ye said Dame Mabill hath sett hir seale. Yeven ye day and yere abovesaid."

1524.[1] He was party to the singular award about the Assheton arms. His wife Ellen Savage, according to Ormerod, (vol. i. p. 429,) had been previously married to Peter Warbur-

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[1] This Sir Peter, by his Will, directed his executors to take and perceive all the issues and profits of certain hereditaments therein referred to during a term of ten years,—"All which issues and profits thereof to be taken and received by his said executors, he willed should be conveyed to the monastery of St. Werburgh, of Chester, and to be put in safe keeping in a substantial coffer locked there to be standing and remaining of his costs and charges, and that every of his executors should have a several lock and key upon the same;" the said rents to be laid out in a purchase of lands for the use of Disley Chapel. And in certain proceedings preserved in the Duchy Office, it appears that one of the enquiries directed to be made was, "Whether the said Sir Peter Legh willed at any time, by his last Will, that Robert Ardern should have any 'advauncement' for the forbearing of his money and whether he gave him the said advauncement besides his debt that he ought to the said Robert, or not, and what recompense of advauncement it was that he willed him." Upon these two extracts, (for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Hardy of the Duchy Office, *Duchy Office MSS.* vol. xx. *M.* i.; and vol. xx. l. 3, a. fol. 10,) we may observe the small degree of confidence which Sir Peter Legh, a knight, and a priest, reposed in the five gentlemen whom he selected for his executors; none of them it seems might be trusted to retain in his hands the money he received, but was to deposit it in a strong box in the distant abbey of St. Werburgh, at Chester, under five separate locks and keys; a cumbrous procedure alike at variance with the convenience of business, and with the trust which a man of rank would place in his equals of the present day. Monasteries seem to have been favourite places of custody then, and for some time before, for in the *Annales Furnesienses*, p. 266, we read that on the 13th of October, 1345, the abbot of Furness received the royal command to find a proper and strong room in his abbey, in which the collectors of the tenth and fifteenth in this county, might deposit the King's moneys.

The transaction with regard to Robert Ardern's money is hardly less

ton, from whom, as he died in 1495, she must have been separated in his life-time. The dispensation for her marriage with Piers Legh, is dated 4th Paul II., 1468. Sir Piers and Ellen had issue,

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singular, and arises out of the ancient difficulty as to receiving or paying interest for money when all interest was thought to be usury, and consequently sin. "Advancement," I apprehend, can mean nothing else but compensation to Robert Ardern, for the use of his money.

In the Duchy proceedings above referred to, we have from several of the witnesses an account of the testator's intention as to the foundation of Disley Chapel. One of these, Thomas Lewyns, priest, of the age of forty-nine years and above, being sworn and examined, says, "It was the will and mind of Sir Perys Legh, knight, and priest, his master, deceased, to have three perpetual priests and two deacons, to minister and do observance in his Chapel at Dysteley, for evermore, and was also determined that he, by the advice of Mr. Parson Trafforth, the Parson of Prestewich, the Parson of Gawseworth, and Mr. Brygges, should have made his foundation thereof; but it pleased God to visit him with sickness before the execution thereof. And at such time as the said Sir Perys did lye in the gates of death, Robert Ardron, in the presence of the said Sir Thomas, and many others, asked the same Sir Perys whether the pre-nominated persons should make the foundation of the said Chapel; the said Sir Perys answered thereunto and said, Yea; and continently, Mr. Gowther Legh asked to know further of his pleasure, saying, Whether shall my brother Perys intermeddle there anent or not? the said Sir Perys to him then said, What else? he must be the head; for it must be his deed, not mine."

Sir Peter Legh's beautiful monumental brass, at Winwick, is amongst the most remarkable monuments of its kind in the kingdom. From it, we know that he survived his grand-father nearly fifty years, and his father not less than fifty-nine years, and died in a good old age, with the family character for prudence, which he owed, in some degree, to the lessons and examples of his grand-father. Singularly enough, his monumental effigy represents him as clad in plate, girt with a sword, and wearing his knightly spurs,

Sir Peter, who succeeded his father, at the age of 48 years, and also,

Gowther a Legh.

Margaret, married Laurence Warren, Esq., about July, 1494.—Ormerod, vol. i. p. 343.

Alice, married —— White.—See *Calendar of Pleadings in the Duchy of Lancaster*, 4th Elizabeth, vol. ii.

V. Sir Peter Legh, Knight.

Sir Peter Legh, the third in descent in the foregoing pedigree, by whose orders, if not by himself, the roll of his great possessions was transcribed, was the representative in his day of a powerful Lancashire family. His grandfather, and his father, had both died, mediately, or immediately, a death of violence. The former, an active and

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with the effigy of his long deceased wife at his side, while at the same time, his shaven crown, shews the clerical tonsure, and he wears the robes of a priest over his armour. Fosbroke (*Brit. Monach.* p. 292,) gives us a similar instance from Connington, in Huntingdonshire, which he erroneously supposes to be unique, of a knight, thus clad at the same time in the two-fold habit of religion and of war.—See a Paper on this subject, in the *Archæological Journal.*

This Sir Peter Legh seems to have been at great pains to obtain a general pardon; and several letters patent expressly pardoning him for all offences, general and particular, are in the custody of his descendants. The necessity for these letters of pardon might be different in those troublesome times, when the law was not so clear, and men's lives were not so safe; but our best antiquaries are of opinion that a pardon was never sought for, or granted, unless there had existed some cause of suspicion or offence.—Tyler's *Henry of Monmouth*, p. 243.

faithful adherent of Richard II., was amongst the earliest martyrs in the cause of the House of York; for, his loyalty and gratitude having made him obnoxious to the Duke of Lancaster, he was seized upon the first advance of the insurgent forces into Cheshire, and was shortly afterwards beheaded, at Chester. This memorable event would seem never to have been forgotten by his family during the course of the long struggle which ensued. Sir Peter Legh, the father of the compiler or author of the manuscript, shared in the glories of Agincourt. The blood which he shed there procured him, we are told, the honour of knighthood on the field; but it also cost him his life, for he died at Paris, in consequence of his wounds, in the year 1422, being then about thirty-two years of age. We are not precisely informed, however, where his son, the third Sir Peter Legh, spent his youth; but, as his mother, shortly after the death of her first lord, married Sir Richard Molyneux, another Lancashire hero who had fought by his side at Agincourt, and survived in her second marriage until the year 1439, we may safely infer that, for a time at least, Sir Peter Legh would remain under her eye, and have before him the examples and the precepts to be seen or heard in the knightly halls of Sefton; and there he would receive such imperfect education as was the lot of the gentry in that age, when those who were destined for a military career, were often compelled to bear arms and go to the field at the early age of fifteen.—Tyler's *Henry of Monmouth*, vol. i. p. 22, Notes. Under these circumstances it was not a necessary, though it was certainly a probable consequence, that

he should choose, as he did, a daughter of the House of Sefton, in marriage. He married Margaret, the daughter of Sir Richard Molyneux, probably about the year 1432.

At the period of his father's death, Sir Peter Legh was about ten years old; for we find him in the 10th Henry VI. 1432, attending as one of the witnesses to a charter of the hermit friars, in which he is styled dominus, whence we infer that at that time he must have been of age, since he had received the degree of knighthood. When this manuscript was compiled Sir Peter Legh was in the vigour of his age, and the fifty-three winters which he had witnessed had given him experience, without having impaired his energy. The history of his ancestors had not been lost upon him; but to the predilection which it had given him for the House of York, he seems to have added the exercise of great prudence and circumspection in his whole conduct, which is the more remarkable because in that period it was so rare. By no other means could he have escaped being present, on one side or the other, at the battle of Blore Heath, fought on Sunday, the 23rd of September, 1459, when crowds of the Lancashire and Cheshire chivalry were left dead upon the field, and amongst them his brother-in-law, Sir Richard Molyneux, and many others of his immediate friends and neighbours; and when even the Lord Stanley, though he escaped the field, fell under suspicion and the subsequent threat of an impeachment. Once, indeed, the spirit of chivalry, inspired by the lessons and examples of his early years, and which had slumbered, but was not dead in Sir Peter Legh, revived, and when forces were drawing towards

Sandal Castle, and the cause of the Duke of York, which was ever sacred with his family, seemed to ask his aid, Sir Peter Legh's usual caution gave way. He joined the assembled Yorkists, and his valour won for him the honour of a banneret from his leader's hand, on the field at Wakefield,—that field which his leader shortly afterwards lost, with his life. This conduct of Sir Peter Legh might have given dissatisfaction in high quarters, and might cause that interruption to the possession of Haydock, which is noticed in Baines's *History of Lancashire*, vol. iii. p. 636.

Dr. Whitaker, judging from the hasty nature of the fight at Wakefield, intimates a doubt whether the Duke of York could have found time to make the soldier of his family, a knight, upon the field; but the accuracy of Sir Peter Leycester, who asserts it, may be taken as a voucher for the fact. In none of the other battles of that stirring period, do we again meet with the name of Sir Peter Legh. The volume before us, commenced only a short interval after the fight at Wakefield, affords evidence that he had then laid aside the spear and the sword, and had assumed, for wise and prudent purposes, that small but mighty instrument, the pen,—which serves to give us glimpses of his employment after the lapse of centuries, and centuries after his warlike weapons have mouldered into dust. Sir Peter Legh's prudence is proved, in part, by the careful register which he prepared of the family possessions; but there is still further evidence of it, in his avoiding the numerous opportunities which would solicit a soldier, in that warlike period. His prudence was also shewn in the care which he

took in the marriage of his son, for whom he selected the heiress of the two knightly families of Croft of Dalton, and Butler of Merton; by which his family possessions were enriched with a goodly addition. Nor did his care for the family alliance end with his son; for we find that he was at the pains, at a very early period, to procure a dispensation for the marriage of his grandson with Ellen Savage. (Orm. vol. i. p. 429, in notis.) It was therefore not without reason that he was associated with Sir Richard Redmayne as one of the advisers of her family in the will of Dame Mabel Legh. Caution was a distinguishing feature of the knight's character; and if his prudence is shewn by what he did, his habitual caution is no less shewn by what he omitted. At the period of the compilation of this manuscript, the times were full of political and historical interest. Pope Calixtus III., the religious head of Christendom, had died only a few years before, and the tiara had descended upon that clever scholar, but unprincipled man, the celebrated Eneas Sylvius, under the title of Pius III. This pontiff, only a very short time before the date of our manuscript, had written a letter to King Edward IV., congratulating him on his accession to the throne of England. Bordeaux, the last English possession in Guienne, was taken from them in 1453; and in 1461, Charles VII., that weak, but fortunate prince, after having recovered France from the English, died from the fear of dying, and left his throne to his son and successor, Louis XI. Between the English and the Scots a truce had been recently concluded, which had been still more recently renewed. While these events were passing abroad, England

was the theatre of remarkable events at home. In the adjoining county of Chester, as we learn from Mr. Ormerod, (*History of Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 362,) securities to keep the peace, then in danger of being disturbed by the feuds of the rival Houses, seem to have been required from many of the gentry of the county. The country had lately, as we have seen, lost nearly the last vestige of her French possessions; feudalism had received a blow; and, out of the strife of arms, had come this good,—that the commons were acquiring fresh glimpses of freedom. The romantic incident of the king's secret marriage, on the 1st of May, 1464, and its public acknowledgment at the following Michaelmas, only a very few months before the date of this manuscript, had been almost immediately followed by the muster, and march into Lancashire, probably into this very neighbourhood, of a considerable body of forces, under the celebrated Earl of Warwick, with the professed object of avenging the insult put upon him by the king's marriage. Nearly at the same period, King Henry VI. having been betrayed by Sir John Talbot in his concealment at Waddington Hall, in this county, was conveyed ignominiously to London, passing probably in his way the town described in the manuscript. The age was fond of the marvellous, and the appetite might have found abundant food in the strange events of the time; but,

> "As if increase of appetite had grown
> By what it fed on,"

the actual events of the time were not thought sufficiently wonderful. Stowe informs us in his *Annals*, with-

out inferring a doubt of its truth or reality, that, "when King Edward IV. was crowned in St. Paul's, an angel came down and censed him." At a period thus remarkable, and with the angry billows of a civil war still heaving and breaking in various parts of England, the writer of the manuscript, in his minute devotion to his immediate purpose, never stops to notice a single public event, nor seems to forget that he was a private, and not a public chronicler.

As we cannot, I think, ascribe his silence to accident, still less to the author's indifference to what was passing around him, the reason must be sought in some other cause. Possibly, it was found in England at that time, as it has recently been found in Spain, that great and stirring public events still leave a large portion of the people, in the remote provinces, to follow their ordinary callings, and do not, for a time, at least, seriously affect the domestic industry of the country. But if this be not thought a sufficient excuse for the author's careful exclusion of all extrinsic subjects from the manuscript, we may safely ascribe it to the characteristic caution of Sir Peter Legh. Although news travelled slowly in that age, (Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. i. p. 184, tells us that the news of Edward the First's death, was nearly twenty days in reaching London from Burgh-le-Sands,) yet Sir Peter Legh had no doubt heard the story of that London vintner who was sacrificed for a thoughtless word, which the king's jealousy of his newly-acquired title led him to aggravate into the offence of treason; and he knew the significant meaning of the wise man's

warning, that in speaking or writing about the actions of kings, extreme prudence is required, "for a bird of the air shall carry the matter."—Eccles. x. 20.

At the end of the volume, written in a strong law hand, are two magistrates' forms; the one, a warrant to apprehend for a breach of the peace,—the other, a supersedeas of such warrant. Both of them bear date 14th of October, 16th Edward IV., and are tested by Sir Peter Legh himself; and hence we learn that, in his retirement at Bradley, the old knight occupied his declining years in discharging the duties of an active justice of the peace. The confidence placed in him by the appointment to such an office, would seem to shew that his Yorkist predilections were known and appreciated at Court. Neither in the magistrates' forms, nor in any other part of the volume, is there any allusion to that fruitful source of the modern justice's employment—the prevention and punishment of offences against the game laws. Then, as now, the winged, and the four-footed game, would doubtless tempt many a daring idler to pursue and take them, on the broad domains which it is the writer's province to describe; but he is never diverted from his settled purpose by any allusion to the subject. The poor laws, a fruitful source of the modern magistrate's employment, were unknown in Sir Peter Legh's age; we may be sure, therefore, that their administration formed no call upon his leisure.

Bradley, an ancient seat of the Haydocks, which Sir Peter Legh inherited from his mother, is thus referred to and described in the manuscript:—"Prædictus Petrus

Legh tenet manerium de Bradlegh in villa de Burtonwode infra parochiam de Werington, sibi hæredibus et assignatis suis in perpetuum videlicet novam pulcram aulam cum tribus novis cameris et pulcro cænaculo cum nova coquina pistrina similiter pandoxatorio cum uno turre lapideo novo et parvis turribus cum porta pulcra et bastello lapideo supra prædictam portam bene propugnaculato cum capella[1] pulcra et hæc prædicta sunt de factura prædicti Petri et una antiqua camera vocata le Knyghtes chaumber quæ omnia prædicta cum aliis diversis domibus circumcluduntur cum quadam fossa paludili cum uno ponte tractabili et tria magna orrea situata extra prædictam fossam videlicet ex parte boreali prædicti manerii cum magno boscario et stabulo equino cum parvo domo ballivi et nova ustrina constructa in fine orientali cujusdam loci vocato parogardyne cum omnibus membris et terris dominicalibus dicto manerio spectantibus sive pertinentibus cum uno pomœrio magno cum sepibus et fossis inclusis ex parte australi dicti loci vocati Parogardyne cum gardino juxta ustrinam veterem cum terris circumclusis."

The "porta pulcra," the fair gateway of the foregoing description, with the bastile raised upon it, is now a picturesque ruin, which bespeaks the former consequence of the place, when Bradley was a knightly residence. The prison upon the gateway, was doubtless the temporary place of confinement of many of the offenders, who were awaiting

[1] Of this Chapel the only existing remain is an ancient font, now in the Chapel at Lyme, and which bears on one of its four sides the arms of Haydock.

examination before the justice of Bradley. Its existence, and the mention of the "pons tractabilis," bespeak a time

> "When men built less against the elements
> Than their next neighbours."

The manuscript gives us the rare information what was the exact date of this building; for it shows us that it, as well as a considerable part of the mansion, was an addition to the "knyghtes ancient chaumber." Building seems, indeed, to have been one of the principal employments or amusements of Sir Peter Legh. The alterations and repairs of his mansion, at the same time that they afforded him occupation at home, gave him a plausible excuse for not joining in the dangerous and stirring scenes so constantly occurring abroad. But if by these means he succeeded in avoiding the danger of camps, he was not equally fortunate in escaping the strife of courts.

A retrospect into the remote past, is like the view of a distant landscape; remoteness, in both cases, is apt to lend an unreal charm, and the antiquary, especially, is very apt in his fondness for his favourite subject, querulously to exclaim with Horace,—

> "Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?"
>
> *Carm.* lib. iii. 6.

But truth requires that we should lift the veil which time has thrown over the habits and lives of our forefathers; and if we turn to the records of our courts, about the time of this manuscript, we shall hardly fail to correct that mistaken judgment, which is apt to extol their age at the expense of our own. Turning to the Duchy records, only a

short time after the close of the fifteenth century, we find the following entry:—

7th Henry VIII. Tho. Boteler *v.* Sir Tho. Gerard — charge of assault, at a cock fight.

And also at a later period the following cases:—

37th Henry VIII. Sir Tho. Butler *v.* Tho. Molyneux — charge of assault.

37th Henry VIII. Tho. Molyneux *v.* Sir Tho. Butler and Elizabeth, his wife — charge of assault, with intent of rape.

3rd Edward VI. Sir Tho. Butler *v.* Tho. Butler and Richd. Bruche — charge of assault, with intent to murder.

These cases, in which the parties were knights, or gentlemen of rank, may serve as a specimen of the manners of the time. There do not exist against Sir Peter Legh any charges of similar violence: but we have abundant proof that he was not slow to defend his rights at law, since we have in the manuscript frequent entries such as this, "alia parcella pendet in lite et dissentione;" and to shew the ill blood arising out of this matter, a neighbouring gentleman, of considerable landed consequence, Mr. Brotherton, of the Hey, is often designated in the manuscript, as "unus vocatus Jak of the Hey." Again, the desire to keep his own would seem, at times, to have been stretched by Sir Peter Legh too far; for, in one place, we have the following entry:—"Est quadam via ducta per duodecim juratores quia invenitur quod dicta acra dicti Petri non fuit burgagium in antiquo tempore neque moderno." But in those days, violence, and the strong arm, were a more favourite resort than now; and it is one sign of our increasing civilization,

that reason, and the sense of justice, are heard speaking in louder tones in the settlement of disputes about property.

The manuscript record of the Legh possessions, affords abundant evidence that their owner was a religious man, after the fashion of those times.

"Desuper irradia scribenti gratia divina,"

is the devout invocation of the writer, which stands at the head of the first page of his manuscript. He well thought that no employment begun without the divine blessing, could be undertaken with the hope of success. In a subsequent page of the original volume, (p. 141,) the writer again supplicates help from the Virgin; and at page 332, which has been originally the last page of the volume, we have the following consistent conclusion:—"Et prædictus Petrus Legh miles modo proponit gratia Dei mediante legare prædicta messuagia (certain messuages which had been mentioned) cum terris præscriptis cantariæ antecessorum suorum ecclesiæ de Wynwhyk capellæ de Haydock in dicta ecclesia ad orandum pro anima sua, uxoris, parentum antecessorum et benefactorum suorum. Amen."

I have hitherto been unable to discover when, or where, the wife of Sir Peter Legh died. It would seem, however, from the way in which she is mentioned towards the conclusion of the above passage, that she was alive at that time. But we know that he was destined to a severe affliction in three years afterwards, when he would have need of all the consolation which religion could bestow. In the year 1468, he followed to the grave the remains of his eldest son, whom he had married with so much care; who, in the course

of nature, might have been expected to close his own eyes, and in whom he doubtless hoped that his family would be still further aggrandized. It will be seen that this son was present about the period of the manuscript, at the remarkable scene alluded to in a subsequent page of this Introduction.

Sir Peter Legh, of Bradley, for such is the addition by which the compiler of the manuscript is distinguished in the family records from several of his ancestors and successors who bore both his names, has been with reason handed down to us in several family memorials. There are at the family mansion at Lyme, no fewer than three portraits said to be of a Sir Peter Legh of Bradley. One of them, an ancient three-quarters likeness, is painted in oil, and is of the life size; the second is a small picture, in oil, probably copied at some period from the first; and the third is an admirable miniature, on glass, said to have been removed from the Church at Disley. The last-mentioned portrait, which is by far the most spirited of the three, exhibits the original as a man somewhat advanced in years, with silver hair descending in long and luxuriant locks upon his shoulders, and with a pointed beard of the same livery. His full and square countenance wears a ruddy and healthful glow, while his shrewd grey eyes have lost none of their original brightness. If we may judge from his goodly rotundity of person, the original had not in his later years, at least, been used to buckle himself in a suit of plate, and such confinement would seem rather to incommode him. He wears, in the portrait, a light-coloured buff coat, fastened in front with laces or points of a gay colour,—an ornament evidently in

character with the peaceful tastes of the wearer. His whole look, indeed, is that of—

"The justice
In fair round belly, with good capon lined."

If there be any faith in physiognomy, we may well imagine this portrait to be a true effigy of the Sir Peter Legh, of Bradley, who was the author or compiler of the manuscript. It bears every trace at least that the original was such a character as we have just been describing. Cautious, prudent, and far-seeing, habitually used to exercise his mind with the probable bearings of the future upon himself and his family, he loved the shield better than the sword, and the pen better than either. The rust of idleness, which is sometimes contracted in the narrow sphere of country occupations, and which was the secret of the blunt bearing of the landed gentry of the last age, never crept over the active spirit of Sir Peter Legh. Originally of an active and vigorous cast of mind, his mental weapons remained, nearly to the close of a tolerably long career, as bright and as unimpaired as the armour he wore, and the blade he wielded, on the morning of that day when he won his knighthood at Wakefield.

The long residence of Sir Peter Legh amongst his tenants and dependants, and his example in devoting himself to farming pursuits, would doubtless do much for the neighbourhood where he resided; and when at length, after a career unusually protracted for that period, he peacefully closed his eyes in his favourite mansion of Bradley, his death was regarded by the people of the surrounding district as a

public loss. In the long catalogue of his territorial possessions, Sir Peter Legh did not omit to enumerate the Haydock chauntry, the destined resting-place of his earthly remains, where, as we have seen, he had provided that his death should be commemorated. But no requiem or miserere sung over his hearse, was half so grateful a tribute to the memory of the aged knight, as the unbought regrets which his tenants and neighbours breathed over his remains, after he had been quietly committed to his last earthly resting-place in the family chauntry at Winwick.

It will be seen in the course of the present work, that legacies for pious objects were frequent in that day, and that religion, according to the light of those times, was placed in considerable prominence before our forefathers in Warrington. In the examinations before the Scrope and Grosvenor Commissioners, (Nicolas, p. 287,) Johan de Massy deposes to seeing the disputed arms depeyntez en ses colours p. xxvi āz passez en une crois de pere appelle Braddelegh crois en le haut voie entre Knottesford et Weryngton. Coming still more near and entering the town from the east, the first building which the traveller would encounter, would be the parish Church, which, judging from existing remains, was in those days a much more imposing structure than at present. The approach from the south, presented to his view the Church and Convent of the Hermit Friars;[1] whilst the entrance from the west was

[1] "Friarages," Dr. Whitaker observes in his *Richmondshire*, vol. ii. p. 194, "were always in the immediate neighbourhood of great towns; for this very

marked by the existence of a White Cross, the situation of which is still denoted by its name,—

"Stat nominis umbra."

Mention having been made of the Austin Friars, I may be excused for introducing here, in a succinct order, such particulars as I have been able to glean respecting them and their house at Warrington; although some of those particulars may have already appeared in print. In the *Antiquities of Oxford*, printed with Hearne's *Textus Roffensis*, p. 339, we learn that all the Hermit Friars, formerly called by a variety of names, were brought into one company by Pope Alexander IV. who styled them, "Fratres Eremitarum Sancti Augustini." Alexander wore the tiara from 1243 to 1261; and it is a proof how soon the new order began to spread itself, that in 1252 we find Lanfranc of Milan, the general of the order, dispatching some of the body on a mission to this country. Religious novelties, when once introduced, were of rapid growth in that age. In a few years from their first arrival, the hermit friars had built their great house at Oxford; where their celebrated disputations bequeathed a name to the exercises for the degree of a Master, which were long called "Keeping of Augustines." They had also commenced the erection of their house in London, some remains of which, though of a later date,

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obvious reason, that if they had been like the great Monasteries, in distant solitudes, their mendicant inhabitants must have wanted bread." And this is confirmed by a poetic distich on the same subject:—

"Bernardus valles, colles Benedictus amabat
Oppida Franciscus, magnas Ignatius urbes."

are still preserved to us in the beautiful Dutch Church in the Austin Friars; and in the course of a short period, the order had so prodigiously increased in different parts of Christendom, that they reckoned up no less than two thousand convents of men, and three hundred of women. No exact date can be fixed for the foundation of the house at Warrington, nor do we know the name or family of the founder, although some circumstances in its subsequent history seem to sustain a conjecture that it owed its origin to the Butlers. In the list of religious houses, compiled by royal authority in the year 1261, no mention occurs of the Austin Friars at Warrington; but its origin could not have been long posterior to that time, as may be inferred from a fragment of one of the columns of their Church, now in the possession of the Editor; and from the recorded fact, that, soon after the battle of Evesham, we find Richard the Hermit carrying thither from Warrington the votive candle of one of the devotees who had been healed by calling to mind the martyrdom of Simon de Montfort, whom that age styled St. Simon the Righteous. But whenever, or by whomsoever founded, the selection of the site of the priory at Warrington, shews in an eminent degree the wise discernment and prudent forethought of its architects, who were most probably the first tenants of its cloisters; for while the baron's house, and the rectory, were placed upon a low marsh with an alluvial foundation, and nearly all the remainder of the town was erected upon a cold unwholesome substratum of clay, they had the sagacity to discover, and the wisdom to choose a gravelly bank, in which they dug their foundations,

secure from the damp which invades them in other parts of the town. Into their cellars no liquids found their way against the will of the owners.

In a deed of Sir William Buttiler's, which bears date not later than 1305, we have the earliest express mention of the religious at Warrington, where the baron designates them as the brethren of the order of St. Augustine. This mention of the friary is only incidental; but in the year 1306, we have direct testimony to the existence of the priory in the will of Sir William Deyners, of Daresbury, which contains the following bequest:—"Item lego fratribus Sancti Augustini de Werinton dimidiam marcam."—Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 539. From this period, various notices occurring from time to time, serve to assure us that the house of the Austin Friars at Warrington was high in public favour. In the year 1308 we meet with the following deed, which confers on the friars a free passage for their wains through the adjoining village of Latchford, in return for certain spiritual services to be rendered to the donor and his family:—"Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis dominus Johannes de Boydell dominus de Gropenhall et Lachford salutem, noveritis me pro sanitate corporis mei ac salute animæ meæ, et dominæ Margaretæ uxoris meæ et hæredum meorum et parentum nostrorum vivorum et defunctorum ac omnium fidelium defunctorum dedisse Deo et beatæ Mariæ virgini et beato Augustino de Werington liberum passagium per villam de Lachford pro carectis suis, quocunque titulo dictis, ita quod quilibet frater sacerdos de conventu illo in die anniversarii mei in perpetuum cele-

bret missam pro animâ meâ parentum nostrorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum."— Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 447. The Coucher Book of Whalley, p. 409, gives us the grant of a similar privilege, from the same donor, to that abbey.

A long interval occurs before we meet with the next notice. "On the Sunday next after the feast of St. Martin, 3rd Richard II., 1379, William Eltonhed, the prior, and his convent grant to Sir Thomas Dutton, knight, a perpetual chauntry, to wit, that a sufficient friar of their convent shall be especially elected to pray for the salvation of Sir Thomas, his children, and of Philippa his wife, and her parents, when they shall die, at the great altar of their Church, yearly, for ever, and that their names be written down in their martyrology, whereunto the prior and convent were bound under a penalty of 3s. 4d., to be levied by the provincial prior upon omission of such form of service; and if for a week, or a fortnight, it were omitted, then must they double the time omitted in manner aforesaid; if neglected for six months, then upon pain of suspension; if for a year, then upon excommunication until the time omitted be made up. Whereunto are witnesses, Thomas, abbot of St. Werburgh, of Chester; Stephen, abbot of Vale Royal; Richard, prior of Norton; and Roger, prior of Birkenhead. This was confirmed by Henry de Towesdale, provincial prior of the order in England, with a special injunction that the said persons be yearly twice commemorated before the whole convent,— once, at the first entrance of the prior of Warrington into the convocation house, yearly; the other time, on the election day of a fellow prior for a provincial convocation. Dated at Warrington."

Notwithstanding the absence of any documents in the long interval between the deed just mentioned and the notice which next preceded it, we may well infer that the friary had been growing in public estimation. If it were not so, we should hardly find Sir Thomas Dutton thus resorting to the house, and securing with so much care, and by so many stipulations, the advantage of their prayers. If we are to credit the account given of the knight in Collins's *Peerage*, (vol. viii. p. 45, edit. 1812,) where the above bargain is recorded, he was a reckless person, whose hands had not been free from blood, and had need, if vicarious prayers could avail, to resort where the best might be had.

The walls of the friary were witness to a singular scene in the year 1386, when "Messrs. Johan le Botiller baroun de Weryngton, Nichol le Vernoun, Thomas Gerard, chivalers, et Sire William Brombrough, persone de Aldeford," having been appointed commissioners and examiners of witnesses in the great cause of arms between Scrope and Grosvenor, on the part of Robert le Grosvenor, sat for that purpose "in ecclesia fratrum Augustinensium de Warrington," on the 12th of September, in the above year; and John de Massey, Sir Lawrence Dutton, Nicholas de Rixton, Roger, the prior of Birkenhead, William de Rixton, and Thomas le Vernoun, were severally examined as witnesses. Robert le Grosvenor, as we learn from the Record, (Sir H. Nicolas's Account, vol. i. p. 248,) was present on the occasion; but his opponent, Richard le Scrope, did not appear.

In the year 1392, as we read in Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 479, Sir Lawrence Dutton, (who has been just

mentioned as a witness in the Scrope and Grosvenor cause,) by his will dated the 26th of January, bequeathed to the four orders of religious brethren at Chester and Warrington, to each convent xx^s. This legacy, apparently so unconditional, was no doubt expected to be repaid in masses and obits. The double motive of ancestral favours, and an alliance of his family with the Butlers, probably recommended the Warrington friars to the testator's consideration and regard.

Two fragments preserved to us in the pages of Kuerden, are our next notices of the priory at Warrington. The first of these shews us the peculiarity of a second wife founding a chauntry in which her husband's first partner was to be specially commemorated; and is remarkable for the evidence it affords that Sir Peter Legh, the compiler of the manuscript, was of full age at the date of the deed, of which he is one of the witnesses, in the 10th Henry VI. We also learn from this deed the name of one of the priors of whom we had not heard before: "Stephen Leet, prior heremitarum Sancti Augustini de Werington ordinavit Johanni Bold quod uxor Johannis Bold unam cantariam ad altare Sancti Augustini in corpore ecclesiæ de die in diem celebrare pro animabus suorum progenitorum et pro Emma quondam uxore Johannis Bold. Testibus Johanne Abbate de Whalley, Thoma de Allerbec priore de Burscough, Henrico Halsall archdiacono Cestriæ, Domino Johanne Stanley, Domino Petro Legh, D. Norreys, mil. Ham. Massey, Joh. Sankey, W. Gamon." In the other of the two deeds to which allusion has been made, Sir Richard Bold, probably the son of

Sir John, influenced by a sense of filial piety, is found endeavouring by an instrument dated in the same year, to carry out the arrangement contemplated by the preceding deed. I shall hardly need to remind the reader that this deed is fragmentary: "Ricardus Bold dedit priori fratrum heremitarum ordinis Sancti Augustini de Werinton et ejusdem loci conventui . . . . . ordinant Johanni Bold militi et animabus suorum et progenitorum et Johanni Bold unam cantariam ad altare in corpore ejusdem ecclesiæ," &c., 10th Henry VI.

On the 7th of March, 1466, at the very time that the manuscript was in progress, we meet with this passage in the will of Dame Cecill of Torboke, Lady of Torboke, (Baines's *Lancashire*, vol. iv. p. 8,)—"I will that the blacke frerys of Weryngton have iii^{s} iv^{d}. Also I will that my sonne Richard have my hallynge boke and chales and such thyngs as belonge to a prest to synge with and all the brew^{g} vessell that belongen to me, also the Englysche boke of Hermet Hanpole." Having now brought these notices down to the time of the manuscript, we may here be allowed to make one or two remarks before proceeding to conclude what we shall have to say on the subject of the Hermit Friars. In the *Antiquities of Oxford*, already cited, (p. 341,) we are told that "the habit of this order is black, of the same colour is their cowl, from the head to the shoulders; under that a little white coat, with a white list. Their girdle is of leather, buttoned with a button of ox horn." This apparel was enjoined them by Alexander IV., and therefore came not from St. Augustine, as may appear from this distich,—

"Mendici fratres induti vestibus atris
Augustinus ego, nomen habere nego."

"I, Augustine, bear no name of that rude pack
Of begging friars, who clothed are in black."

And in Fosbrooke's *British Monachism*, pp. 282, 286, we have not only a similar description, but a plate representing one of the hermit friars in the dress of his order. And Chatterton, in his *Bristowe Tragedy*, has brought them before us in the garb of poetry:—

"The freers of Saincte Augustyne next appeared to the syghte,
Alle cladd in homelie russett weedes, of godlye monkish plyghte;
Ynne diffraunt partes a godlie psaume most sweetlye they did chaunt;
Behynde theyre backes syx mynstrelles came, who tun'd the strunge bataunt."

Can anything give us more striking evidence of the change of times, than the disappearance of these religious from our streets, and the entire departure of that influence which, from what we have already seen, and from what we know in other ways, must have been exerted by the friars of the priory upon the times and the place? Let us for a moment imagine ourselves passing along the narrow but picturesque streets of ancient Warrington, and meeting at some sudden turn one of the cowled brethren, or the prior himself, hurrying on his way, in sombre robes, to discharge some errand of charity or business; and giving, as we meet, the passing *Benedicite*. Pitsæus (De illustribus Scriptoribus) informs us that the order were greatly distinguished not

only as eminent authors, but for their theological discussions; and he reckons up upwards of seventy writers of England, who were of the order of Austin Friars: nor must we forget that Luther himself was of this order.[1] "To give these Augustinians their due," says Fuller, "they were good disputants; on which account they are still remembered in Oxford by an act performed by candidates for Mastership, called Keeping of Augustines."

Hermit Hanpole, who is mentioned in Dame Cecill Torboke's will, and whose work, possibly the same copy she mentions, is to be seen in the Chetham Library,[2] (8008,) was an Austin friar of Hanpole, near Doncaster, part of the possessions of which house subsequently enriched the abbey of Whalley, (Introduction to *Coucher Book*, p. ix;) and he flourished about a century before the date of our manuscript. It is by no means improbable that his early career might have been connected with the priory at Warrington. At all events there is no doubt that the priory contributed its proportion to the number of learned men who belonged to the order. One of these, who afterwards attained an European celebrity, we know claimed our priory as his alma mater; and there is very little doubt that he was actually an inmate there at the time when the manuscript was in progress. According to Pitsæus, (*Relationes His-*

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[1] Dr. Robert Wirksop, the active agent of Edward II., was an Austin Friar. —*Fœdera*, passim.

[2] "The Pricke of Conscience; an ancient MS. Poem, by Richd. Hampole, an eremite friar of the order of St. Augustine." In the library of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, are ten other works of this writer, in manuscript.

toricæ, p. 675,) "Thomas Penketh," the individual to whom we allude, "was a monk of the order of hermit friars of St. Augustine, of the monastery at Warrington. Born in the western part of England,[1] he selected the university of

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[1] He was evidently descended from a family of his own name, long settled at Penketh near Warrington. An imperfect sketch of the family pedigree may be seen in the *Hist. of Lancashire*, (vol. iii. p. 731;) and in the Barratt MSS. in the Chetham Library is another which contains a few more particulars. The family arms — argent three kingfishers proper, in two coats, one of which, distinguished by a label, was probably intended to commemorate Friar Penketh, — formerly ornamented the windows of the priory, where they were seen and noticed by Randle Holme about 1640.

The Penkeths were land owners in Warrington at an early period, as appears by the following extract from the *Abbreviatio Rotulorum Orig.* (p. 58,) in which there is remarkable ingenuity evinced in the misspelling of names: —

Edw. I. Extractæ reddisseisin de anno regni regis Ed. XVI.

R. vic. Lancast. monstravit nobis Ricūs de Samlesbyr q'd in curia nostra apud Lanc. recuperasset seisinam suam versus Adam de Breche et Margaretam uxorem ejus Henricum fil. Gilbti de Pennebeck et Ricum fratrem ejus et Robtum de Penbeck de communa pasturæ quæ pertinet ad liberum ten. suum in Werington p. recogn. assisæ novæ disseisinæ ibi inter eos captæ &c. Rot. 25.

The Penkeths held their lands under the Butler family, and occasional notices of them are found amongst the Butler papers. They are twice mentioned as witnesses in the Butler Homage Roll, viz.: — xiii die Januarii anno regni regis Hen. VII. quinto.

Ad quem diem venit Ranulphus Sonky fil. et hær. Ranulphi Sonkey coram Thoma Botiller milite Johanne Hawardyn locum tenente Justiciarii Cestriæ Hamone Penketh, Ricardo Birhened, Henrico Garnet, & aliis et reddidit prefato Tho. Botiller x^{s} de relevio suo pro una car. terræ in parva Sonky quum prædictus Ranulphus tenet de prædicto Thomæ per serv^{m} mil. unde decem carucatæ faciunt feod. militare. And on the xxviii daye of

Oxford for the seat of his studies, and there his progress in the sciences, and particularly in philosophy and theology, was so great that he attained the highest honours usually bestowed by that university on her best divines. Subtle in ability, and of incredible acuteness in scholastic disputation, he closely imitated and diligently followed John Scotus, if he did not actually attain to all the niceties of that subtle doctor. Upon which Ambrose Cantianus in his commentaries informs us that he had so exactly mastered all the writings of Scotus, that if they had entirely perished he

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June, 21 Hen. VII., Henry Sale of Bedford did his homage to Sir Tho. B. Coram Hamone Bruche arm° Ric^d Massey et Willielmo Penketh capellanis et Olivero Bardisley et multis aliis.

In 1st Edw. VI. Sir Tho. Butler appoints Richd. Penketh, whom he calls after the manner of that age his trusty servant, to be his attorney to act for him in a matter of business.

This Richard Penketh had on many former occasions been named as the trustee and confidential adviser of the second Sir Thomas Butler, and he seems to have well deserved the confidence reposed in him. He died previous to the 19th Elizabeth, and as if his family could not outlive the fortunes of the Butlers, under whom they had grown up, and whose ruin was now impending, Penketh hall, the ancient seat of the Penkeths, seems to have changed owners, much about the same time that Bewsey, the time-honoured residence of the Butlers, passed into the hands of strangers; for, in the year 1624, we find Sir Tho. Ireland exchanging with Tho. Ashton the hall and demesnes of Penketh, late the inheritance of Richard Penketh, but at the same time carefully reserving to himself until the 21st August then next the right to remove "all & every the graffes, plants, and young trees of fruit there growing." From this last passage it would seem that the last of the Penkeths cultivated horticulture, a commendable taste, which some passages in Shakspeare would lead us to infer was growing in favour with the country gentlemen of his time.

would have been able to reproduce them from the treasures of his memory so as almost to restore them in their former integrity. The fame of his wonderful ability and eminent learning so spread through the world, that being called into Italy and induced by a great salary, he taught theology at Padua, for a long time, as we learn from James Middendor, in his fourth book of the Academies in Padua. In that place, Penketh at the request of his auditory, printed all the works of Scotus, as we learn from James Bergoman,—who at the same time commends Penketh's memory. Returning home to this country, he was created provincial of his order for England and Ireland. But, alas! the dangers that attend on mighty minds! In the year 1483 he united with Randle Shaw, a doctor in theology, in the wicked design of raising the usurper Richard to the throne, and of rejecting the posterity of Edward IV.; which design, although it in some measure succeeded, yet cast such a stain upon the fame of Penketh, and of his order in England, as could never afterwards be effaced. Nevertheless, his learning will enjoy an immortality of fame! He died and was buried in his monastery in London, on the 21st of May, 1487."

Pitsæus has subjoined to the above account a long catalogue of the writings of Penketh; and some of these, printed at Padua, are among the earliest specimens of printing in Italy. One of these, a handsome printed volume, dated in M.CCCC.LXXIIII., now deposited in the Warrington Museum, which is established on the site of Penketh's early home, has the following colophon:—

"Hæc Albertus ego Stendal colibeta magister
Altiloquentis Scoti formis uberrima pressi
Religione sacra et diva celeberrimus arte
Clarus et ingenio Augustini ex ordine Thomas
Impressum purgavit opus studio integer omni
Anglia cui patria et generis cognomine Penketh."

The fame of an Italian university stood high in Penketh's day,—and hence it is easy to understand his desire

"To see fair Padua, nursery of arts;"

for in that place his order had long enjoyed a distinguished reputation; and at the death of Petrarch, in June, 1387, exactly a century before his own decease, the funeral oration over the poet's grave was pronounced by "the Seraphic doctor," Bonaventura da Praga, (*Enc. Met.* vol. ii. p. 646,) of the order of the hermits of St. Augustine, (Camp. *Life of Petrarch*, vol. ii. p. 312;) a translation of one of whose works, in manuscript, is among the curiosities of the Chetham Library.[1]

But Penketh's deflection from duty in the affair of bastardising the children of King Edward IV., in order to advance the interests of an usurper, has made his name familiar to thousands, who have never heard either of his great learning, or of his numerous works; and such is the prerogative of genius, that in the short speech put into the mouth of Glo'ster—

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[1] 6690. Bonaventura, (S.) "The Merour of the blesside Lyfe of Jesus Christe, made English; with sev[l] tracts of Richard the Hermit." Bonaventure's works are common in manuscript. One of them, "De mysteriis Passionis Jesu Christi," may be seen in the library of the Dean and Chapter, at Lincoln.

"Go, Lovel, with all speed to Doctor Shaw; —
Go thou to Friar Penker; — bid them both
Meet me, within this hour, at Baynard's castle,"

our immortal bard has linked the friar's name to immortality,—and given us at the same time the only name connected with this immediate locality which is any where to be found in his works.

No tradition respecting Friar Penketh remains in the neighbourhood at the present day. Among his many acquirements, alchemy, astrology, and the black arts, do not seem to have been ascribed to him; and it was hardly to be expected that his studious habits as a disputant, or a theologian, would acquire him much popular renown outside the limits of his cloister, or that his fame would be heard in the neighbourhood, after the hand of the spoiler had so long overthrown the early home in which he had acquired his learning. Penketh was spared the pain of seeing the plough-share pass over the scene of his first studies; and doubtless, amidst the perplexity of his later years, and in the shipwreck of his fame, he would often turn with fond regret towards the priory at Warrington, in whose quiet seclusion he had found the tranquillity to which he had subsequently been a stranger. He died in 1487, just four years after the birth of Luther, who began his early career as a friar of Penketh's order.

In 1505 it is recorded in the Butler papers, *(Contributions to the early history of Warrington, by Dr. Kendrick,)* that Sir Thomas Boteler received in the priory the homage of one of his tenants. The notice is as follows:—"XII die

mensis Aug'ti anno xx° Henry VII. Rob^{tus} Blundell fil. Willi Blundell did his homage to Sir Thomas Boteler, k$^{t.}$ at the freris of Weryngton, afore Hugh Boteler, Thomas More, and Sir William Plumtre w'th many others. Id. Rob'tus pay'd his releyf the xiiith day of March, anno prædicto xxxiii$^{s.}$ iiii$^{d.}$" And in 1516 (*ibid*,) we find Richard Slawright, at that time prior of the hermit friars of St. Augustine of Weryngton, one of the parties present at the entering upon possession of a messuage and garden in "le heigh strete" of that town, leased by Rondle Sonkey to Oliver Berdisley. When the royal antiquary, Leland, visited Warrington in the reign of Henry VIII., the friary received from him this passing notice, (vol. vii. p. 56,) "There is one church," and "a freres Augustines at the town end."

But evil days were now approaching the ancient priory of Warrington, and omens which could neither be misunderstood nor averted, portended its speedy downfall. We have no particular account of its fall or surrender; nor do we know whether Prior Slawright continued in office up to that time, although it is probable that he did not. We know indeed that he was still in office on the 16th August, 12th Henry VIII., 1520, for on that day he witnesses the Will of Sir Thos. Butler, and signs himself "Prior." And a passage in the Inq. P. M., taken 4th July, 14th Henry VIII., 1523, after the death of Sir Tho. Butler, would lead us to conclude that he had attained to the still higher honour of becoming the general of his order, for it is said that the knight died seised amongst other things "de homagio et servitio Ricardi gener. Augustini." The convent was pro-

bably among those lesser houses whose doom was sealed by the statute of the 26th Henry VIII. But the site remained in the royal hands until the thirty-second year of that monarch's reign; when we find by the Records of the Exchequer, (Jones's *Index Rot.* 102,) that it was granted to Thomas Holcrofte, the greedy devourer of such possessions. Holcrofte's fondness for acquisitions of this sort, however, was the prompting not of reverence but of lucre, and accordingly he retained the site of the friary at Warrington only until he could find a profitable customer; and in a very short time, by a deed dated 27th of September, 35th Henry VIII., three years from the time of his purchase, we find him re-selling the property to one John Cawdwall, for £126, by the description of "All that his scyt of the late house of Austen freirs of Weryngton w'h in the countie of Lanc'r, nowe dissolved, w't all his messuages, housses, buyldings, barnes, stabuls, duff housses, orchards, gardens, lands, and grounds, as well w't in as w't oute the scyt, walke, circuyte, and pr'yncts of the said late housse of Austen freirs beyng; Also one meadow called Blanche meadow, cont^g 3 acres; also a housse called the Kylne housse; also a crofte, and one duff housse thereon builded; also *too* little gardens, and *too* orchards; also five tenements or cottages; also one other garden, all in Weryngton, to the said housse of Austen freirs belongynge and apperteyninge, w'ch the said Thomas Holcrofte late had of the gyfte and graunte of our souraigne lord kyng Henry the eight, by his letters pattents bearyng date at Westm'r the eyghtene daye of June, in the xxxiii yere of hys gr'cious raygne." In this

conveyance John Cawdwall covenants that he will not "lette or interrupte the inhabitaunts of the towne of Weryngton aforesayde for the usage and occupation of the churche of the late freers aforesayde, according unto a lease thereoff mayd by the said Thomas Holcrofte unto Sir Wyllyam Plumtre, clerke; and also that he would suffer the said Thomas Holcrofte to have the ingresse and regresse into all and singuler the p'mysses to carrie awaye all the stone walls of the sayd late freirs, whyche at thys pr'sent tyme be not covred w'th any rouffe." But the reformation begun under Henry was not destined to hold an uninterrupted course, and his daughter, unawed by the dictates and the example of so absolute a father, re-introduced the ancient faith; and Holcrofte gave evidence of his prudence in seeking and obtaining from the new sovereign, under whom new views were in the ascendant, a renewal of the grant made by her father. The grant may be seen in the same repository as the former, and a reference will be found to it in the same index, (1st and 2nd Philip and Mary, rot. 143.) But Holcrofte's possession was not yet quieted, for in the 5th Elizabeth, (*ibid*, rot. 85,) he was summoned to shew by what title he held the priory. Doubtless he was able to satisfy this summons, although the result does not appear in the index.

It does not appear for what period the lease to Plumtre was to continue; nor how long the public continued to enjoy the use of the friary Church. From one of the Butler papers, however, there is reason to think that the Church was used down to the year 1592, and it was very probably

used to a much later period, and even down to the time when Randle Holme made the record of its monuments in 1640. An ancient gateway, forming one of the entrances, remained standing until near the close of the last century; and with it disappeared probably the last vestige of the various buildings comprized in Holcroft's grant, of which there now remains not one stone standing upon another. It were to be wished for the sake of the inhabitants, and especially by the antiquary, that so venerable a monument of the times as the friary Church had been spared to us,—and that we might still have seen devoted to purposes of religion, an edifice which had evidently some recommendations for the ecclesiastical architect as well as for the antiquary. But although the Church did not long continue to be the resort of living worshippers, its cemetery must have long existed as the favourite resting-place for their remains in death, as the numerous remains of human bodies, of both sexes, discovered there in different times, shew with abundant evidence. In a topographical work entitled the *British Traveller*, (p. 631,) the following account is given of the discovery of a sepulchral stone on the site of the friary, and which is now in the Warrington Museum:—"On the 26th of September, 1779, in digging on the site of the ancient priory, some workmen discovered, about three feet beneath the surface, a tombstone, which measured about seven feet in length, and about one and a half foot in breadth, narrowing from the top. No trace of letters could be discovered on the stone; but the figures of a cross and a sword were plainly visible. They were very perfect, and appeared to

have been well cut. On removing the stone there was found underneath it a coffin, in which were the bones of a man, and on the left arm a large withy stick. The upper part of the skull appeared to have been broken off and displaced. The coffin, which was rough and unwieldy, had been cut from a solid log of wood, and had received no exterior polish afterwards."

In reference to the wand found in the above coffin, it may be mentioned that similar discoveries have been made elsewhere, as for instance at Southwell, where (Thoroton's *Nottinghamshire*, vol. iii. p. 89,) we are informed that in opening an ancient coffin they found a wand lying by the body, and something like the cover of a silver cup, which was probably a paten. In this last case it may be inferred that the deceased was an ecclesiastic, for we are informed by a celebrated writer on British monachism, (Fosbroke, p. 103,) that the wooden pastoral staff often found in the tombs of abbots, might be the ferula, which was a species of crosier. In the Warrington case, however, the emblem of the sword upon the tomb, and the broken skull of the tenant within, seem to preclude the idea of his having been an ecclesiastic. We may perhaps suppose him to have been some warrior, to whom a pilgrim's wand was given on his being committed to his cerements; or the willow wand, which, in this country, has always been used as a substitute for the palm branch, may have been placed in the warrior's hands, as an emblem of victory in death. But about the year 1825 another sepulchral stone was dug up on the site of the priory, which is now also in the Museum, and is still in perfect

preservation. There is upon it a sculptured cross ragulée, from which is suspended a shield bearing the arms of Holcrofte, and by the side of the cross one of the large two-handed swords. Thomas Holcrofte, the grantee, was buried at Weaverham. This tomb, therefore, could hardly have been the tomb of the spoiler himself. It may, with some probability, be ascribed to Sir John Holcrofte, his elder brother, who it is not unlikely shared in the prevailing feeling of the neighbourhood as to the sanctity of the friary precincts.

It is not difficult for us at the present day to realize some idea of ancient Warrington as it is described in the pages of this volume. It was probably then destitute of both the causeways by which it is now approached on the north and south. Seacome tells us that it was so in 1495, when King Henry VII. visited his mother at Latham; and that, considering this, the Earl of Derby erected a bridge, and threw up a causeway across the marshes to the rising ground on the Cheshire side. — (*History of the House of Stanley*, p. 42.) In its ground plan the town was straggling and irregular. If we may judge from his short and pithy description of the place, this character of Warrington appears to have struck Leland some half century afterwards, as it would strike a stranger at the present hour.

In all our old towns the style of building was much more picturesque formerly than it is at present; and we may judge from some ancient specimens still remaining, that Warrington was no exception, in this respect, to the times or the neighbourhood. High and ornamental gables, with the upper stories of the houses projecting above the lower, recessed

and shadowy porches, with handsome and spacious doorways, long ranges of narrow lights with quarrel panes, through which the light was admitted by stealth, and the whole front of the houses divided by ornamental panels of black and white, distinguished in that age the exterior architecture of Warrington houses. A type of what the town then was might probably be found in some of the old German villages still standing near the banks of the Rhine. Few of the streets were of sufficient width to set off this ornamental architecture to advantage, for the state of the times, and the fashion of the age, when wheel carriages, save for agriculture, were almost unknown in the provinces, led our ancestors to contract the space between the two sides of the street, — and in many cases, probably, opposite neighbours might shake hands across the street from the windows of the upper stories of their houses.

The wisdom of our ancestors was not shewn in this feature of their street architecture, — by which they contrived to exclude, where both are much needed, the blessings of light and ventilation. In every effort towards improving our old towns, much of the difficulty consists in repairing this evil committed at their original foundation. Timber so largely employed as the building material of that day, while it greatly contributed to the picturesqueness of the architecture, exposed it at the same time to the more frequent ravages of fire.[1] This danger was greatly aggravated by the

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[1] Brick, as a material in house architecture, was probably unknown in our streets at that time, for in a rental of the lord of the manor so recently as 1627, we read of a shop under the *brick* house.

close proximity of house to house, and by the narrow interval between different sides of the streets. Internally, the houses of our forefathers would sink in comparison with the habitations of the middle classes at the present day. Their arrangement was bad and defective. The rooms, except in a few instances designed for state, were low, small, and badly lighted; while the division between different apartments, was frequently effected by mere wood partitions. The joinery and carpentry of that age, though probably more expensive, were inferior in execution to our own. Under all these defects, it is evident that the ventilation of their chambers must have been in excess; which, in an age when wood was the principal fuel, and coal,[1] even in this neighbourhood, was comparatively little used, would make the abodes of our ancestors cheerless and chilly. But yet, as in the days of Horace the complaint was—

> "Ætas parentum pejor avis tulit
> Nos nequiores;"

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[1] Amongst the Tower records are three royal charters, bearing date respectively, 3 Ed. II., 15 Ed. II., and 12 Ed. III., and granting for the purpose of effecting repairs in the bridges and pavements, certain temporary customs on articles brought into Warrington for sale. In the two first of these charters a custom of one farthing is imposed on every 100 faggots and every 1000 turves, and of one halfpenny on every cart load of wood or wind blown timber, and no mention is made of pit coal. But the last of the charters imposes a custom of one penny on every 1000 faggots, one farthing on every 10,000 turves, one penny on every ship load of turves, and one halfpenny weekly on every cart load of wood and coals (carbonum). Hence it is evident that pit coal was not unknown to our ancestors in the times of which we are treating, although probably its use at that period was by no means extensive.

so even in these days we may suppose that some improvements had been introduced which were unknown to the preceding age, — and which would doubtless give occasion of lamentation and complaint to some chronicler of the times.

"In the discourse prefixed to Holinshed's History, [*Quarterly Review* for 1816, p. 418,] the writer speaking of the increase of luxury, mentions three things especially, that are marvellously altered for the worse in England; the multitude of chimneys lately erected — the great increase of lodgings — and the exchange of treene platters into pewter, and wooden spoons into silver and tin: and he complains bitterly that nothing but oak for building houses is now regarded; 'for when our houses' (says he) 'were built of willow, then we had oaken men; but now that our houses come to be made of oak, our men are not only become willow, but a great many altogether of straw, which is a sore alteration.' But though they had wooden spoons, they had nothing in the shape of a fork, but took the meat out of the dish with their fingers; as is clear from Tom Coryate, who, in 1608, half a century afterwards, travelled through France, and introduced the use of forks at his return home, from which he was afterwards called Furcifer."

In that age, and for a long period afterwards, the shops of the tradesmen were open stalls, without windows or glass; and our ancestors had need to be a patient, as well as a sturdy race, when they waited behind their counters for their customers in the cold and gloomy days which visited Lancashire in the olden time, as they still continue to do at the present day.

"But eke that age despised niceness vaine,
Enured to hardnesse and to homely fare,
Which them to warlike discipline did traine."
Fairy Queen, c. viii.

Even at that period, population was felt to be pressing upon the means of subsistence; but the feeling must then have been comparatively slight, and the architects of the time, not confined to measure land by the yard, did not curtail the houses they built of the buildings demanded in the rear by health or convenience. The crowded abodes now used by the poor were consequently unknown. The problem, how large a number can subsist in the smallest space, remained for the present time to solve; a problem which, while it shews man's wilful efforts to counteract the designs of Providence, shews also the wonderful machinery with which his frame is endowed, and by which he can exist under a seeming reversal of the order designed by the Creator, and become habituated to evils which appear to contradict nature. No animal, man excepted, can adapt itself to the alteration and vicissitudes of all climates, and of every varying state. Man only can endure equally the burning heat of the tropics, and the piercing cold of Nova Zembla; and; passing from the pursuits of rural life and the healthy atmosphere of the country, his frame in a short time becomes reconciled to the close confinement and the vitiated air of the town. It is not to be supposed that these adverse circumstances do not produce their effect upon the duration of life; but that man is able to endure them even to the extent he does, is another proof how just is the

Psalmist's exclamation, that "we are fearfully and wonderfully made."

Our modern luxuries of gas and water-works, as well as the wonderful convenience of canals and railways, were things unrevealed, even in vision, to the chronicler of these ancient pages. Our noble river, in one direction more navigable, though less navigated in his day, was free from the impurities with which population and manufactures have since corrupted its waters. No effort had been made to render the stream navigable towards Manchester; and probably various fish-yards, and other similar enclosures, would interrupt its course above the limits of the tide. In those days, when the necessity was greatest, our ancestors did not possess the use of a fire engine. They certainly had neither a stage coach, nor any public conveyance,—and locomotion, especially to distant places, must have been in that age a work of time and difficulty. The via bigalis de Arpley, and several similar ways, are mentioned. The wain, whence the name was derived, was probably the only carriage known in Warrington at that time.

The four principal approaches to the town will be found to have existed then, as now, for all of them are mentioned in the manuscript, and some of them by several names, although they are not all of them designated after the great towns to which they lead. Thus, we have—

I.

Via ducens a villa de Werington versus Knottisforthe.

Alta via ducens a villa de Lacheforthe versus civitatem Cestriæ.

II.

Via ducens a villa de Newton versus Wegan.

Via quæ ducit a ponte de Werington usque ad villam de Hulme.

Vicus qui ducit a foro de Werington versus Longeforthe.

Regia strata quæ ducit a foro de Werington versus Beawsee et Wynwhick.

III.

Alta via ducens a ponte de Sonky usque ad Sonky Grene vocata Hudde Lane.

Via ducens a villa de Werynton usque ad Prescote.

Via ducens a Weryngton versus Sonky.

IV.

Via ducens ab ecclesia ad Wulstone.

The map of a portion of Warrington, which is prefixed to this work, will be rendered more intelligible if we insert a list of the principal streets and public places mentioned in the manuscript, adding to it their modern names. It will be found from it that the majority of the places occurring in the manuscript continue to be called by their ancient names at the present day. Thus: the Forum de Weryngton, is the Corn Market; Sonky gate, is Sankey street; Slycher's lane, is Slutcher's lane; Bonke street, is Bank street, and Mersey street; Venella vocata Hethe strete, is Fennel street; Kyrke street, is Church street; Hollay lane, is Howley lane; Marketh yate, is Market gate; Whyte cross, is White cross; Cocagium, is Cock hedge; Longforthe, is Longford; Bag lane, is School lane; Pratterowe, is the North side of the Corn Market; Newgate, is Bridge-street; and Hallûs walle, Hallums walle, or Halluns

walle, is the place called the Running Pump. Mersey water, or as it is more than once called, the Sea of Mersey, Houghton-brook, Wulston-brook, Bruch-brook, and Risshefeld-brook, are natural objects which it was hardly likely should undergo a change, — and they continue to be known by their ancient names at the present day.

There are some scenes described or referred to in the manuscript, which while they forcibly contrast with events in the present day, enable us to realize very vividly the times in which the author wrote. One of such scenes, described at page 45 of the original manuscript, under the head of Sankey Magna, may help us to recal one of those ancient halls so graphically represented by Mr. Nash, where the feudal baron, surrounded by his retainers, in the picturesque habits of the age, receives the homage of his vassal. The passage is as follows — "Imprimis *Ranulphus filius* et hæres Mathei[1] *de Rixton* de Sonky Magna tenet de prædicto Petro Legh per servitium militare et fecit homagium et fidelitatem suam prædicto Petro die Jovis proximo ante festum conceptionis Beatæ Mariæ Virginis anno regni regis Edwardi quarti post conquestum Angliæ quinto [i.e. on Thursday, the 5th of December, 1465,] in presentia istorum quorum nomina hic sequuntur, videlicet Ricardi Kygheley[2] Petri Legh junioris filii dicti Petri Legh militis [who died,

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[1] The reader will find a curious Parliamentary fraud ascribed to an ancestor of this Matthew, (who is, by mistake, called Matthew de Rissheton,) in Baines's *Lancashire*, vol. i. p. 305, in notis.

[2] Probably of the family of Kygheleys of Inskip. Henry Kygheley, of this family, married Cicely, a daughter of the first Sir Thomas Butler.

as the pedigree shews, within three years afterwards, in the lifetime of his father,] et Willielmi Irland armigerorum, Thomæ Irland fratris dicti Willielmi, Mathæi Domvill, Mathæi Fowler, capellani, Petri Wudcok capellani, Ricardi Assheton, Ricardi Prestall, et multorum aliorum ibidem circumstantium."

The reader who desires to know more particularly the probable habits of the laymen present at the above ceremony, may glean some insight into the subject from Bloxham's *Glimpses of Monumental Architecture*, p. 199, where, by means of information derived from ancient tombs, the author has enabled us to recal our ancestry "in the very robes they wore." How strange it is that we should be indebted to the place of decay, for the only means of preserving to us many objects of so much interest to the antiquary, — as if our customs, like ourselves, could only obtain immortality through the tomb!

The frequency with which moated houses are mentioned in the manuscript, as for instance at page 45 of the original, where, under the head of Sankey, we have the following description, — "Manerium de Pele in villa de Sonky Magna cum cameris coquina, &c. cum fossa paludili circumclusum," gives us a strong idea of the insecurity of society in those times. Locks, and bolts, and bars, might have guarded our forefathers against the common marauder; but the Bewsey tragedy, which if not true has at all events an air of probability about it, and the story told by Mr. Ormerod of the curious domestic war at Stanney, (*Harl. MSS.* 2046, d. 35. quoted in Ormerod's *Cheshire*,) are sufficient to shew that,

in those days, it required more than a metaphor to make an Englishman's house his castle. Some of these moated houses, and the ruins of the castles which preceded them, are picturesque memorials of a former age which serve to make us thankful that the dominion of the law is better established, and that under its strong, but silent influence, we may rest more securely than our hardy forefathers did behind their ditches and drawbridges, portcullises and machicolations.

The lawyer who reads this manuscript[1] will not fail to be struck with the large number of dowresses spoken of in it. Dower, seems in that age, to have been the constant provision to which the wife succeeded upon her husband's decease. It was a provision which suited the simplicity of the times, when education was rare amongst the middle classes, and personal estates were of small amount. Here, in that day, Tranio could not have made the flourish which he did in Padua, when he offered in settlement upon his wife —

> "Three great argosies; besides two galliasses,
> And twelve tight gallies."
>
> *Taming of a Shrew,* act ii.

However large a modern rent roll, you will find in it no single instance of a dowress amongst the widows who represent the deceased tenants.

The general reader, as well as the lawyer, will remark also the great variety of the tenures and services by which

[1] This remark is meant to apply to the whole of the manuscript, and not merely to the part now published.

our forefathers held their lands at the time when this manuscript was compiled, and the wide difference existing between some of them and our own. Besides the tenure "in capite per servitium militare," which was strictly military in its nature and origin, we meet with the following tenures and services, which for the most part explain their own nature,—"Tenendum ad voluntatem," to hold at will; "ad terminum annorum," to hold for a term of years; "reddendo tres quartronas piperis," rendering three-quarters of a pound of pepper; "reddendo per annum unum quadrantem et unam rosam," rendering every year one farthing and one rose; (this juxta position of the rose and the farthing, will recal to the reader's mind a curious allusion to a combination of these two objects in Shakspeare's King John, act i. sc. 1;) "reddendo de capitali redditu per annum videlicet tres denarios cum uno porco takkato vel sex denarios," rendering as a yearly chief rent, three pence with one fat pig, or sixpence; "reddendo tres denarios et unam libram piperis," rendering three pence and one pound of pepper; "tenendum tenurâ operationis per licentiam dicti Petri," holding by the tenure of doing certain work at the option of the landlord; "ducentem ad introitum ex voluntate dicti Ricardi," liberty to use a way leading to an entry during the pleasure of the said Richard.

We have too a great number of rents which are to be rendered either in money or in services, at the option probably of the lord, as for instance, these—"Una dies implendo bigam fimalem quæ valet duos denarios," one day's service in filling the dung cart, which is worth two pence;

"una dies faciendo fœnum quæ valet unum denarium," one day's work at hay-making, worth one penny; "duobus diebus autumpnalibus," two days' service in autumn; "quatuor dies una ad metendum quæ valent octo denarios," four days' service, one of them in mowing, the worth of all which is eight pence; "una dies cum erpica quæ valet quatuor denarios," one day's service with the harrow, worth four pence; "una dies mittendo granum ad bigam," one day's work in loading corn upon the wain.

On a review of the several holdings mentioned in the manuscript, we find that a single acre of meadow land in Arpley, probably of the first quality, let for 3s. 4d. a year. That two messuages and gardens in the market place, produced each a rent of 8s. 4d.; and another newly-built house, in the same situation, fetched a rent of 11s. 4d. Two gardens are let, the one at 3s. and the other at 2s. rent. Several other messuages fetched a rent of 5s. 4d. each; while sixteen other houses, let with one hundred and twenty-eight acres of land, fetched the gross sum of £13. 14s. 8d., or about 2s. 1¾d. per acre, accounting the houses as merged in the value of the land. In another case, where land is let without a house, we find four acres let at a rent of 4s. 2d. or 1s. ½d. per acre; and this probably would be nearly the average rent of farming land in Warrington at that day. In this estimate the personal services, where they are payable, are accounted for at the commutation price fixed upon them in the rental, that is—

One day's service with the harrow ..... 4d.
One day filling the dung cart, at ..... 2d.

One day in autumn ..... 2d.
One day's mowing ..... 2d.
One day at hay-making..... 1d.

If we add one-third to the amount of these several rents, we shall have their value in our present money, and we shall consequently perceive how greatly the times have changed, and how the proportionate rental of different properties has varied. In the year 1464, as we learn from Adam Smith, a quarter of wheat was worth 10s. of our present money, while the same quantity would probably, in round numbers, be now worth sixty shillings; but six times the amount of any of the above rents would very inadequately represent the present money value of the rental of the property; for while this process would hardly give us a sixth of the present rental of the land, it would assuredly not give us more than a tenth of the rental of houses and buildings, a Cheshire acre of land, near the town, being worth more than £6, and houses, such as those mentioned in the manuscript, being now let for about £25.

The services required from all tenants at the date of the manuscript were a remnant of the feudal customs, and had their origin in the necessities of the times. At a time when money was scarce the landowner had no way of securing the labour he required except by reserving it as a part of his rent. "The prelates, barons, and other proprietors of land," says Henry, in his *History of England*, vol. x. p. 171, "kept extensive tracts of land around their castles, which were called their demesne lands, in their own immediate possession, and cultivated them by their villains, and by

hired servants, under the direction of their bailiffs. But these great landholders having often led their followers into the fields of war, their numbers were gradually diminished, and hired servants could not be procured on reasonable terms." But this reservation of services was early felt to be a considerable grievance to the commonalty, for we are told by Froissart, (vol. ii. p. 652,) in a former age, that the variety of services required by the lords, was amongst the alledged causes of the rebellion headed by Wat Tyler, — "The commonalty are bound by law, and custom, to plough the lands of the gentlemen, to harvest the grain, to carry it home to the barn, to thrash and winnow it: they are also bound to harvest the hay, and carry it home." On the sale of the Manor of Warrington in 1628, a regular account was taken of the number and value of the services of this kind to be performed yearly by the tenants of the estates formerly belonging to the Butlers, and it was found that there were —

Thirty-six ploughs at	4s. 8d. each.
Forty harrows at.....	7d. each.
Sixty-six shearers and fillers of dung at	4d. each.

Some of these boon services have already disappeared, but others still continue in various parts of the country; these, however, are fast wearing out, and it will probably not be long ere they finally disappear. Money in the market it will be found will secure better services than those which are rendered in this indirect way, — while those who render them must find the burden oppressive and vexatious.

The fencing and enclosing of fields by hedges and ditches,

now so universal in this neighbourhood, must have prevailed to a considerable extent at the date of this manuscript, for we meet with mention of this circumstance on almost every page.[1] But there were in that day large commons called heaths, still remaining uninclosed on different sides of the town, all of which have been long since brought under cultivation. Besides the "fovea" or pit, which was very probably a fox earth, we find frequent mention of the "puteus" or well, and the "fons" or "fons scaturiens," the springing fountain. Of the several kinds of land, mention is made of the "pratum" or meadow, the "terra arabilis" or ploughed land, and the "terra frisca" or fresh land. The tumbrel and the arable land had established their alliance in those days; and it might have been wished that the writer of the manuscript had given us more glimpses into the modes then in use of cultivating or improving the soil. We read often of fields which are called the Brandearth; whence we may, I think, infer that the mode of bringing the soil under cultivation, by burning the turf or surface, was then, as it continued to be until lately, in use in this neighbourhood. There are a few, but not many other allusions to this subject:—"Duo magni putei marlerii," two large pits of marl, are mentioned in one place; and we read of a "campum noviter marleriatum," a field recently marled; "una acra terræ cum uno approvamento ad marlerium superponendum

[1] Dr. Henry, in his *History of England*, vol. x. p. 172, informs us that the practice of enclosing became very general at this period, and occasioned prodigious clamours from those who mistook the effect of depopulation for its cause.

et faciendum terram arabilem," one acre of land with one enclosure to be marled and made into arable land; "magna mora sive mossetum ad serviendum tenentes ad terricidia fodenda et ad pasturanda cum animalibus," a great moor or moss, to serve the tenants for digging turves and for depasturing their cattle.

No uniform system of measures seems to have been enforced amongst our ancestors at the period of the manuscript. The habit which has now become inveterate had already commenced, and accordingly we read of a quantity estimated "secundum operationem aratri et non per mensuram," according to the working of the plough and not by measure; and of "una acra terræ secundum mensuram de Makerfelde," an acre of land according to the measure of Makerfield. This was probably the Lancashire measure of seven yards to the rod.

It is popularly said in Paris that there is no family of that vast city whose ancestors can be shewn to have resided there one hundred years ago; and although like most generalities, the assertion may be exaggerated, yet it is certain that the condition of that gay and sunny metropolis has been hitherto unfavourable to health, and that the bulk of its inhabitants are consequently of a migratory rather than an hereditary character. If we could pursue the enquiry, it might be a curious question how many of the families now settled in Warrington were to be found here in the time of Edward IV. Whoever is acquainted with the modern town, will recognize amongst its ancient names, the names of many families who still

continue to be settled there.[1] We find in the manuscript the names of—

Andrewe.
Arosmethe.
Assheton.
Berdisley.
Bruche.
Balfrunte.
Barker.
Blakehurste.
Byrom.
Bullynge.
Belle.
Baxter.
Blundell.
Chalon.
Clerk.
Chaloner.
Cowper.
Derneluff.
Dawne.
Dychefelde.
Dernelowe.
Dene, Jak of the.
Doghton.
Fawkener.
Fletcher.
Foxelowe.
Fulschagh.
Fyrell, Colin.
Garnet.
Gerrard.
Gylle.
Hatton.
Hardewar.
Hurlstools or Urlestoles.
Hakynsall.
Herdeman.
Holme et Hulme.
Hoggekynson.
Holbrooke.
Hyndeley.
Hey, Jak of the.
Hille.
Jamesson.
Kenian.
Killurmarghe.
Kyngeley.
Le Fytche.
Litche.
Lacheforthe.
Langeton.
Longetre.
Mather or Madur.

[1] Some few of these names belong to other parts of the manuscript, and not to the portion now published.

Munke.
Makynson, aliter dictus Rogerus del Wode.
Mulyngton.
Massy.
Mason.
Norreis.
Nayler.
Ocly.
Parr.
Pulforthe.
Potour.
Pepir.
Patun.
Perryn.
Pasmethe.
Pigot.
Pyketon.
Richerop.
Rixton.
Ryder.
Roby.
Rysseley.
Sadler.
Spycer.
Sale.
Swanne.
Sporis.
Sothewurthe.
Sothurne.
Sawer.
Sonky.
Torfote.
Thomelynson, Jak.
Twysse.
Tykyll.
Turton.
Tyrehare.
Urlestoles.
Wadyngton.
Wode.
Wilkynson.
Webster.
Wodecok.
Warburton.
Walton.
Wylme, Jak.

A few of the above names, which are evidently of French origin, may have been imported with their owners after the wars of France. Two others are evidently soubriquets, bestowed probably from some circumstance in the owner's personal history. The word Jameson is spelt according to the Scottish pronunciation of the word, as the name of

the neighbouring village of Winwick,[1] is spelt Qwinwick or Wynqwik; while Whitaker, appears as Qwyteakyr; a mode of spelling which is also Scottish in its character. We find the family of Torfote frequently occurring in Cheshire Inquisitions, in connexion with the sergeanty of the gaol at Frodsham. Another name, the name of Urlestoles or Hurlstools, may remind the reader of that Scottish incident recorded in Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*, (vol. i. p. 200, *second series*,) when Jenny Geddes aimed her stool at the preacher's head, in the high Church of St. Giles. An antiquary will think the name of Berdisley, which is found in the list, worthy of remark from its connexion with Sir Peter Leycester who tells us, (*History of Bucklow Hundred*,) that Blanche, the fourth wife of Thomas Leycester, one of his ancestors, circ. 14th Henry VIII. was the rich widow of Oliver Berdisley of Warrington, whose name has occurred several times in the course of this Introduction. In the list of her ancient inhabitants, there is one name which every friend to Warrington will rejoice to find still remaining — the name of Patten, — a name, which, as it is one of our oldest local names, is also one of our best. May that name be carried forward into the future for a still longer period than it has already existed in our annals,—and may it ever be, as now, amongst our names of highest honour!

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[1] We have a third spelling of this word in Baines's *History of Lancashire*, vol. i. p. 277, where we read of Robert le taillour de Wynequick; but each of these instances falls short of the waste of letters committed by Sir Thos. Strickland, temp. Henry VI. who, in spelling Sandwich, uses the word Sandwightith.—*History of Kendal.*

A complete list is here subjoined of the names[1] of the several fields and places mentioned in the manuscript:—

NAMES OF FIELDS AND PLACES.

Arpeley.
Adreslade.
Alderswell.
Anglesey.
Aspunhedecrofte.
Asshedoles.
Bruera de Overfurthe.
Bruera de Weryngton versus molendinum ventriticum.
Borestone. Lyme.
Barborslande.
Bellynslande.
Bruche hethe.
Betys fylde.
Bruche holte.
Benferlonge. Bradley.
Butterlache.
Beggersgreve.
Bromecrofte.
Byrlecrofte.
Cheretrehurste.
Chesterfylde in Newton.
Cocage.
Chestersyde in Newton.
Crawekylneakyr.
Crabbetrefelde.
Conyngreves.
Cumballwode.
Deerelache.
Daddefelde.
Dalcarr. Orford.
Davidis Yorde.
Dokkeplokke.
Downehowse medo.
Ellurgreve flatte.
Emmeakyr.
Fossa communis de Hollay.
Ferneleghfelde.
Fytchlande.
Fytchakyr.
Frere medo.
Fossa communis campi de Arpeley.
Geldyngesheye.
Gyllefylde.
Gillelande.
Gale Sperthe.
Hobbeakyr de Lymme.

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[1] A few of these names occur in other parts of the manuscript, and not in the part now published.

Holeakyr. Orford.
Halluswalle.
Hellehole.
Hankeye.
Hawryddinge.
Hamundisholme.
Homur plokke.
Ince lande.
Irpuls erthe.
Kingesmedo.
Lawe erthe.
Larkejoyecloghe.
Le Allgreves.
Le Blewecrofte.
Le Brokeakyr. Orford.
Le Brande erthes crofte.
Le Bruche heye.
Le Byttock.
Le Clayakyr or le Qwytcakyr.
Le Cokes erthe.
Le Corneheye.
Le Coweheye.
Le Conyngreves.
Le Cursepittebonkys.
Le Carre dytche.
Le Fytchelande.
Le Fysshersheye.
Le Flaxe buttes.
Le Gosgreve.
Le Gorsty akyr.
Le Gale parrok.
Le Heghe hadlande.
Le Henne greve.
Le Herrebanke.
Le Hole in Hollay.
Le Justinge butt.
Le Kylne heye.
Le Lache.
Le Laghers childerfelde.
Le Longeheye.
Le Lowefsyche.
Le Lytyll Walton heye.
Le Millwardescrofte.
Le Morslande.
Le Marlet heye.
Le Marchemanis feldes aliter Goodemane's feldes.
Le Moresportemedo.
Le Magna spina in Arpeley.
Le Merbury's howse. Orford.
Le Marfeny.
Le Nasty shote.
Le Ovyncrofte.
Le Olerun bothe.
Le Peny plokke.
Le Podell.
Le Petehills.
Le Roe heye.
Le Sparolache.
Le Snapeputtes.
Le Synfull heye.
Le Swanne's banke.
Le Sheppecote.
Le Whytyng egge.

Le Wardefylde.
Le Warthe.
Le Wethynflatte.
Le Wroe.
Moss heye.
Merbury's lande.
Magot's fylde of Holcrofte.
Mykyllhawkyseghe's crofte.
Old Yordes.
Parke felde. Orford.
Payn's felde.
Pese crofte.
Peryn's felde.
Pyghull. Orford.
Pyghull. Warrington.
Pyke.
Pilothulle.
Pyper's yate.
Pynghull.
Pyket akyr.
Pons de Weryngton.
Rede erthe.
Rawrydding.
Stanfelde.
Sibotis medo.
Sowterserthe.
Sonky hawes.
Shorte doles.
Seint Mary's londe.
Swayngateakyr.
Spina de Arpeley.
Thystyllakyr.
Toddesbroke. Lyme.
Twystes.
Thornehedakyr.
Whytehynde's lowe.
Wetteshaghes.
Weteakyrs.
Weryngton hethe.
Wulfeputte. Lyme.

It will surprise the Warrington reader to find that Cockhedge, the Twystes, and Pighill, were ancient names slightly varied four hundred years ago; while some of the names bestowed by our forefathers upon their fields, are suggestive of thought, and serve to shew that they were by no means unimaginative in their day. Thus we have the "Lark-joy-clough," so named doubtless from the delight they attached to the harmony of that "sweet singer at heaven's gate." In the "Curse-pit banks," and the "Sinful-hey," we may perceive the shadowing of some dark legend

of witchcraft or superstition — some laying of a ghost — or some imprecation of the Church. The fields called the "Waxen lights," and the "Sleeper's grave," bore some connexion with the Church's offices. The "Justing butt," calls up ideas of the old romance, and of a picturesque amusement known to that age, but now forgotten. The "Micklehawkseyes croft," will remind us of the pursuits of falconry, and the same sport, so much in favour with our ancestors, is perhaps shadowed in the name of another field mentioned above, the "More-sport-meadow."

A word or two may perhaps be permitted on the different buildings mentioned in the book, and on their various uses, amongst which we have the —

Aula.
Bastellum.
Boscarium.
Baia in Orreo.
Camera.
Cœnaculum.
Coquina.
Cornerium.
Cellarium.
Domus turbariorum.
Domus pro cortice arborum.
Domus terricidiorum.
Falda ante ostium.
Haia.
Messuagium principale.
Magnum hospitium.
Opella sive shopa.
Orreum decimale.
Orreum.
Pandoxatorium.
Pistrina.
Pons tractabilis de Bradley.
Shopa.
Stabulum.
Solarium.
Shipun or Shepun.
Ustrina.

What a crowd of reflexions does the word "bastellum" call up, which is here used as a household word, but which,

under the name of its French representative, has since acquired a dreadful notoriety throughout the world. The "magnum hospitium" of the manuscript, was possibly a great inn, in those days; and "Moorsland," (p. 93,) was probably the sign of it or of some other hospice, for we well know that inns had their signs in that age; and we may instance the Tabard immortalized in Chaucer, and "Le Rose super le Hope," which is mentioned in the *Calendar of Inquisitions, post mortem*, p. 357, anno 12th Edward IV. The achievements in the wars in Palestine, of the Cheshire heroes, the Duttons, — who, at the date of the manuscript, had assumed the name of Warburton, — were then sufficiently recent to make an allusion to the Moors' land not unfashionable or unpopular. Although we have seen, from a previous note, that pit coal was not unknown at the time of the manuscript, yet there does not occur in the work any mention either of coals or coal-houses; but we frequently meet with both the "domus turbariorum," and "domus terricidiorum." There may be some doubt as to the exact meaning of the word "ustrina," which occurs very frequently in the book, which probably means an oven; we can have no doubt, however, as to the meaning of another word, the word "shopa," which occurs almost as frequently. But although we cannot doubt what the word means, we may have great doubt what was sold in the shops of our ancestors. We may be more certain as to what was not to be found there.

The discovery of the art of printing, an event perhaps the most remarkable that has happened since the discovery of

letters, was then only a few years old, and possibly no printed book had at that time been seen even in England. We may be very certain, therefore, that printed books, that great necessary of modern society, and the sale of which now finds employment for five or six Stationers in Warrington, were not to be found here in the time of the manuscript. It is even doubtful whether articles of paper and stationery formed part of the wares in which their owners dealt at that time. Supplies of food and provisions, and the homely manufactures in which our fathers were clad—the frieze cloth and the linen webs such as are still worn in the remote parts of the country—would probably form the staple of their trade. There might be a few bowyers and fletchers, and not a few armourers and smiths,—all of whose tough commodities were in great demand in those days. That valuable root, the potatoe, which now enters so largely into Lancashire diet,—and that other vegetable, tobacco, which enters almost as largely into Lancashire luxury,—were alike unknown; and consequently were not articles of traffic in the ancient shops of Warrington.[1] The

[1] The three royal charters, mentioned in a preceding note (p. li.) will help us to some particulars of the articles imported into Warrington, and most of which were sold in our shops in the times of the second and third Edward, for we read in them that a custom was imposed on salt; on bacon; on cheese, (probably from Cheshire;) on butter; on lampreys; on salmon; on pelts of sheep, goats, stags, hinds, deer, does, hares, rabbits, foxes, cats, and squirrels; on cloths, in the entire piece; on grice work, (i.e. *fur made of the skins of the blue weasel;*) on Cordovan leather; on oil in flasks, (lagenas olei;) on hemp; on linen webs; on Aylsham webs of linen; on

genius of manufactures had not yet made South Lancashire his home, and the cotton plant, the means in modern times of developing the energies of this neighbourhood, and making her people known to fame for intelligence, industry, and manufacturing skill, had not then sent forth from the Mersey those thousand sails which, crossing and re-crossing the broad Atlantic, seem to weave, as it were, into one web, the mutual interests of the old world and the new.

But even in that day the Saxon tendency to advance in station was manifest amongst the traders of Warrington; for we find in the 22nd Henry VI., William Arosmyth of Warrington, mercer, is associated with Sir William Haryngton, the Bishop of Durham, and other knights and gentlemen, as a feoffee and trustee of Sir John Butler's estates; and a very few years later, Oliver Berdisley, another Warrington trader, was thought a person of sufficient importance to be present amongst the gentry at Bewsey when Hamo Ashton performed his homage to Sir Thomas Butler.—*Lord Lilford's Papers.*

The book enumerates the trades, professions, or callings[1] of

Capellanus.	Glover.
Presbyter.	Le Webster.

canvas, Irish cloths, Galways (Galweth), and worsteds; on silks, diapered with gold (de Samite) and tissue; on silks without gold; on sendal; on cloth of baudekin; on gads of maple, and on Aberdeen gads; on every ton of wine, (et cinerū;) on honey; on wool in sacks; on tin, brass, copper, iron, and lead; on alum, copperas, argil, and verdigris; on onions and garlic; and on stock fish, salt mullet, herrings, and sea fish, amongst a number of other articles.

[1] Some of these callings do not occur in that part of the manuscript which is now published.

Aquæbajulus.	Le Nayler.
Juris Peritus.	Millward.
Arrowsmith.	Mason.
Citherator.	Smith.
Piper.	Fisher.
Sowter, i. e. Shoemaker.	Miller.
Cook.	Thatcher.
Fuller.	Swain.

Out of the entire list of twenty, three of the number have reference to the religious duties of the people, — the "presbyter" or priest, the "capellanus" or chaplain, and the "aquæbajulus" or clerk; one only, the "jurisperitus" or lawyer, has to do with the defence of their temporal rights; four of them, the "glover," the "webster," the "sowter" or shoemaker, and the "fuller," are connected with the clothing of the people; three others, the "fisher," the "miller," and the "cook," are to be classified as having to do with their food; whilst a tenth of the whole, the "citherator" or harper, and the "piper," shew by their mode of employment, that the gravity of our forefathers was sometimes relaxed by an indulgence in music and recreation.

It was no part of the scribe's business while chronicling the Warrington tenants and possessions, to indulge in disquisitions on natural history, — and accordingly the notices he has left us on this subject are few, and very meagre. We learn from him, however, that the Austin friars had a walled orchard, well stocked with fruit trees; but he does not inform us what the fruit trees were. Of the larger trees, however, he mentions, elsewhere, the "alnus" or

owler, the "ash," the "birch," "bruche or brechin," the "salix" or within, the "quercus" or oak, the "tremula" or aspen, the "elder," the "dumus" or quickset, the "spina" or thorn, the "aspres" or bramble, the "rose," the "wood-rose," the "arbutus" or strawberry tree, the "holly," the "blackberry," the "crab tree," the "cherry tree," the "broom," and the "bruera" or heath.

The "arbutus," at the present day, will only flourish here in protected situations. Are we to infer from this fact that the climate of this district was milder at the date of the manuscript than it is at present, or was the tree only a rarity even at that period? Of grain, and roots, we have "granum" corn, wheat, barley, pease, vetches, kale, and flax; while of the baser plants, we have fern, thistle, dock, and moss. Among the winged tribes we find the crow, the hawk, the lark, the whyting, the sparrow, the snipe, the woodcock, the drake, the hen, the goose, and the swan. The list of quadrupeds is but small. It contains the "porcus" or hog, the cow, the sheep, the deer, the hind, the roe, the coney, among the animals useful as food; while the fox is mentioned often; and we meet with one instance where the wolf seems to have become only recently extinct in the neighbourhood of Lyme. The adder is the only reptile mentioned in the work.

Besides the ordinary description of fields, there occur in the book a great variety of names for different quantities of land. Thus we have the acre, the "landa," the "bilanda," which is probably two lands, the "roda" or rood, the "farthing" or fourth part of an acre, the "hollanda" or sixth

part of an acre, the "dole," and the "tunge sharp," which signifies a small angular piece of land; in which sense the word continues to be used in the neighbouring village of Ashton at the present day. The "slada," seems to mean the same thing as the "pratum" or meadow. Then we have the "filum terræ" or strip of land, and the "lectum" or bed of land. Is it fanciful to suppose that the hadeland, applicable as it is to the parts of the field lying nearest the hedge, is derived from "Hades land" or the "Land of Shades?"

But it is time to bring to a conclusion these remarks, which have already extended beyond their due limits.

A subject so local as the present can hardly be expected to possess an interest for the general reader; but the Editor believes that a description, so exact and minute as that contained in this manuscript, of one of our provincial towns nearly four hundred years ago, will recommend itself to the antiquary by its own intrinsic curiosity, and will ask but little aid from the labours of its Editor.

Something might have been done to illustrate the various local pedigrees of this immediate neighbourhood. The families of Bruche of Bruche, Massey of Rixton, Norris of Orford, Penketh of Penketh, Rixton of Sankey, Sankey of Sankey, Southworth of Southworth, and many others, well deserve the notice of the genealogist. But the Editor has been unable to pursue this part of the subject, and he can only hope, therefore, that this, with many other defects of which he is conscious in the present work, will be remedied by some future enquirer.

When the editor undertook the task of transcribing the present work for publication, he was encouraged and assisted in his undertaking by his friend, the Rev. EDMUND SIBSON, Vicar of St. Thomas's, in Ashton in Makerfield, in this county,—a name deservedly known to Lancashire antiquaries. He fondly hoped that the undertaking so begun, would have been conducted under the same valued auspices to a conclusion,—in which case he should have committed it to the Society and the Public with but little of the diffidence and distrust which he now feels. But, alas! the stroke of death, which was then impending, has since smitten his excellent friend, and has removed beyond the reach of this world's praise, or blame, a man, whose high reputation as a man of letters, an antiquary, and a mathematician, was his least recommendation,—and whose consistent discharge of the relative and social duties,—and above all, whose unwearied zeal in the performance of the duty of his high office as a Christian Minister,—demand, to describe them justly, a language which would sound like adulation. Deprived of the assistance which he had calculated upon, and which would have secured for his labours some value, the editor has only to hope that the Society will extend to him such a degree of favour as a workman may claim who suddenly loses his directing head at the outset of an anxious adventure.

W. B.

Warrington, August 14th, 1848.

A Specimen of Part of the Legal M.S.

WARRINGTON

IN 1465;

AS DESCRIBED IN A CONTEMPORARY RENT ROLL

OF THE LEGH FAMILY.

EXTRACTUM

EX ANTIQUO LIBRO PENES THOMAM LEGH

DE LYME ARMIGERUM.

EXTRACTUM

EX ANTIQUO LIBRO PENES THOMAM LEGH DE LYME, ARMIGERUM.

"Desuper irradia Scribenti Gratia divina."

Memorandum quod principium scripturæ istius libri fuit die Martis in tertia septimana quadragesimæ anno domini millo cccc^{mo} sexagesimo quinto, et anno regni regis Edwardi quarti post conquestum Angliæ sexto.

Sciendum est quod redditus annualis scilicet et capitalis pertinens Petro Legh militi in villis de Burtonwode, Sonky Magna, Weryngton et Overforthe receptus est ad festa annunciationis Beatæ Mariæ Virginis et Sancti Michaelis Archangeli.

Hic incipit aboundarium abuttacio sive limitacio omnium maneriorum, messuagiorum, terrarum, tenementorum, reddituum, et serviciorum pertinentium Petro Legh militi divisim jacentium in diversis parochiis et villis infra comitatus Lancastriæ Cestriæ et alibi.

De messuagiis terris et tenementis ad voluntatem dicti Petri Legh militis in villa de Weryngton.

Johannes Fulshagh de Weryngton tenet de dicto Petro in villa prædicta unum messuagium cum orreo et stabulo et parvo gardino

(*Translation.*)

EXTRACT

FROM AN OLD MANUSCRIPT IN THE POSSESSION OF THOMAS LEGH, OF LYME, ESQ.

May Grace with Ray divine
Deign on the Scribe to shine.

Be it remembered, that the writing of this book was begun on Tuesday in the third week of Lent, in the year of our Lord 1465, and in the sixth year of the reign of King Edward IV., after the conquest of England.

Be it known that the annual and chief rents belonging to Sir Peter Legh, knight, in the towns of Burtonwood, Sankey Magna, Weryngton, and Orford, are received at the festivals of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Saint Michael the archangel.

Here beginneth the boundary, abuttal, or limits of all the manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, and services belonging to Sir Peter Legh, knight, lying scattered in various parishes and towns within the counties of Lancaster, Chester, and elsewhere.

Of the messuages, lands, and tenements held at the will of the said Peter Legh, knight, in the town of Weryngton,

John Fulshagh, of Weryngton, holds of the said Peter, in the aforesaid town, one messuage, with a barn, stable, and small garden,

cum loco vocato Foldestidde jacentia et situata in Sonky gate[1] villæ de Weryngton videlicet ex parte australi dicti strati vocati Sonky gate jacentia in longitudine inter terram et messuagium Willielmi Botiller[2] in tenura Ricardi Wynyngton ex parte orientali et terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Agnetis Barbor ex parte occidentali et extendunt in latitudine a dicta strata de Sonky gate ex parte boreali usque ad terram Ranulphi Rixton[3] in tenura prædicti Ricardi Wynyngton ex parte australi.

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[1] This street, and the place called Butter lache, subsequently mentioned, had obtained their names as early as 14 Richard II., when John fil. Willi Perusson le Smythe de Weryngton grants to John Butiller of Weryington lands in Sonky strete and in Boterlache.—*Deeds in Lord Lilford's possession.*

The word gate, as applied here, seems to have meant street or way. It is used in the same sense in *King Lear*, act v. sc. i. :—

Gloster. Know'st thou the way to Dover?

Edgar. Both stile and gate, horseway and footpath.

[2] When the name of William Butler is mentioned for the first time, in a previous part of the manuscript, he is called William Butler esquire, son and heir of Sir John Butler knight. Notwithstanding much investigation, the pedigree of the Butler family still continues in many parts obscure; but the following portion, showing the descent of William Butler, is thought to be tolerably well ascertained:

2d wife. Margaret, daughter of Thomas, first Lord Stanley, widow of Sir William Troutbeck. She survived Sir John Butler, and is said to have afterwards married Lord Grey of Codnor. = Sir Jno. Butler, knt. baron of Warrington, born 1430, obiit 26th Feb. 1463. = 1st wife. Anna, daughter of Sir John Saville, anno 30 Henry VI.

Alice, wife of Sir Nich. Byron of Clayton.

Margaret, wife of Adam Troutbeck, who died 2 H. 8.

Johanna, daughter of Sir William Troutbeck, knight. = William, born 25 Nov. 1450, died 1472 s.p.

Sir Thomas Butler, knight, heir after the death of his brother, born 1460, died 1522.

[3] One of the Rixtons of Sankey, a family whose pedigree is entered in several of the Lancashire visitations. They descended from a family of the same name at

with a place called the Foldstead, situate and lying in Sankey-gate of the town of Weryngton, that is to say on the south side of the said street called Sankey-gate, lying in length between a messuage and land of William Botiller in the tenure of Richard Wynington on the east, and land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Agnes Barbor on the west; and extending in breadth from the said Sankey-gate on the north, to land of Randle Rixton in the tenure of the aforesaid Richard Wynington on the south.

Rixton, and bore, like them, on a shield argent, a bend sable charged with three covered cups argent. According to Baines, (*Hist. Lanc.* vol. iii. p. 730,) Hall Whittle, in the township of Sankey, is supposed to have been the family seat. Smith's visitation of 1567 contains a short entry of the pedigree, from which the following is extracted :

Matthew Rixton of Warrington. = Johanna, who survived him, and afterwards married John Pigot, according to this MS.

Randle Rixton (above mentioned.) = Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Massey, of Wistaston, in Cheshire, Gent.

Richard, ob. sine prole mas.

Thomas = Margery, daughter of Nicholas Butler.

It was probably to an ancestor of this family that the story told in the *History of Lancashire*, and referred to in the preface to this work, relates. The cups in their armorial bearings seem to point to some alliance with the Butlers. In 1567, Sir Thomas Lynch, knight, was in possession of the family mansion of the Rixtons in Great Sankey, which was then called the Pele, and which had descended to him from his mother, the daughter and heiress of Thomas Rixton.

Item tenet unum croftum cum sepibus et fossis inclusum cum quodam gardino parvo in parte boreali dicti crofti, continentem tres acras terræ arabilis jacentem in quodam loco vocato Stanfeld, videlicet ex parte australi prædicti strati de Sonky gate in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura Ricardi Hardwar ex parte orientali et terram prædicti Petri in tenura Radulphi Sothurne ex parte occidentali et extendentem in longitudine a dicta strata ex parte boreali usque ad terram Petri Werburton in tenura Henrici Garnet ex parte australi.

Item tenet quatuor acras terræ arabilis invicem jacentes in magno campo vocato Arpeley jacentes super litus aquæ de Merse ex parte occidentali dicti campi de Arpeley in latitudine inter litorem [sic] dictæ aquæ ex parte occidentali et terram Ranulphi de Rixton in tenura Johannis Norreis ex parte orientali et extendentes in longitudine a terra dicti Petri Legh in tenura dicti Ricardi Hardwar videlicet quinque acris ex parte boreali usque ad terram prædicti Petri Legh in tenura Johannis Hakynsall et terram Willielmi Gerard de Ince et scilicet terram Rogeri Arosmyth in tenura Johannis Hille ex parte australi.

Item tenet duas acras terræ arabilis cum sepibus et fossis inclusis cum quadam acra de dote uxoris Johannis Pigot sed hæreditate Ranulphi Rixton inclusa cum dictis duabus acris prædicti Petri Legh in loco vocato Weteakyrs jacentes inter terram sive campum Willielmi Botiller in tenura Henrici Wodecok ex parte australi et dictam terram sive acram dictæ uxoris de Pygot intus inclusam ex parte boreali et extendunt in longitudine a terra Petri Werburton in tenura Henrici Garnet ex parte occidentali usque ad terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura uxoris Rogeri Clerk senioris ex parte orientali.

Item tenet duas acras terræ et dimidiam arabilis in prædicto loco vocato Wetcakyrs cum sepibus et fossis inclusas jacentes in longitudine inter dictam acram dictæ uxoris de Pigot in tenura Johannis Webster[1] ex parte australi et quoddam pratum dicti Petri

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[1] A John le Webster is mentioned in a deed dated in the reign of Edward III. and which is given in a subsequent note.

Also he holds one croft inclosed with hedges and ditches, with a certain little garden on the north part of the said croft, containing three acres of arable land lying in a certain place called Stanfeld, that is to say, on the south part of the aforesaid Sankey-gate street, in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of Richard Hardwar on the east, and land of the said Peter in the tenure of Ralph Sothurne on the west, and extending in length from the said street on the north as far as the land of Peter Warburton in the tenure of Henry Garnet on the south.

Also he holds four acres of arable land lying together in the great field called Arpeley, lying upon the shore of the water of Mersey on the west side of the said field of Arpeley, in breadth between the shore of the said water on the west, and land of Randle de Rixton in the tenure of John Norreis on the east, and extending in length from land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of the said Richard Hardwar, namely, five acres on the north, as far as the land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of John Hakynsall, and land of William Gerard, of Ince, and land of Roger Arosmyth in the tenure of John Hille on the south.

Also he holds two acres of arable land inclosed with hedges and ditches, with a certain acre of the dower of John Pigot's wife, the inheritance of Randle Rixton, inclosed with the said two acres of the aforesaid Peter Legh, in a place called Weteakyrs, lying between the land or field of William Botiller in the tenure of Henry Wodecok on the south, and the said land or acre of the said Pigot's wife so inclosed, on the north, and extending in length from the land of Peter Warburton in the tenure of Henry Garnet on the west, as far as the land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of the wife of Roger Clerk, the elder, on the east.

Also he holds two acres and a half of arable land in the aforesaid place called Weteakyrs inclosed with hedges and ditches, lying in length between the said acre of the said Pigot's wife in the tenure of John Webster on the south, and a certain meadow of the said

Legh continens septodecim acras prati ex parte boreali jacentes etiam in latitudine inter terram Willielmi Gerard in tenura Rogeri Clerk junioris ex parte occidentali et unam acram terræ quod dictus Petrus Legh et alii dicunt quod est de propria sua terra sed modo in possessione dicti Willielmi Botiller et in tenura Willielmi Barbor.

Item dictus Petrus Legh et alii dicunt quod dictus Petrus de Legh haberet et ante hæc tempora antecessores sui habebant prædictam acram in tenura dicti Willielmi Barbor jacentem in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura Henrici Hatton ex parte orientali et terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura dicti Johannis Fulshagh ex parte occidentali et extendentem in longitudine a terra dicti Petri Legh in tenura Johannis Wilkynson ex parte boreali usque ad terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura dicti Henrici Hatton ex parte australi.

Item dictus Johannes Fulshagh tenet de dicto Petro Legh unam parvam parcellam terræ ad finem borealem dicti crofti duarum acrarum jacentem recte juxta pratum septodecim acrarum dicti Petri Legh, quæ quidem parcella terræ quidam Johannes Cowper quondam tenens dicti messuagii modo in tenura dicti Johannis Fulshagh remansit dictam parcellam ante portam prædicti crofti duarum acrarum ad proficuum et aisiamentum dicti tenentis pro bestiis suis ibidem tempore æstivali requiessendis, quæ quidem messuagium, terre et tenementa prædicta valent per annum triginta solidos cum servitio videlicet duobus diebus autumpnalibus quæ valent quatuor denarios.

Item Johannes Hardewar de Weryngton predicta tenet de dicto Petro Legh milite unum orreum jacentem ad finem dictæ stratæ vocatæ le Sonky gate cum ortis et croftis cum sepibus et fossis inclusis continentibus tres acras terræ arabilis jacentibus in campo vocato Stanfeld in latitudine inter terram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Willielmi Kyngeley ex parte orientali et terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura Rogeri Holbroke ex parte occidentali et extenden-

Peter Legh, containing seventeen acres of meadow on the north, lying also in breadth between land of William Gerard in the tenure of Roger Clerk, the younger, on the west, and one acre of land, which the said Peter Legh and others say is of his own proper land, but now in the possession of the said William Botiller and in the tenure of William Barbor.

Also the said Peter Legh and others say that the said Peter de Legh should have, and that heretofore his ancestors had, the aforesaid acre in the tenure of the said William Barbor, lying in breadth between land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of Henry Hatton on the east, and the land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of the said John Fulshagh on the west, and extending in length from land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of John Wilkynson on the north, as far as the land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of the said Henry Hatton on the south.

Also the said John Fulshagh holds of the said Peter Legh one small parcel of land at the north end of the said two-acre croft, lying just beside the seventeen-acre meadow of the said Peter Legh, which same parcel of land one John Cowper, a former tenant of the said messuage now in the tenure of the said John Fulshagh, allowed to remain before the gate of the aforesaid two-acre croft, for the profit and easement of the said tenant, to rest his beasts therein in the summer time, which said messuage, lands, and tenements aforesaid are worth year by the year thirty shillings, with two days' service in autumn, which is worth fourpence.

John Hardewar, of Weryngton aforesaid, also holds of the said Sir Peter Legh, knight, one barn lying at the end of the said street called le Sonky-gate, with the gardens and crofts inclosed by hedges and ditches, and containing three acres of arable land lying in the field called Stanfeld, in breadth between land of William Botiller in the tenure of William Kyngeley on the east, and land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of Roger Holbroke

cia in longitudine a bruera de Weryngton ex parte boreali usque ad dictam stratam de Sonky gate ex parte australi.

Item tenet de dicto Petro unam acram terræ arabilis jacentem in le Wroc de Arpeley in latitudine inter dimidiam acram dicti Petri Legh in tenura Johannis Wilkynson ex parte occidentali et terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Willielmi Sporis ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura dicti Willielmi Sporis ex parte australi usque ad terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Ricardi Wynyngton ex parte boreali.

Item tenet quandam parcellam terræ arabilis jacentem super le Warthe, videlicet ex parte occidentali prædicti campi de Arpeley in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura Ricardi Hardwar ex parte australi et terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura Johannis Dychefeld ex parte boreali et extendit in longitudine a terra glebalis rectoris de Weryngton in tenura Willielmi Holbroke ex parte orientali usque ad terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura Willielmi Mulyngton ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet novem parvæ [*sic*] seliones jacentes invicem in predicto loco vocato le Warthe in campo de Arpeley jacentes in latitudine inter litus aquæ de Merse ex parte occidentali et terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura dicti Johannis Dychefeld ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine a terra Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannis Wilkynson ex parte fere boreali et partim orientali usque ad terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura Rogeri Holbroke ex parte fere australi et partim occidentali.

Item tenet unam rodam terræ jacentem in Arpeley predicta videlicet ex parte australi spinæ de Arpeley in latitudine inter terram nuper uxoris Johannis Pigot[1] de dote sua sed de hereditate Ranulphi Rixton in tenura Alani Walton ex parte boreali et parcellam terræ Henrici Byrom in tenura dicti Johannis Hardewar ex parte

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[1] Amongst the followers of Sir Peter Legh at the battle of Agincourt, we find the name of John Pygott, probably the same person who is mentioned here. See Introduction.

on the west, and extending in length from Weryngton-heath on the north as far as the said Sonky-gate street on the south.

Also he holds of the said Peter one acre of arable land, lying in le Wroe of Arpeley, in breadth between a half acre of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of John Wilkynson on the west, and land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of William Sporis on the east, and extending in length from the land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of the said William Sporis on the south, as far as the land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Richard Wynyngton on the north.

Also he holds a certain parcel of arable land lying upon le Warthe, that is to say, on the west of the aforesaid Arpeley field, in breadth between land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of Richard Hardwar on the south, and land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of John Dychefeld on the north, and extending in length from the glebe land of the rectory of Weryngton in the tenure of William Holbroke on the east, as far as the land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of William Mulyngton on the west.

Also he holds nine small butts of land lying together in the said place called le Warthe in Arpeley field, lying in breadth between the shore of the water of Mersey on the west, and the land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of the said John Dychefeld on the east, and extending in length from the land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of John Wilkynson in part towards the north and in part towards the east, as far as the land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of Roger Holbroke in part towards the south and in part towards the west.

Also he holds one rood of land lying in Arpeley aforesaid, that is to say, on the south of the Thorn in Arpeley, [lying] in breadth between land late of John Pigot's wife for her dower, but the inheritance of Randle Rixton, and in the tenure of Alan Walton on the north, and a parcel of Henry Byrom's land in the tenure of the

australi et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Petri Legh in tenura Johannis Fulshagh ex parte occidentali usque ad terram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Aliciæ nuper uxoris Rogeri Clerk senioris ex parte orientali.

Item tenet unam parcellam terræ infra villam de Weryngton in loco vocato le Olde yordes jacentem inter duas parcellas terræ Henrici Birom in tenura Johannis Hardewar et Thomæ Dernelowe ex parte boreali et parcellam terræ Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannis Massy ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a terra uxoris Johannis Pigot quæ habet nomine dotis suæ sed hereditatis Ranulphi Rixton[1] in tenura Johannis Webster[2] ex parte occidentali usque ad terram nuper Gilberti Sothewurthe[3] in tenura dicti Johannis Hardewar ex parte orientali.

Item dictus Johannes Hardewar tenet de dicto Petro Legh aliam parcellam terræ jacentem in strato vocato Bonke strete dictæ villæ inter terram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannis Massy ex parte occidentali et terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Radulphi Kellurmargh ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a le Bonke strete prædicto ex parte australi usque ad terram dictorum Petri Legh et Gilberti Sothewurthe in tenura dicti Johannis Hardewar ex parte boreali.

Item tenet de dicto Petro Legh duas acras prati parcellam cujusdam prati dicti Petri Legh in Arpeley predicto continentem octodecim acras prati quæ orreum cum omnibus terris prædictis valent dicto Petro per annum viginti unum solidos et duos denarios.

§ Rogerus Holbroke tenet de dicto Petro Legh milite unum novum messuagium in villa de Weryngton cum orreo novo et septem gardinis cum sepibus et fossis inclusis continentia duas acras terræ arabilis cum ustrina quæ ustrina jacet et situatur juxta

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[1] See ante, p. 4. [2] See ante, p. 6.

[3] This Gilbert was probably of the family of Southworth of Southworth, and he may have been the same person who in the pedigree given in the *History of Lancashire*, vol. iii. p. 354, is said to have been living 7 Henry VI. If so, he was very probably the same person who was in the retinue of Sir W. Butler in the expedi-

said John Hardewar on the south, and extending in length from the land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of John Fulshagh on the west, as far as the land of William Botiller in the tenure of Alice, late wife of Roger Clerk the elder, on the east.

Also he holds one parcel of land within the town of Weryngton, in a place called le Old Yordes, lying between two parcels of land of Henry Birom in the tenure of John Hardewar and Thomas Dernelowe on the north, and a parcel of land of William Botiller in the tenure of John Massy on the south, and extending in length from land of John Pigot's wife, which she has under the name of her dower, but the inheritance of Randle Rixton, in the tenure of John Webster on the west, as far as land late of Gilbert Sothewurthe in the tenure of the said John Hardewar on the east.

Also the said John Hardewar holds of the said Peter Legh another parcel of land lying in a street of the said town called Bonke street, between the land of William Botiller in the tenure of John Massy on the west, and land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Ralph Kellurmargh on the east, and extending in length from le Bonke strete aforesaid on the south, as far as the land of the said Peter Legh and Gilbert Sothewurthe in the tenure of the said John Hardewar on the north.

Also he holds of the said Peter Legh two acres of meadow ground, parcel of a certain meadow of the said Peter Legh in Arpeley aforesaid, containing eighteen acres of meadow; which said barn, with all the aforesaid lands, are worth to the said Peter twenty one shillings and two pence per annum.

Roger Holbroke holds of the said Peter Legh, knight, one new messuage in the town of Warrington, with a new barn and seven gardens inclosed with hedges and ditches, containing two acres of arable land, with one oven, which oven is situate and lying near to

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tion to France before the battle of Agincourt in 1415, and who appears in the muster roll (Nicolas's *Agincourt*, p. 353,) under the disguised name of Gybon de Southeworke.

domus et ecclesiam fratrum Augustinensium villæ prædictæ quod quidem messuagium orreum et gardina jacent et locantur in regali vico de Sonky yate prædicto videlicet ex parte australi dicti vici inter novum messuagium Willielmi Botiller quondam Henrici Lacheforthe ex parte orientali et orreum novum dicti Petri Legh cum terris dicto orreo annexis quæ sunt in tenura modo Ricardi Hardewar ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine a regia strata de Sonkey yate prædicta ex parte boreali usque ad gardinum cum arboribus ibidem crescentibus pertinens dictis fratribus Augustinensibus villæ prædictæ ex parte australi.

Item tenet quinque acras terræ arabilis cum sepibus et fossis inclusas jacentes in loco vocato Stanefeld prædicta inter terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura Willielmi Fletcher ex parte orientali et terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura Henrici Bullynge ex parte occidentali et extendunt in longitudine a prædicta strata de Sonky gate ex parte australi usque ad brueram de Weryngton ex parte boreali.

Item tenet alias duas acras terræ arabilis cum sepibus et fossis inclusas jacentes in Stanefeld predicta inter terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura dicti Johannis Hardewar ex parte orientali et terram dicti Willielmi Botyller in tenura Willielmi Barbor sed ratione dicti Petri Legh ut ipse dicit ex parte occidentali et extendunt in longitudine a prædicta strata de Sonky gate ex parte australi usque ad dictam brueram de Weryngton ex parte boreali.

Item tenet quinque acras terræ arabilis jacentes in campo de Arpeley prædicto inter litus aquæ de Merse ex parte fere occidentali et terram dicti Petri Legh in tenuris Willielmi Mulyngton et Willielmi Fletcher ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine a terra dicti Petri Legh in tenura Johannis Dychefeld ex parte fere boreali et partim orientali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura Ricardi Hardewar ex parte fere australi et partim occidentali,

the house and church of the Austin Friars of the aforesaid town; which messuage, barn, and garden lie and are situate in the aforesaid street[1] called Sonky-yate, that is to say, on the south part of the said street, between a new messuage of William Botiller's, formerly Henry Lacheforthe's, on the east, and a new barn of the said Peter Legh, with the lands thereunto annexed, which are now in the tenure of Richard Hardwar on the west, and extend in length from Sonky-yate street on the north, as far as a garden with trees growing therein, which belongs to the said Austin Friars of the aforesaid town on the south.

Also he holds five acres of arable land inclosed with hedges and ditches in the aforesaid place called Stanefeld, between the land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of William Fletcher on the east, and land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of Henry Bullynge on the west, and extending in length from the aforesaid street called Sonky-yate on the south, as far as Weryngton heath on the north.

Also he holds two other acres of arable land inclosed with hedges and ditches lying in Stanefeld aforesaid, between the land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of the said John Hardewar on the east, and the said William Botyller's land in the tenure of William Barbor, but as he says of right belonging to the said Peter Legh, on the west, and extending in length from the aforesaid street of Sonky-gate on the south, as far as the said Weryngton heath on the north.

Also he holds five acres of arable land lying in the open field of Arpeley aforesaid, between the shore of Mersee water towards the west, and land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of William Mulyngton and William Fletcher on the east, and extending in length from land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of John Dychefeld in part towards the north and in part towards the east, as far as the land of the said Peter in the tenure of Richard Hardewar in part towards the south and in part towards the west,

[1] In the original it is the king's street, as we now say the king's highway.

quæ prædicta valent vel reddunt dicto Petro Legh per annum viginti unum solidos et undecim denarios cum servitio videlicet duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent quatuor denarios.

Et quum dictus Rogerus Holbroke tenet unam acram prati de prædictis septedecim acris prati dicti Petri Legh in Arpeley tunc dictus Rogerus reddet pro dicta acra per annum tres solidos et quatuor denarios.

§ Item dictus Petrus Legh miles habet in Arpeley predicto unum pratum continens septemdecim acras prati invicem jacentes inter terram arabilem Willielmi[1] Gerard de Ince et scilicet terram arabilem Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannis Arosmythe ex parte australi et partim orientali et altam viam que ducit a villa de Weryngton usque ad dictum pratum et per medium dicti prati de Arpeley ex parte boreali et partim occidentali et extendens in longitudine a prato dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura tenentium de Weryngton ex parte occidentali usque ad terram arabilem dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Fulshagh et terram scilicet Willielmi Botiller in tenura uxoris Hamundi Nayler ex parte orientali quod pratum valet per annum dicto Petro Legh . . . . . .

Ricardus Dychefeld tenet de dicto Petro unum messuagium cum stabulo et domo tricidiorum jacentia in dicta strata de Sonky gate infra dictam villam de Weryngton inter quoddam messuagium quondam Willielmi Baxter sed nunc Marie nuper uxoris Hamonis Assheton ex parte orientali et alium messuagium dicti Petri Legh in tenura Johannis Litche ex parte occidentali et prædictum messuagium cum pertinentiis in tenura dicti Ricardi Dychefeld jacet et situatur ex parte boreali prædicti strati et scilicet situatur inter

[1] According to the *History of Lancashire*, (iii. 567,) the Gerard family acquired Ince in 1 Hen. IV., when John Gerard married, by dispensation, Ellen Ince, the heiress of that estate, to whom he was related in the fourth degree. After this marriage, the estate continued for several centuries in the Gerard name, and was finally sold to the Earl of Balcarres.

which aforesaid [premises] are worth or render unto the said Peter Legh yearly twenty one shillings and eleven pence, with two days' service in autumn, which is worth four pence.

And whenever the said Roger Holbroke holds one acre of the said Peter Legh's aforesaid seventeen acres of meadow in Arpeley, then the said Roger shall pay for the said acre per annum three shillings and four pence.

The said Sir Peter Legh, knight, also hath in Arpeley aforesaid one meadow containing seventeen acres of meadow lying together, between the arable land of William Gerard of Ince and the arable land of William Botiller in the tenure of John Arosmythe on the south and in part towards the east, and the highway which leads from the town of Weryngton, as far as the said meadow and through the middle of the said Arpeley meadow on the north and in part towards the west, and extending in length from the said William Botiller's meadow in the tenure of his Weryngton tenants on the west, as far as the arable land of the said Peter in the tenure of John Fulshagh, and the said William Botiller's land in the tenure of Hamund Nayler's wife on the west, which meadow is worth per annum to the said Peter Legh . . . . . .

Richard Dychefeld holds of the said Peter one messuage, with a stable and a elod house[1] lying in the said street called Sonky-gate within the said town of Weryngton, between a certain messuage formerly William Baxter's, but now of Mary late the wife of Hamon Assheton, on the east, and another messuage of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of John Litche on the west, which aforesaid messuage in the tenure of the said Richard Dychefeld, with its appurtenances, lies and is situate on the north of the aforesaid street, that is to say, between the said street of Sonky-gate afore-

[1] Domus terricidiorum.

dictum vicum de Sonky gate prædicto ex parte australi usque ad forum villæ de Weryngton ex parte boreali.

Item tenet unam acram terræ arabilis jacentem in loco vocato Weteakyrs in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura Johannis Massy ex parte australi et terram nuper uxoris Johannis Pigot nomine dotis suæ sed hereditatis Ranulphi Rixton in tenura Johannis Webster ex parte boreali et extendit in longitudine a terra heredis Rogeri Arosmythe in tenura Johannis Wode ex parte orientali usque ad terram Willielmi Gerard de Ince in tenura Rogeri Clerk junioris ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet de dicto Petro unum gardinum jacens juxta portam de Arpeley in latitudine inter gardinum Willielmi Botiller in tenura Thomæ Balfrunte ex parte boreali et altam viam inter aquam de Mersec ducentem a villa de Weryngton usque ad Arpeley prædictum ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a gardino fratrum Augustinentium dictæ ville ex parte occidentali usque ad dictam altam viam juxta litus maris ex parte orientali quod messuagium cum pertinentiis et terris prædictis reddunt dicto Petro Legh per annum decem solidos et quatuor denarios et cum servicio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valet quatuor denarios.

Johannes Lache de Weryngton tenet de dicto Petro unum messuagium jacens ex parte boreali stratæ de Sonky gate prædictæ in latitudine inter forum de Weryngton prædictâ ex parte boreali et dictum vicum sive stratam de Sonky gate prædictam ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a prædicto messuagio dicti Petri Legh in tenura dicti Ricardi Dychefeld ex parte orientali usque ad terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura Sibillæ Andrewe ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet dimidium gardinum jacens juxta Weryngton heth quæ abuttat cum aliis gardinis ibidem jacentibus a dicto Sonky gate usque ad dictam bruceram de Weryngton quæ prædicta reddunt dicto Petro Legh per annum sex solidos cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent per annum quatuor denarios.

said on the south, [and extends] as far as the market place of the town of Weryngton on the north.

Also he holds one acre of arable land lying in a place called Weteakyrs, in breadth between the said Peter Legh's land in the tenure of John Massy on the south, and land of the late wife of John Pigot in the name of dower, but of the inheritance of Randle Rixton, in the tenure of John Webster on the north, and extending in length from land of Roger Arosmythe's heir in the tenure of John Wode on the east, as far as the land of William Gerard of Ince in the tenure of Roger Clerk the younger on the west.

Also he holds of the said Peter one garden lying beside the gate into Arpeley, in breadth between William Botiller's garden, in the tenure of Thomas Balfrunte on the north, and the highway [beside] Mersee water leading from the town of Weryngton, as far as Arpeley aforesaid on the south, and extending in length from a garden of the Austin Friars of the said town on the west, as far as the said highway beside Mersee water on the east; which messuage, with the lands and appurtenances aforesaid, render to the said Peter Legh per annum ten shillings and fourpence, with two days' service in autumn, worth four pence.

John Lache of Weryngton holds of the said Peter one messuage lying on the north of the aforesaid street called Sonky-gate, in breadth between the market place of Weryngton aforesaid on the north, and the said way or street called Sonky-gate on the south, and extending in length from the aforesaid messuage of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of the said Richard Dychefeld on the east, as far as the land of the said Peter Legh in the holding of Sibyl Andrewe on the west.

Also he holds half a garden lying beside Weryngton heath, which with other gardens there abuts upon Sonky-gate aforesaid, [and extends] as far as the said Weryngton heath, which aforesaid premises render unto the said Peter Legh six shillings per annum, with two days' service in autumn, worth four pence per annum.

§ Sibilla Andrew tenet de dicto Petro unum messuagium situatum in vico de Sonky gate de prædictæ villæ de Weryngton et scilicet ex parte boreali dicti vici jacens in latitudine inter dictum forum ex parte boreali et dictum vicum de Sonky gate ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a dicto messuagio dicti Petri Legh in tenura prædicti Johannis Lache ex parte orientali usque ad alium messuagium dicti Petri in tenura Willielmi Lache ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet alterum dimidium prædicti gardini in tenura prædicti Johannis Lache jacens juxta brueram de Weryngton quæ abuttant cum aliis gardinis dicti Petri Legh ibidem jacentibus quæ reddunt per annum dicto Petro tres solidos cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent per annum quatuor denarios.

§ Willielmus Lache de Weryngton tenet alium messuagium de dicto Petro jacens in vico de Sonky gate prædicto villæ prædictæ videlicet ex parte boreali dicti vici jacens in latitudine inter dictum forum villæ prædictæ ex parte boreali et vicum de Sonky gate prædicto ex parte australi et extendens in longitudine a messuagio prædicti Petri Legh in tenura dictæ Sibillæ ex parte orientali et alium messuagium dicti Petri in tenura Roberti Bruche ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet duas baias in orreo cum dimidio unius gardini jacentes in fine occidentali dicti vici de Sonky gate quod quidem orreum situatur in longitudine inter dictum messuagium dicti Petri in tenura Rogeri Holbroke ex parte orientali et prædictum dimidium gardini dicti Petri in tenura dicti Rogeri Holbroke ex parte occidentali et prædictum dimidium gardini jacet in latitudine inter gardinum dicti Petri in tenura dicti Rogeri Holbroke ex parte orientali et alium gardinum dicti Petri in tenura dicti Rogeri ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a vico de Sonky gate prædicto ex parte boreali usque ad pomærium dicti Petri in tenura dicti Rogeri Holbroke ex parte australi, quæ prædicta reddunt per annum dicto Petro septem solidos et sex denarios cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent per annum quatuor denarios.

Sibyl Andrew holds of the said Peter one messuage situate in the Sonky-gate street of the aforesaid town of Weryngton, and on the north side of the same street, lying in breadth between the said market place on the north and the said Sonky-gate street on the south, and extending in length from the said Peter Legh's messuage in the tenure of the aforesaid John Lache on the east, as far as another messuage of the said Peter in the tenure of William Lache on the west.

Also she holds the other half of the aforesaid garden in the tenure of the said John Lache, lying beside Weryngton heath, which abuts [upon other gardens of the said Peter Legh there;] which premises render yearly to the said Peter Legh three shillings, with two days' service in autumn, worth four pence per annum.

William Lache of Weryngton holds another messuage of the said Peter Legh in the aforesaid Sonky-gate street of the aforesaid town, to wit, on the north of the said street, lying in breadth between the said market place of the aforesaid town on the north and the street of Sonky-gate aforesaid on the south, and extending in length from a messuage of the aforesaid Peter Legh in the tenure of the said Sibyl on the east, and another messuage of the said Peter in the tenure of Robert Bruche on the west.

Also he holds two bays of a barn, with one half of a garden, lying at the western end of the said Sonky-gate street, which barn is situate in length between the said messuage of the said Peter in the tenure of Roger Holbroke on the east, and the aforesaid half garden of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Roger Holbroke on the west, and the aforesaid half garden lies in breadth between a garden of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Roger Holbroke on the east, and another garden of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Roger on the west, and extends in length from the aforesaid street of Sonky-gate on the north, as far as an orchard of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Roger Holbroke on the south; which aforesaid premises render yearly to the said Peter seven shillings and six pence, with two days' service in autumn, worth four pence.

§ Robertus Bruche de Weryngton tenet de dicto Petro Legh ad voluntatem unum messuagium jacens ex boreali parte dicti vici vocati Sonky gate villæ prædictæ in latitudine inter forum dictæ villæ ex parte boreali et dictum vicum de Sonky gate ex parte australi et extendens in longitudine a dicto messuagio dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Lache ex parte orientali et alium messuagium dicti Petri in tenura Henrici Foxlowe ex parte occidentali, quod valet per annum dicto Petro quinque solidos.

Item alia baia præscripti orrei pertinet prædicto messuagio in tenura dicti Roberti et valet per annum . . . . . .

Item dimidium præscripti gardini pertinet prædicto messuagio et valet per annum . . . . . cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent quatuor denarios.

§ Henricus Foxlowe tenet de p̃dicto Petro Legh alium messuagium scilicet jacens ex parte boreali prædicti vici de Sonky gate dictæ villæ de Weryngton in latitudine inter dictum forum ex parte boreali et prædictum vicum ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a messuagio dicti Petri in tenura dicti Roberti Bruche ex parte orientali usque ad messuagium Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannis Wylkynson ex parte occidentali.

Item alium baie[1] in dicto orreo pertinet prædicto messuagio quæ prædicta valent dicto Petro per annum quinque solidos cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent quatuor denarios per annum.

§ Henricus Bullynge de Weryngton prædicto tenet de dicto Petro unum messuagium cum orreo sub tecto dicti messuagii et gardino cum loco vocato le Foldestydde jacentia in suburbiis villæ prædictæ juxta le Whyte Crosse[2] quæ stat in via ducente a villa prædicta usque ad pontem[3] de Sonky quod quidem messuagium cum orreo et gardino jacent et situantur in latitudine inter brueram

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[1] This is meant for an English word. [2] See Introduction.
[3] This is evidently the bridge over the Sankey brook, on the highway to Liverpool.

Robert Bruche of Weryngton holds of the said Peter Legh at will one messuage lying on the north of the said Sonky-gate street of the town aforesaid, in breadth between the market place of the said town on the north and the said street of Sonky-gate on the south, and extending in length from the said messuage of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Lache on the east, and another messuage of the said Peter in the tenure of Henry Foxlowe on the west; which is worth to the said Peter five shillings per annum.

Also another bay of the before mentioned barn belongs to the aforesaid messuage in the tenure of the said Robert, and is worth per annum . . . . . .

Also the half of the before mentioned garden appertains to the aforesaid messuage, and is worth . . . . . per annum, with two days' service in autumn, which is worth four pence.

Henry Foxlowe holds of the aforesaid Peter Legh another messuage, lying on the north of the aforesaid street of Sonky-gate of the said town of Weryngton, in breadth between the said market place on the north and the aforesaid street on the south, and extending in length from a messuage of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Robert Bruche on the east, as far as a messuage of William Botiller in the tenure of John Wylkynson on the west.

Also another bay of the said barn appertains to the aforesaid messuage, which aforesaid premises are worth to the said Peter five shillings per annum, with two days' service in autumn, worth four pence per annum.

Henry Bullynge of Weryngton aforesaid holds of the said Peter a messuage with a barn under the same roof, and with a garden and a place called the Folstead, lying in the suburbs of the aforesaid town near to the White Cross, which stands in the way leading from the aforesaid town as far as the bridge of Sankey; which same messuage, barn, and garden lie and are situate in

de Weryngton versus Sonky parvam ex parte occidentali et quoddam croftum dicti Petri Legh in tenura dicti Henrici ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine a dicta via quæ ducit a dicto vico sive strata de Sonky gate usque pontem prædictum ex parte australi usque ad quandam haiam dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici ex parte boreali.

Item tenet unam acram et dimidiam acram cum sepibus et fossis inclusam jacentem in latitudine inter dictam brueram de Weryngton versus Sonky parvam ex parte occidentali et quendam campum dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a dicta bruera de Weryngton ex parte[1] versus Longeforthe ex parte boreali usque ad prædictum gardinum et ad quoddam crymbull dicti Petri Legh & in tenura dicti Henrici ex parte australi.

Item dictum crymbull continens dimidiam acram terræ jacentem in latitudine inter quoddam croftum dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici continens duas acras terræ ex parte orientali et dictum gardinum et messuagium dicti Petri Legh et in tenura dicti Henrici Bullynge ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a dicta via vocata Sonky gate ex parte australi usque ad dictum croftum continens unam acram et dimidiam cum sepibus inclusam ex parte boreali.

Item tenet de dicto Petro Legh alium croftum continens duas acras terræ jacens in latitudine inter dictum crymbull et dictam unam acram et dimidiam cum sepibus inclusam ex parte occidentali et quendam campum dicti Petri et in tenura dicti Henrici continentem quinque acras terre arabilis ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a dicta via de Sonky gate ex parte australi usque ad brueram de Weryngton ex parte versus Longeforthe in fine boreali.

Item tenet quendam campum cum sepibus et fossis inclusum continentem quinque acras terre arabilis jacentem in latitudine inter prædictum croftum duarum acrarum dicti Petri et in tenura

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[1] Sic. See also page 26, where the expression again occurs. Ex parte, as here used, seems to mean in part.

breadth between Weryngton heath towards Little Sankey on the west, and a certain croft of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of the said Henry on the east, and extend in length from the said way leading from the said road or street of Sonky-gate to the aforesaid bridge on the south, as far as a certain close of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry on the north.

Also he holds one acre and a half of land inclosed with hedges and ditches, lying in breadth between the said Weryngton heath towards Little Sonky on the west, and a certain field of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry on the east, and extending in length from the said Weryngton heath in part towards Longeforthe on the north as far as the aforesaid garden, and to a certain crymbull of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of the said Henry on the south.

Also the said crymbull contains half an acre of land, lying in breadth between a certain croft of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry, and which contains two acres of land on the east, and the said garden and messuage of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of the said Henry Bullynge on the west, and extends in length from the said way called Sonky-gate on the south as far as the said croft, which contains one acre and a half, and is inclosed with hedges and ditches on the north.

Also he holds of the said Peter Legh another croft containing two acres of land, lying in breadth between the said crymbull and the said one acre and a half, inclosed with hedges and ditches, on the west, and a certain field of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry, containing five acres of arable land on the east, and extending in length from the said street of Sonky-gate on the south, as far as Weryngton heath in part towards Longeforth on the north.

Also he holds a certain field inclosed with hedges and ditches, containing five acres of arable land, lying in breadth between the aforesaid croft of two acres of the said Peter in the tenure of the

dicti Henrici ex parte occidentali et quendam campum quatuor acrarum dicti Petri in tenura Rogeri Holbroke ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a dicta via de Sonky gate ex parte australi usque ad bruceram de Weryngton ex parte boreali, que messuagium orreum crofta crymbull cum campis prædictis valent dicto Petro Legh per annum viginti solidos cum servitio duorum dicrum autumpnalium quæ valent per annum quatuor denarios.

§ Item Ricardus Hardewar de Weryngton tenet de dicto Petro Legh unum messuagium novum et pulcrum cum duabis altis cameris[1] solariis et cellariis jacens ex occidentali parte stratæ vocatæ Newgate prædictæ villæ cum uno orreo jacente in fine australi alterius strati prædictæ villæ vocati Sonky gate ut præscribitur in tenuris Ricardi Dychefeld Roberti Bruche et aliorum quod quidem messuagium novum cum coquina stabulo et scilicet vacuam placeam ad ædificandum alios domos necessarios prædicto novo messuagio jacent et situantur inter messuagium Willielmi Botiller in tenura Ricardi Wynyngton ex parte boreali et alium messuagium dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Willielmi Barbor ex parte australi cum quodam parvo gardino jacente in Sonky gate prædicto videlicet ex parte australi dicti orrei et cum quodam crofto continente duas acras terre et dimidiam unius acræ jacente in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura Rogeri Holbroke ex parte orientali et quoddam alium croftum dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Fulshagh ex parte occidentali et extendens in longitudine a regia strata de Sonky gate prædicta ex parte boreali usque ad terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Ricardi Wynyngton ex parte australi.

Item tenet quinque acras terræ arabilis invicem jacentes in campo de Arpeley jacentes juxta et super litus aquæ de Mersee in latitudine inter dictum litus aquæ ex parte occidentali et terram arabilem dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Alani Walton ex parte

[1] It does not appear very clearly what was the difference between the alta camera or high chamber, and the solarium or sollar ; but I apprehend that the alta camera was probably the first floor, and the solarium (camera solis) was the chamber in the roof, which was lighted either by a dorner or by a small gable.

said Henry on the west, and a certain field of four acres of the said Peter in the tenure of Roger Holbroke on the east, and extending in length from the said street of Sonky-gate on the south, as far as Weryngton heath [i.e. towards Longeforthe] on the north; which messuage, barn, crofts, crymbull, and fields aforesaid are worth per annum to the said Peter Legh twenty shillings, with two days' service in autumn, which is worth four pence.

The said Richard Hardewar of Weryngton holds of the said Peter Legh one new and fair messuage with two lofty chambers, [and with] sollars, and cellars, lying on the west of the street called New-gate in the town aforesaid, with one barn lying on the south of another street of the aforesaid town called Sonky-gate, as before written, in the tenures of Richard Dychefeld, Robert Bruche, and others; which new messuage, with a kitchen and stable, with a vacant piece of land whereon to build other necessary houses to the aforesaid new messuage, lie and are situate between a messuage of William Botiller in the tenure of Richard Wynyngton on the north, and another messuage of the said William Botiller in the tenure of William Barbor on the south, with a certain small garden lying in Sonky-gate aforesaid, namely to the south of the said barn, and with a certain croft containing two acres and a half of land, lying in breadth between the land of the said Peter in the tenure of Roger Holbroke on the east, and a certain other croft of the said Peter in the tenure of John Fulshagh on the west, and extending in length from the king's highway called Sonky-gate aforesaid on the north, as far as the land of William Botiller in the tenure of Richard Wynyngton on the south.

Also he holds five acres of arable land lying together in Arpeley field, lying beside and upon the shore of Mersey water, in breadth between the shore of the said water on the west, and the arable land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Allan Walton on

orientali et extendentes in longitudine a quadam magna spina in Arpeley prædicta et terra dicti Petri Legh in tenura Rogeri Holbroke Johannis Hakynsall Radulphi Sothurn et Willielmi Fletcher ex parte boreali usque ad quatuor acras terræ arabilis prædicti Petri in tenura Johannis Fulshagh ex parte australi.

Item tenet duas acras terræ in Arpeley prædicta jacentes in latitudine inter pratum Willielmi Gerard[1] de Ince ex parte australi et terram Henrici Birom in tenura Johannis Hardewar ex parte boreali et extendit in longitudine &c.

Item tenet unam acram terræ vocatam le Shorteakyr jacentem in loco vocato le Slygcher lane ende in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura Johannis Hardewar ex parte occidentali et partim boreali et terram Johannis Wynyngton in tenura Johannis Hille ex parte orientali et partim australi et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura Willielmi Mulington ex parte boreali et partim orientali usque ad quandam viam ducentem a villa de Weryngton usque ad pratum de Arpeley ex parte fere australi et partim occidentali.

Item tenet aliam acram terræ jacentem in loco vocato Weteakyrs in latitudine inter terram dicti Willielmi Gerard[1] ex parte boreali et terram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Thomæ Balfrunte ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Ricardi Wynyngton ex parte occidentali usque ad terram uxoris Johannis Pigot quam habet nomine dotis suæ sed hereditatis Ranulphi Rixton et usque ad parcellam cujusdam campi dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Fulshagh ex parte orientali.

Item tenet quendam parvum campum vocatum Lytill Walton Hey continentem duas acras terræ jacentes super litus aquæ de Mersee in latitudine inter dictum litus ex parte australi et terram Petri Werburton et terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Henrici Garnet ex parte boreali et extendentem in longitudine a quadam haia[2] Willielmi Botiller in tenura Henrici Wodecok ex

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[1] See ante, page 16.

[2] Hay, (Bailey's *Dict.*;) hæȝ, Saxon; haye, French; a hedge; an enclosure; a forest or park, fenced with rails: "Hence," says Bailey, "to dance the hay is to dance in a ring."

the east, and extending in length from a certain great thorn in Arpeley aforesaid, and land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of Roger Holbroke, John Hakynsall, Ralph Sothurn, and William Fletcher, on the north, as far as four acres of arable land of the aforesaid Peter in the tenure of John Fulshagh on the south.

Also he holds two acres of land in Arpeley aforesaid lying in breadth between a meadow of William Gerard of Ince on the south, and land of Henry Birom in the tenure of John Hardewar on the north, and extending in length &c.

Also he holds one acre of land called le Shorteakyr lying in a place called le Slygcher-lane-ende, in breadth between the land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of John Hardewar towards the west and in part towards the north, and land of the said John Wynyngton in the tenure of John Hille towards the east and in part towards the south, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of William Mulington towards the north and in part towards the east, as far as a certain way leading from the town of Weryngton as far as the Arpeley meadow towards the south and in part towards the west.

Also he holds another acre of land in a place called Weteakyrs lying in breadth between land of the said William Gerard on the north, and land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Thomas Balfrunte on the south, and extending in length from land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Richard Wynyngton on the west, as far as the land of John Pigot's wife which she has in the name of her dower, but of the inheritance of Randle Rixton, and [also] as far as to a parcel of a certain field of the said Peter in the tenure of John Fulshagh on the east.

Also he holds a certain small field called Lytill Walton Hey containing two acres of land lying upon the shore of Mersee water, in breadth between the said shore on the south, and land of Peter Werburton and [other land] of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Henry Garnet on the north, and extending in length from a certain close of William Botiller in the tenure of Henry

parte orientali usque ad terram dicti Willielmi Botiller videlicet quandam haiam in tenura Ricardi Wynyngton ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet rodam terræ jacentem in Arpeley prædictâ in latitudine inter terram heredis Rogeri Arosmythe ex parte orientali et terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannæ nuper uxoris Hamundi Nayler ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a terra videlicet una haia Ranulphi Rixton[1] in tenura Ricardi Fletcher ex parte australi usque ad terram dicti Willielmi Botiller[2] in tenura Ricardi Wynyngton ex parte boreali.

Item tenet de dicto Petro Legh quandam parcellam terræ jacentem in quodam campo Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannis Massy.

Item tenet duas acras prati de prædictis septemdecim acris antescriptis, quæ messuagia terræ prata et pertinentia valent dicto Petro Legh per annum quadraginta tres solidos et quatuor denarios cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent per annum quatuor denarios.

§ Willielmus Fletcher de Weryngton prædicta tenet de dicto Petro unum messuagium cum coquina stabulo et parvo orreo cum loco vocato le Foldstydde et gardino continente tres seliones terræ cum quodam owtecast versus austrum et quidam puteus aquæ continetur in dicto owtecast quæ quidem messuagium coquina stabulum et gardinum jacent et situantur in strato de Newgate villæ prædictæ jacentia in latitudine inter messuagium et gardinum de dote uxoris Johannis Pigot sed hæreditatis Ranulphi Rixton in tenura Johannis Webster ex parte boreali et alium messuagium et gardinum dicti Petri Legh in tenura Thomæ Swanne ex parte australi et extendunt in longitudine a regia strata de Newgate prædicta ex parte occidentali usque ad terram de dote dictæ uxoris Johannis Pigot in tenura dicti Johannis Webster ex parte orientali.

Item tenet unum croftum continens unam acram terræ arabilis cum sepibus et fossis inclusum jacens in loco vocato Stanfelde

[1] Ante page 4. [2] Ante page 4.

Wodecok on the east, as far as [other] land of the said William Botiller, to wit, a certain close in the tenure of Richard Wynyngton on the west.

Also he holds a rood of land lying in Arpeley aforesaid, in breadth between land of Roger Arosmythe's heir on the east, and land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Joan late wife of Hamund Nayler on the west, and extending in length from land, to wit, a close of Randle Rixton in the tenure of Richard Fletcher on the south, as far as land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Richard Wynyngton on the north.

Also he holds of the said Peter Legh a certain parcel of land lying in a certain field of William Botiller in the tenure of John Massy.

Also he holds two acres of the before mentioned seventeen-acre meadow, which messuages, lands, meadows, and appurtenances are worth to the said Peter Legh yearly forty three shillings and four pence, with two days' service in autumn, worth four pence per annum.

William Fletcher of Weryngton aforesaid holds of the said Peter a messuage with a kitchen, stable, and small barn, with a place called the Foldstydde, and a garden containing three ridges of land with a certain outcast [outlet?] towards the south, and in which outcast there is a certain well of water, which messuage, kitchen, stable, and garden lie and are situate in the Newgate street of the aforesaid town, and lie in breadth between a messuage and garden in dower to John Pigot's wife, but the inheritance of Randle Rixton, in the tenure of John Webster on the north, and another messuage and garden of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of Thomas Swanne on the south, and extend in length from the king's highway of Newgate street aforesaid on the west, as far as the land in dower to the said John Pigot's wife in the tenure of the said John Webster on the east.

Also he holds a croft containing one acre of arable land inclosed with hedges and ditches [and] lying in a place called Stanfelde, in

jacens in latitudine inter terram dicti Willielmi Botiller[1] in tenura Johannæ uxoris nuper Hamundi Nayler ex parte orientali et terram dicti Petri in tenura Rogeri Holbroke ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a via quæ ducit a Weryngton usque ad molendina de Sonky ex parte australi usque ad brueram de Weryngton ex parte boreali.

Item tenet quatuor acras terræ arabilis in Arpeley propinquiores villæ de Weryngton extra campos cum sepibus inclusis jacentes in latitudine inter quendam campum Willielmi Botiller[1] in tenura Ricardi Wynyngton ex parte boreali et terram Ranulphi Rixton[2] in tenura Ricardi Fletcher ex parte australi et tres acræ dictarum quatuor extendunt in longitudine a prædicta aqua de Mersee fere extra una selione hereditatis Ricardi Bruche in tenura Thomæ Balfrunte ex parte orientali usque ad pratum dicti Petri in Arpeley continens septemdecim acras ex parte occidentali et alia acra dictarum quatuor acrarum extendit in longitudine a prædictis tribus acris dicti Petri parcella dictarum quatuor ex parte australi usque ad terram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Ricardi Wynyngton ex parte boreali et sic prædicta acra jacet ex transverso prædictas tres acras.

Item tenet unam acram prati de prædictis septemdecim acris prati jacentem in Arpeley predicta, quæ omnia prædicta messuagium coquina orreum gardinum terræ et prata valent dicto Petro per annum viginti sex solidos et octo denarios cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent per annum quatuor denarios.

§ Thomas Swanne de Weryngton prædicta tenet de dicto Petro Legh unum messuagium cum stabulo et orreo ustrina et domo turbariorum cum gardino et pomœrio quæ quidem messuagium stabulum orreum gardinum et pomœrium jacent et situantur in vico de Newgate videlicet ex parte orientali dicti vici in latitudine inter dictum messuagium et gardinum dicti Petri in tenura Willielmi Fletcher ex parte boreali et messuagium et terram Thomæ

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[1] Ante page 4. [2] Ante page 4.

breadth between land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Joan late the wife of Hamund Nayler on the east, and land of the said Peter in the tenure of Roger Holbroke on the west, and extending in length from the way which leads from Weryngton to Sonky mills on the south, as far as Weryngton heath [i.e. the heath towards Little Sankey] on the north.

Also he holds four acres of arable land in Arpeley inclosed with hedges and ditches lying outside the [town] fields and nearer to the town of Weryngton, in breadth between a certain field of William Botiller in the tenure of Richard Wynyngton on the north and land of Randle Rixton in the tenure of Richard Fletcher on the south, three of which said four acres extend in length from a ridge of land the inheritance of Richard Bruche and in the tenure of Thomas Balfrunte, adjoining the aforesaid Mersey water on the east as far as the seventeen acre meadow of the said Peter in Arpeley on the west, and the other of which said four acres extends in length from the aforesaid three acres of the said Peter, parcel of the said four, on the south, as far as land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Richard Wynyngton on the north, and so the aforesaid one acre lies opposite the aforesaid three acres.

Also he holds one acre of the aforesaid seventeen-acre meadow lying in Arpeley aforesaid, all which aforesaid messuages, kitchen, barn, garden, lands, and meadows are worth yearly to the said Peter twenty six shillings and eight pence, with two days' service in autumn, worth four pence by the year.

Thomas Swanne of Weryngton aforesaid holds of the said Peter Legh one messuage with a stable and barn, an oven and turf cote, a garden and an apple yard, which messuage, stable, barn, garden, and apple yard lie and are situate in the Newgate street, to wit, on the east of the said street, in breadth between the said messuage and garden of the said Peter in the tenure of William Fletcher on the north, and a messuage and land of Thomas Dawne

Dawne de Crawton in tenura Thomæ Balfrunte ex parte australi et extendunt in longitudine a regia strata de Newgate prædicta ex parte occidentali usque ad gardinum et pomœrium prædictæ ustrinæ dicti Petri in tenura dicti Thomæ Swanne ex parte orientali et a dicto messuagio in tenura dicti Thomæ Swanne una parva venella ducit ad dictam ustrinam et dictum gardinum et pomœrium et dicta ustrina gardinum et pomœrium jacent in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri nuper in tenura Johannis Wynyngton ex parte fere boreali et terram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Elenæ Pykton ex parte australi et extendunt in longitudine a vico dictæ villæ de Weryngton vocato Bonke strete ex parte fere orientali usque ad terram Thomæ Dawne[1] de Crawton in tenura Thomæ Balfrunte ex parte occidentali quæ prædicta valent per annum dicto Petro Legh undecim solidos et quatuor denarios cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent quatuor denarios.

§ Item dictus Petrus Legh miles habet in villa de Weryngton scilicet in dicto vico vocato Newgate ex parte occidentali dicti vici duo messuagia sub uno tecto ædificata quondam in tenura Henrici Barker jacentia in latitudine inter muros et semiterium ecclesiæ fratrum Augustinensium dictæ villæ ex parte occidentali et dictum vicum de Newgate ex parte orientali et extendentia in longitudine a terra Willielmi Botiller in tenura Agnetis Hawkesegh[2] ex parte boreali usque ad terram Ranulphi de Rixton[3] in tenura Thomæ Dychefeld ex parte australi.

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[1] The Thomas Done here mentioned was a member of a celebrated Cheshire family, which, at the date of the manuscript, he represented in his own person. Mr. Ormerod (*History of Cheshire*, ii. 64) has given a pedigree of the Dones of Crowton, from which it appears that the above Thomas succeeded to the family estate as uncle and heir of Richard Done, who fell in the fight at Blore, so fatal to the Cheshire gentry, and where also another of his lineage, Sir John Done, of Utkinton, met his death, fighting on the opposite side; a fact which is alluded to in the *Polyolbion* : —

"The earl . . . . . .
So hungry in revenge, there made a rav'nous spoil;
There Dutton Dutton kills, a Done doth kill a Done."

of Crowton in the tenure of Thomas Balfrunte on the south, and extend in length from the said king's highway called Newgate street aforesaid on the west as far as the garden and apple yard of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Thomas Swanne on the east, and from the said messuage in the tenure of the said Thomas Swanne a little lane leads to the said oven, and the said garden and apple yard lie in breadth between land of the said Peter, late in the tenure of John Wynyngton, towards the north, and land of William Botiller in the tenure of Elen Pykton on the south, and extend in length from a street of the said town of Weryngton called Bonke street towards the east, as far as land of Thomas Dawne of Crowton in the tenure of Thomas Balfrunte on the west; which aforesaid premises are worth yearly to the said Peter Legh eleven shillings and four pence, with two days' service in autumn, which is worth four pence.

Likewise the said Peter Legh, knight, hath in the town of Weryngton, to wit in the said street called Newgate and on the west of the said street, two messuages built under one roof, formerly in the tenure of Henry Barker, lying in breadth between the walls and cemetery of the church of the Austin Friars of the said town on the west and the said Newgate street on the east, and extending in length from land of William Botiller in the tenure of Agnes Hawkesegh on the north, as far as land of Randle de Rixton in the tenure of Thomas Dychefeld on the south.

A MS. chronicle of Chester in the possession of Mr. Roscoe, of Knutsford, a copy of which seems to have been seen by Mr. Ormerod, contains the following allusion to Blore field and Sir John Done :—

"The battayle of Blore heath betweene queene Margrett and the earle of Salisberrie there were slaine upon the queene's p^te^ Sir John Done and Mr. Troutbecke, wth many others of Cheshier." Was the person here called Mr. Troutbecke, the Sir John or the Sir William mentioned in Mr. Ormerod's pedigree, (*History of Cheshire*, ii. 26,) and both of whom fell at Blore?

[2] This looks very like Hawk's-eye, and was, probably, a descriptive name.

[3] Ante page 4.

Item duo lecta cum sepibus circumclusa pertinentia duobus messuagiis prædictis jacentia in latitudine inter gardinum dicti Petri in tenura dicti Thomæ Swanne et unam novam ustrinam dicti Petri et in tenura dicti Thomæ ex parte occidentali et alium gardinum dicti Petri Legh in tenura Johannæ Mason ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine a terra uxoris Johannis Pigot de dote suâ sed hæreditatis Ranulphi Rixton[1] in tenura Johannis Webster ex parte boreali usque ad prædictam stratam vocatam Bonke strete ex parte australi quæ prædicta valent per annum dicto Petro videlicet octo solidos cum quatuor diebus autumpnalibus quæ valent per annum octo denarios.

Johanna uxor Simonis le Mason tenet de dicto Petro Legh in villa de Weryngton videlicet inter yardiam jacentem ex parte orientali stratæ de Newgate prædictæ et ex parte boreali prædictæ stratæ de Bonk strete unum gardinum jacens in latitudine inter prædicta duo lecta dicti Petri pertinentia prædictis duobus messuagiis dicti Petri sub uno tecto in vico prædicto de Newgate ex parte occidentali et gardinum Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannis Massy ex parte orientali et extendens in longitudine a quodam crofto Henrici Birom in tenura Johannis Hardewar ex parte boreali usque ad vicum vocatum Bonke strete ex parte australi et reddit per annum dicto Petro Legh tres solidos.

§ Willielmus Fletcher tenet de dicto Petro Legh alium gardinum scilicet jacens inter gardina ex parte orientali stratæ de Newgate prædictæ et ex latere boreali stratæ de Bonk strete prædictæ in latitudine inter terram uxoris Johannis Pigot de dote ut prædicitur sed hereditatis Ranulphi Rixton[1] in tenura Eliæ Balfrunte ex parte boreali et le Bonke strete prædicta ex parte australi et extendens in longitudine a gardino prædicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Elenæ Pykketon ex parte orientali usque ad terram Ranulphi de Rixton[1] in tenura dicti Willielmi Fletcher et gar-

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[1] Ante, page 4.

Likewise two beds [of land] surrounded with hedges belonging to the aforesaid two messuages, and lying in breadth between the garden of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Thomas Swanne and one new oven of the said Peter and in the tenure of the said Thomas [Swanne] on the west, and another garden of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of Joan Mason on the east, and extending in length from land in dower to John Pigot's wife, the inheritance of Randle Rixton in the tenure of John Webster on the north, as far as the aforesaid street called Bonke street on the south; which aforesaid premises are worth per annum to the said Peter eight shillings, with four days in autumn, worth eight pence per annum.

Joan the wife of Simon le Mason holds of the said Peter Legh, in the town of Weryngton, to wit, between a yard lying on the east side of Newgate street aforesaid, and on the north of Bonke street aforesaid, one garden, lying in breadth between the aforesaid two beds [of land] of the said Peter, belonging to the aforesaid two messuages of the said Peter under one roof in Newgate street aforesaid on the west, and a garden of William Botiller in the tenure of John Massy on the east, and extending in length from a certain croft of Henry Birom in the tenure of John Hardewar on the north, as far as the street called Bonk street on the south, and renders to the said Peter three shillings yearly.

William Fletcher holds of the said Peter Legh another garden, to wit, [a garden] lying between other gardens on the east side of Newgate street aforesaid and on the north side of Bonk street aforesaid, in breadth between the land in dower to John Pigot's wife as is aforesaid, the inheritance of Randle Rixton, in the tenure of Elias Balfrunte on the north and Bonk street aforesaid on the south, and extending in length from a garden of the aforesaid William Botiller in the tenure of Ellen Pykkton on the east, as far as the land of Randle de Rixton in the tenure of the

dinum scilicet Willielmi Botiller[1] in tenura Johannis Lawe ex parte occidentali et valet per annum dicto Petro Legh duos solidos.

§ Item dictus Petrus habet in villa de Weryngton prædicta unam vacuam placeam terræ quondam unum messuagium jacentem ex parte occidentali dictæ stratæ de Newgate in latitudine inter dictam stratam ex parte orientali et semiterium fratrum Augustinensium villæ prædictæ ex parte occidentali et extendentem in longitudine a terra Willielmi Botiller[1] in tenura Roberti Webster ex parte boreali et[2] quandam vacuam placeam hereditatis Petri de Werburton[3] fere super litus aquæ de Mersee ex parte australi quod reddidit ante hæc tempora antecessoribus dicti Petri Legh per annum videlicet . . . . . cum servitio . . . . . .

§ Johannes Smythe de Weryngton tenet de dicto Petro unum messuagium cum orreo et gardino eidem adjacentibus jacens in le Bonke strete prædictæ villæ in latitudine inter pomœrium Henrici Garnet ex parte fere orientali et terram sive gardinum dicti Henrici continens quatuor lecta terræ ex parte fere occidentali et extendentia in longitudine a aula nuper Willielmi Garnet et nunc dicti Henrici ex parte boreali usque ad dictam stratam de Bonke strete ex parte australi.

Item tenet unam acram terræ arabilis jacentem in campo de Arpeley in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura Henrici Hatton ex parte occidentali et terram Willielmi Botiller[1] in tenura Willielmi Sporis ex parte orientali et extendentem in longitudine a terra dicti Petri Legh in tenura Johannis Hardewar ex parte boreali usque ad terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura dicti Henrici Hatton ex parte australi.

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[1] Ante, page 4. [2] It would seem that "et" is here by mistake used for "ad."

[3] This was probably Peter Warburton, who built Arley, and who is called in the family pedigree Wise Piers. (See Ormerod's *Cheshire*, i. 430.) He was a retainer of the unfortunate Sir William Stanley, and died about the year 1495. In the subsequent pages, mention is made of a Geoffrey Warburton, who is called of Newcrofte, and said to be lately dead. He was probably father of the above Sir Peter.

said William Fletcher, and a garden, to wit, [the garden] of William Botiller in the tenure of John Lawe on the west, and is worth to the said Peter Legh two shillings by the year.

Likewise the said PETER has in the town of Weryngton aforesaid one vacant piece of land formerly [the site of] a messuage lying on the west of the said Newgate street, in breadth between the said street on the east and the cemetery of the Austin Friars of the aforesaid town on the west, and extending in length from land of William Botiller in the tenure of Robert Webster on the north to a certain vacant place, the inheritance of Peter Warburton, almost upon the shore of Mersee water on the south; which heretofore rendered to the ancestors of the said Peter Legh yearly . . . . . with the service . . . . . .

JOHN SMYTHE of Weryngton holds of the said Peter one messuage with a barn and garden thereto adjoining, lying in le Bonke street of the aforesaid town, in breadth between the apple yard of Henry Garnet towards the east and the land or garden of the said Henry, containing four beds of land towards the west, and extending in length from a hall lately William Garnet's, but now the said Henry Garnet's, on the north as far as the said Bonk street on the south.

Also he holds one acre of arable land lying in Arpeley field, in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of Henry Hatton on the west, and land of William Botiller in the tenure of William Sporis on the east, and extending in length from land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of John Hardewar on the north, as far as the land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of the said Henry Hatton on the south.

It no where appears in what township Newcrofte is situated, but it was very probably in Warburton.

In the portion of the Legh pedigree, which is given in the introduction, mention is made that this Peter was at one time the husband of Ellen Savage, who afterwards became the wife of Peter Legh, the grandson of the compiler of this MS.

Item tenet duas acras terræ invicem jacentes in campo vocato Hollay in latitudine inter terram heredum Rogeri Arosmythe in tenura Johannis Pasmethe glover ex parte boreali et terram Henrici Birom in tenura Henrici Hawrobyn ex parte australi et extendunt in longitudine a litore maris ex parte orientali usque ad quandam hadelandam Henrici Birom in tenura dicti Johannis Pasmethe ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet aliam acram terræ arabilis in Hollay prædicto jacentem in latitudine inter terram Gilberti Rysseley in tenura Thomæ Pepir ex parte occidentali et terram ecclesiasticam de Weryngton pertinentem altæ ecclesiæ nuper in tenura Thomæ Wylme ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a quadam acra terræ Willielmi Botiller[1] in tenura Radulphi Kellurmargh vocata Hobbeakyr ex parte australi usque ad pratum heredis Rogeri Arosmythe vocatum Downe howse medo ex parte boreali.

Item tenet aliam acram terræ arabilis in Hollay prædicto jacentem in latitudine inter dimidiam acram Willielmi Botiller[1] in tenura Henrici Munke ex parte orientali et terram videlicet duas acras terræ dicti Petri pertinentes messuagio nuper in tenura Rogeri Kenyan jacenti in vico dictæ villæ de Weryngton vocato Prat rowe videlicet ex parte boreali fori dictæ villæ ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a litore aquæ de Mersee prædicta ex parte australi usque ad quandam venellam vocatam Hollay lane ex parte boreali, quæ venella ducit a strato vocato Kyrke strete usque ad prædictum campum de Hollay.

Item tenet dimidiam acram in Hollay prædicto jacentem in latitudine inter terram abbatiæ de Norton[2] in tenura Johannis Dichefeld ex parte boreali et terram Ricardi Bruche in tenura Henrici

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[1] Ante, page 4.

[2] The monastery of Norton held their Warrington lands under the Butlers, and in the inquisition taken 4th July, 14 Hen. VIII., after the death of the first Sir Thomas Butler, the deceased was found to have been seised of the homage of the prior of Norton, amongst the homages of the following ecclesiastical persons :

De homagio et servitio prioris de Birkehenyd de libero tenemento suo quod de prædicto Thoma tenuit in Weryngton.

Also he holds two acres of land lying together in the field called Howley, in breadth between the land of Roger Arosmythe's heirs in the tenure of John Pasmethe glover on the north, and land of Henry Birom in the tenure of Henry Hawrobyn on the south, and extending in length from the shore of the sea [!] on the east as far as a certain headland of Henry Birom in the tenure of the said John Pasmethe on the west.

Also he holds another acre of arable land in Howley aforesaid lying in length between land of Gilbert Ryssley in the tenure of Thomas Pepir on the west, and church land of Weryngton belonging to the high church, late in the tenure of Thomas Wylme on the east, and extending in length from a certain acre of land of William Botiller in the tenure of Ralph Kellurmargh called Hobbeakyr on the south, as far as a meadow of Roger Arosmythe's heir called Downe house meadow on the north.

Also he holds another acre of arable land in Howley aforesaid lying in breadth between a half acre of William Botiller in the tenure of Henry Munke on the east, and land, to wit, two acres of land of the said Peter belonging to a messuage late in the tenure of Roger Kenyan, situate in a street of the said town of Weryngton called Prat rowe, to wit, on the north side of the market place of the said town, on the west, and extending in length from the shore of Mersee water aforesaid on the south, as far as a certain lane called Howley lane on the north, which lane leads from a street called Kirk street, as far as the aforesaid Howley field.

Also he holds a half acre in Howley aforesaid lying in breadth between land of the abbey of Norton in the tenure of John Dichefeld on the north, and land of Richard Bruche in the tenure of

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De homagio &c. prioris Sancti Johannis Cestriæ de &c.
De homagio &c. prioris de Norton de &c.
De homagio &c. Rici fil Rici capellani &c.
De homagio &c. Rici Gener. Augustine de &c.
De homagio &c. Thurstani capellani de &c.
De homagio &c. abbatis de Whalley de &c.

Garnet ex parte australi et extendentem in longitudine a prato Willielmi Botiller in tenura Ricardi Massy ex parte occidentali usque ad quandam acram prati dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Radulphi Kellurmargh ex parte orientali.

Item tenet aliam dimidiam acram in Hollay prædicto jacentem in latitudine inter terram Henrici Birom in tenura Thomæ Wadyngton ex parte orientali et quoddam croftum continens acram terræ dicti Henrici Birom in tenura dicti Henrici Hawrobyn ex parte occidentali et extendentem in longitudine a litore maris de Mersee ex parte australi usque ad quendam parvum campum terræ glebalis pertinentem rectoriæ de Weryngton in tenura Johannis Massy ex parte boreali.

Item tenet unum croftum continens tres rodas terræ jacens juxta viam ducentem ab ecclesia alta de Weryngton usque ad villam de Wulstone ex parte australi et vocatum le Gorsty crofte quod quidem croftum jacet in latitudine inter terram Nicholai Blundell[1] in tenura Nicholai Kyngeley ex parte boreali et dictam viam ex parte australi et extendens in longitudine a terra Willielmi Blakehurst ex parte occidentali usque ad terram Willielmi Botiller[2] in tenura Johannis Twysse ex parte orientali, quæ messuagium terræ et tenementa prædicta modo in tenura Johannis Smythe sed nuper in tenura Johannis Wode reddunt dicto Petro per annum videlicet duodecim solidos cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent per annum quatuor denarios.

§ Edwardus Sothewurthe de Weryngton prædicta tenet de dicto Petro Legh milite unum messuagium cum gardino eidem adjacente ex parte boreali fori de Weryngton jacentia in quodam loco vocato Prat rowe in latitudine inter messuagium et gardinum Willielmi Botiller in tenura Rogeri Hyndeley ex parte occidentali et messuagium nuper in tenura Rogeri Kenyan ex parte orientali

[1] There was a succession of the Blundells of Crosby bearing the name of Nicholas, as appears by the pedigree. (*History of Lancashire*, iv. 218.) This Nicholas was probably of that family.

[2] Ante, page 4.

Henry Garnet on the south, and extending in length from a meadow of William Botiller in the tenure of Richard Massy on the west, as far as a certain acre of meadow of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Ralph Kellurmargh on the east.

Also he holds another half acre in Howley aforesaid lying in breadth between land of Henry Birom in the tenure of Thomas Wadyngton on the east, and a certain croft containing an acre of land of the said Henry Birom in the tenure of the said Henry Hawrobyn on the west, and extending in length from the shore of the sea of Mersee on the south, as far as a certain small field of glebe land belonging to the rectory of Weryngton in the tenure of John Massy on the north.

Also he holds a croft containing three roods of land lying beside the [high]way leading from the high church of Weryngton as far as the town of Wulstone on the south, and called le Gorsty croft, which croft lies in breadth between land of Nicholas Blundell in the tenure of Nicholas Kyngeley on the north and the said [high] way on the south, and extends in length from land of William Blakehurst on the west, as far as land of William Botiller in the tenure of John Twysse on the east; which messuage, lands, and tenements aforesaid now in the tenure of John Smythe, but late in the tenure of John Wode, render to the said Peter yearly, to wit, twelve shillings, with two days' service in autumn, which is worth four pence.

Edward Sothewurthe of Weryngton aforesaid holds of the said Peter Legh, knight, a messuage with a garden thereto adjoining on the north of the market place of Weryngton, lying in a certain place called Prat rowe, in breadth between a messuage and garden of William Botiller in the tenure of Roger Hyndeley on the west and a messuage late in the tenure of Roger Kenyan on

et extendunt in longitudine a dicto foro ex parte australi usque ad brueram de Weryngton ex parte boreali, quæ messuagium et gardinum valent dicto Petro per annum octo solidos cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent per annum quatuor denarios.

§ Item dictus Petrus habet unum messuagium vetus nuper in tenura Rogeri Kenyan cum gardino eidem messuagio adjacente quæ messuagium et gardinum jacent et situantur ex parte boreali dicti fori villæ de Weryngton in prædicto loco vocato Prat rowe jacentia in latitudine inter messuagium dicti Petri in tenura Edwardi Sothewurthe ex parte occidentali et unum novum pulcrum messuagium nuper in tenura Margeriæ Sale ex parte orientali et extendentia in longitudine a dicto foro prædictæ villæ de Weryngton ex parte australi usque ad brueram de Weryngton ex parte boreali, quæ messuagium et gardinum solent reddere dicto Petro Legh per annum octo solidos cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent per annum quatuor denarios.

§ Item dictus Petrus Legh habet duas acras terræ in Hollay pertinentes prædicto messuagio nuper in tenura Rogeri Kenyan quarum una acra jacet videlicet una finis versus orientem et altera finis versus occidentem et altera acra jacet una finis versus boream et altera finis versus austrum et una acra dictarum duarum jacet in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri Legh nuper in tenura Johannis Wode ex parte orientali et terram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Radulphi Kellurmargh et terram Henrici Garnet ex parte occidentali et una acra prædicta extendit in longitudine a litore aquæ de Mersee ex parte australi usque ad alteram acram prædicti Petri ex parte boreali et alia dicta acra jacet ex transverso prædictam acram alteram jacentem in latitudine inter communem fossam de Hollay prædicto ex parte boreali et aliam prædictam acram prædicti Petri ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a prædicta venella vocata Hollay lane ex parte occidentali usque ad dictam communem fossam et super litus aquæ de Mersee ex parte orientali.

the east, and extending in length from the said market place on the south as far as Weryngton heath [i.e. towards Longford] on the north; which messuage and garden are worth to the said Peter by the year eight shillings, with two days' service in autumn, worth four pence by the year.

Likewise the said PETER has one ancient messuage late in the tenure of Roger Kenyan, with a garden thereto adjoining, which messuage and garden lie and are situate on the north of the said market place of the town of Weryngton in the aforesaid place called Prat rowe, lying in breadth between a messuage of the said Peter in the tenure of Edward Sothewurthe on the west and a fair new messuage late in the tenure of Margery Sale on the east, and extend in length from the said market place of the aforesaid town of Weryngton on the south as far as Weryngton heath on the north; which messuage and garden usually render to the said Peter Legh by the year eight shillings, with two days' service in autumn, worth four pence a year.

Likewise the said PETER LEGH has two acres of land in Howley belonging to the aforesaid messuage late in the tenure of Roger Kenyan, whereof one acre lies [as follows] to wit, one end towards the east and the other towards the west, and the other acre lies one end towards the north and the other end towards the south, and one of the said two acres lies in breadth between land of the said Peter Legh late in the tenure of John Wode on the east, and land of William Botiller in the tenure of Ralph Kellurmargh and land of Henry Garnet on the west, and extends in length from the shore of Mersee water on the south as far as the other of the aforesaid two acres of the said Peter on the north, and the other of the aforesaid two acres lies opposite the first, in breadth between the common ditch of Howley aforesaid on the north and the first of the said two acres on the south, and extends in length from the aforesaid lane called Howley lane on the west, as far as the said common ditch and the shore of Mersee water on the east.

Item habet unam rodam terræ longam jacentem in campo de Hollay prædicto ac pertinentem dicto messuagio nuper in tenura Rogeri Kenian jacentem in latitudine inter terram Johannis Norreis ex parte boreali et terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannis Sonky[1] ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a litore maris de Mersee fere extra viam bigalem ex parte occidentali usque ad terram dicti Johannis Norreis[2] ex parte orientali quæ solent reddere dicto Petro per annum videlicet . . . . . .

§ Item dictus Petrus Legh habet unum pulcrum messuagium noviter constructum cum duabus pulcris altis cameris cum coquina cum magno gardino et ustrina nova in fine boreali dicti gardini juxta brueram de Weryngton jacentia ex parte boreali dicti fori in

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[1] The Sonkys who are mentioned here, and in subsequent pages, were landowners in Warrington at an early period, as appears by the following curious charter, extracted from Lord Lilford's evidences, and the date of which was probably about 1275:

"Sciant presentes & futuri quod ego Willielmus fil. Ade de Sonky et Hawys uxor meus dedimus &c. Rogero de Sonky unum burgagium in villa de Werington, illud scilicet quod jacet inter burgagium Thomæ de Holland et burgagium Annabel Dublerose. Habend' &c. Reddendo inde annuatim capitali domino de Weringtonâ duodecim denarios argenti &c. Hiis testibus Ricardo Pincerna, Henrico Pincerna, Thurstano de Holand, Will° de Sonky, dom° Radulfo Capellano, Rogero de Opton, Roberto de Witefeld clerico et aliis."

A little later we have a record of the Sonkys in the *Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium*, 23 Edward I., p. 91, which shews that these humble landowners had the spirit to resist the encroachments of a powerful neighbour; for, after reciting that Robertus de Sonky had recovered seisin before the king's justices of the bench against William le Butyller of Weryngton, of and concerning land in Weryngton twenty-four feet long and eight feet broad, the sheriff is commanded to deliver possession.

The Sonkys held little Sankey a hamlet of Warrington under the Butlers, and we have evidence from time to time of homage done by them for these lands.

On the 13th January, 5 Henry VII., Randle Sonky did his homage and paid x^s^ for his relief. John Sonky the son of this Randle had a son Thomas, in whom the family spirit was not extinct, for he was in the train of Sir Thomas Butler at the battle of Flodden Field (9th September 1513) and was there slain.

Also he has one long rood of land lying in Howley field aforesaid belonging to the said messuage late in the tenure of Roger Kenian, [and] lying in breadth between land of John Norreis on the north and land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of John Sonky on the south, and extending in length from a cartway by the shore of the sea of Mersee on the west as far as land of the said John Norreis on the east, which usually render to the said Peter yearly, to wit, ...

Likewise the said PETER LEGH has a fair messuage newly built, with two fair high chambers, a kitchen, a great garden, and a new oven at the north end of the said garden near to Weryngton heath [i.e. the heath towards Longford], lying on the north side of the

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They are again mentioned in a later charter, which is remarkable for the mention of Oliver Berdsley, to whom allusion is made in the Introduction. The charter is dated 7 Henry VIII., and by it Oliver Berdsley, draper, releases to Thomas Botiler a messuage in the High strete in Weryngton, between a tenement of——— and a tenement of Thomas Sonky, late in the tenure of William Gray, baker.

In November 1639, Edward Sonky filed a bill in Chancery against Mr. Ireland the then owner of Bewsey, for an account of the rents of his estate of Little Sankey, in which he states that being only three years old when his father died, Sir Thomas Ireland who was his father's executor entered upon the lands. That he the complainant in his youth betook himself to travels beyond the seas, and after spending many years there, was only very recently returned. Lord Lilford's *Papers*.

[2] I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Langton for the following inquisition, which not only introduces to us this John Norreys during his minority, but gives the date of his father's death, and makes mention of the premises referred to in the text:—

"Inquisitio capta apud Werington coram Roberto de Halsall Escaetore die martis prox. post festum exaltationis Ste. Crucis an$^{o.}$ 4 H. V. p. sacr$^{m.}$ Johannis Dokesburye et aliorum qui dicunt quod Johes Norreys obiit seisitus de certis terris in Orford et tenuit de Johanne filio et hered. Willielmi Botiller militis infra etat. p. servic. militare que valent p. annum ultra reprisas 10$^{s.}$ 6$^{d.}$ Item de certis terris in Kirk street de Werington et tenuit de Gilberto de Haydok ch. p. servic. militare que valent p. an. ultra reprisas 8$^{s.}$ 10$^{d.}$ ob. et quod obiit die Lunæ prox. ante festum nativitat. beatæ Mariæ Virginis anno Henrici quinti quarto et quod Johannes filius ejus est hæres propinquior et ætatis 12 annorum et amplius."

prædicto loco vocato Pratte rowe quondam in tenura Margeriæ Sale jacentia in latitudine inter messuagium prædicti Petri nuper in tenura Rogeri Kenian ex parte occidentali et alium messuagium et gardinum dicti Petri in tenura Willielmi Mulyngton ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine a dicto foro dictæ villæ ex parte australi usque ad brueram de Weryngton ex parte boreali, quæ valent per annum dicto Petro undecim solidos cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent quatuor denarios.

§ Willielmus Mulyngton de Weryngton prædicta tenet de dicto Petro unum messuagium cum stabulo et gardino eidem adjacentibus ex boreali parte dicti fori in dicto loco vocato Prat rowe jacentia in latitudine inter prædictum pulcrum messuagium dicti Petri nuper in tenura Margeriæ Sale ex parte occidentali et alium messuagium dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Dychefeld ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine a dicto foro dictæ villæ ex parte australi usque ad brueram de Weryngton ex parte boreali.

Item tenet unam acram terræ jacentem in Arpeley jacentem in latitudine inter terram glebæalem rectoris de Weryngton in tenura Willielmi Holbroke ex parte orientali et terram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannæ nuper uxoris Hamundi Nayler et terram Johannis Wynyngton in tenura Johannis Hille et terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura Ricardi Hardeware ex parte fere occidentali et partim australi et extendentem in longitudine a terra dicti Petri Legh in tenura Johannis Hardewar ex parte fere boreali et partim occidentali usque ad pratum dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura dictæ nuper uxoris Hamundi Nayler ex parte fere australi et partim orientali.

Item tenet aliam acram terræ in Arpeley prædicta jacentem in latitudine juxta le magnam spinam in Arpeley ex parte australi et juxta terram Willielmi Botiller[1] in tenura uxoris Rogeri Clerk senioris et terram dicti Petri in tenura Rogeri Holbroke ex parte

[1] Ante, page 4.

said market place in the aforesaid place called Pratte rowe formerly in the tenure of Margery Sale, and lying in breadth between the messuage of the aforesaid Peter late in the tenure of Roger Kenian on the west and another messuage and garden of the said Peter in the tenure of William Mulyngton on the east, and extending in length from the said market place of the said town on the south as far as [the same] Weryngton heath on the north; which is worth to the said Peter yearly eleven shillings, with two days' service in autumn, worth four pence.

William Mulyngton of Weryngton aforesaid holds of the said Peter one messuage, with a stable and garden adjoining, on the north of the said market place in the said place called Prat rowe, lying in breadth between the aforesaid fair house of the said Peter late in the tenure of Margery Sale on the west, and another messuage of the said Peter in the tenure of John Dychefeld on the east, and extending in length from the said market place of the said town on the south as far as the same Weryngton heath on the north.

Also he holds one acre of land in Arpeley lying in breadth between the glebe land of the rector of Weryngton in the tenure of William Holbroke on the east, and land of William Botiller in the tenure of Joan late the wife of Hamund Nayler and land of John Wynyngton in the tenure of John Hille and land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of Richard Hardeware towards the west and in part towards the south, and extending in length from land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of John Hardewar towards the north and in part towards the west, as far as a meadow of the said William Botiller in the tenure of the said late wife of Hamund Nayler towards the south and in part towards the east.

Also he holds another acre of land in Arpeley aforesaid lying in breadth between the great thorn in Arpeley on the south, and beside the land of William Botiller in the tenure of the wife of Roger Clerk the elder and land of the said Peter in the tenure of Roger Holbroke in part towards the north and in part towards the

fere boreali et partim occidentali et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura Willielmi Fletcher senioris ex parte fere occidentali et partim australi usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Hardwar ex parte fere orientali et partim boreali.

Item tenet de dicto Petro unam dimidiam acram terræ in Arpeley prædicto jacentem in latitudine inter terram Ranulphi de Rixton[1] in tenura Roberti Ocly ex parte australi et terram Henrici Birom in tenura Johannis Hardewar ex parte boreali et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Ranulphi Rixton in tenura Ricardi Fletcher ex parte orientali usque ad terram Johannis Norres ex parte occidentali, quæ prædicta reddunt dicto Petro Legh per annum . . . . . cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent per annum quatuor denarios.

§ Johannes Dychefeld de Weryngton tenet de dicto Petro Legh milite unum messuagium sub tecto cum messuagio dicti Petri in tenura prædicti Willielmi Mulyngton ædificatum cum gardino eidem messuagio adjacente in dicto loco dictæ villæ vocato Pratt rowe jacentia in longitudine inter messuagium dicti Petri in tenura prædicti Willielmi Mulyngton ex parte occidentali et alium messuagium dicti Petri in tenura Radulphi Sothurne ex parte orientali quod quidem messuagium situatur ex parte boreali dicti fori de Weryngton et gardinum prædictum jacet in latitudine inter vicum[2] qui ducit a foro de Weryngton versus Longforthe ex parte orientali et gardinum dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Mulyngton ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a bruera de Weryngton ex parte boreali usque ad gardinum dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Hakynsall ex parte australi.

Item tenet duas acras terræ invicem jacentes in campo de

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[1] Ante page 5.

[2] This street, which is now the horse market, in the reign of George II. was called the beast market or Heath street, as appears from the following description of the premises contained in several indentures of lease and release, dated respectively 1st and 2nd May, 1728, and 2nd and 3rd January, 1729 :

"All that building called and known by the name of the old court house, situate and being at the higher end of the old corn market, (except the dungeon and the

west, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of William Fletcher the elder in part towards the west and in part towards the south, as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of John Hardwar in part towards the east and in part towards the north.

Also he holds of the said Peter one half acre of land in Arpeley aforesaid, lying in breadth between land of Randle de Rixton in the tenure of Robert Ocly on the south, and land of Henry Birom in the tenure of John Hardewar on the north, and extending in length from land of the said Randle Rixton in the tenure of Richard Fletcher on the east, as far as the land of John Norres on the west; which premises render to the said Peter Legh yearly . . . . . with the service of two days in autumn, worth by the year four pence.

John Dychefeld of Weryngton holds of the said Peter Legh, knight, one messuage built under the [same] roof with another messuage of the said Peter in the tenure of the aforesaid William Mulyngton, with a garden to the same messuage adjoining in the said place of the said town called Pratte row, lying in length between a messuage of the said Peter in the tenure of the aforesaid William Mulyngton on the west and another messuage of the said Peter in the tenure of Ralph Sothurne on the east, which messuage is situate on the north of the said market place of Weryngton, and the aforesaid garden lies in breadth between the street which leads from the market place of Weryngton towards Longforthe on the east, and a garden of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Mulyngton on the west, and extends in length from Weryngton heath on the north, as far as a garden of the said Peter in the tenure of John Hakynsall on the south.

Also he holds two acres of land lying together in Arpeley field

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shop, parcel of the said premises,)" and "all that one shopp with the appurtenances, situate, standing, and being in the old corn market in Warrington aforesaid, at the west end of the old court house over the dungeon adjoining on the north side to the entry or passage leading past widow Percival's shop into the beast market or Heath street, together with the said dungeon or cellar under the said shop."

Arpeley prædicto in latitudine inter aquam de Mersee et propinquiores dictæ aquæ aliqua terra ex parte occidentali et terram dicti Petri in tenuris Johannis Hardwar et Johannis Hakynsall ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine a terra Galfridi Sawer in tenuris Johannis Wilkynson et Henrici Wodecok ex parte boreali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura Rogeri Holbroke ex parte australi, quæ reddunt dicto Petro per annum . . . . . cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent per annum quatuor denarios.

§ Radulphus Sothurne tenet de dicto Petro Legh unum messuagium cum gardino jacens in villa de Weryngton prædicta in dicto loco vocato Pratte rowe ex cornerio orientali dicti fori et dicti loci quod quidem messuagium situatur in longitudine inter messuagium dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Hakynsall ex parte boreali et dictum cornerium orientale fori ex parte australi et gardinum prædictum jacet in latitudine inter gardinum dicti Johannis Hakynsall ex parte boreali et prædictum messuagium dicti Petri in tenura dicti Johannis Dychefeld ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a dicto messuagio in tenura dicti Radulphi ex parte orientali usque ad gardinum dicti Petri in tenura Willielmi Mulyngton ex parte occidentali.

§ Item tenet unam acram terræ in Arpeley prædicto jacentem juxta spinam in Arpeley videlicet propinquiorem villæ de Weryngton in latitudine inter acram dicti Petri in tenurâ dicti Johannis Hakynsall ex parte boreali et quadam bilanda dividit dictam acram in tenura dicti Radulphi et acram dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Hakynsall et terram Ranulphi Ryxton in tenura Rogeri Hyndeley ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura Ricardi Hardewar ex parte occidentali usque ad terram Willielmi Botiller ut supponitur in tenura uxoris Rogeri Clerk senioris ex parte orientali.

Item tenet dimidiam acram terræ in Arpeley prædicto jacentem in latitudine inter dictam terram Willielmi Botiller ut supponitur

aforesaid, lying in breadth between Mersee water and nearer to the said water than any [other land] on the west, and land of the said Peter in the tenures of John Hardwar and John Hakynsall on the east, and extending in length from land of Geoffrey Sawer in the tenures of John Wilkynson and Henry Wodeeok on the east, as far as the land of the said Peter in the tenure of Roger Holbroke on the south; which render to the said Peter yearly . . . . . with two days' service in autumn, worth four pence per annum.

Ralph Sothurne holds of the said Peter Legh one messuage with a garden lying in the aforesaid town of Weryngton in the said place called Pratte rowe [and] at the easterly corner of the [same plaee] and of the said market plaee, which messuage is situate in length between a messuage of the said Peter in the tenure of John Hakynsall on the north and the said easterly corner of the said market plaee on the south, and the aforesaid garden lies in breadth between the garden of the said John Hakynsall on the north and the aforesaid messuage of the said Peter in the tenure of the said John Dyehefeld on the south, and extending in length from the said messuage in the tenure of the said Ralph on the east as far as the garden of the said Peter in the tenure of William Mulyngton on the west.

Also he holds one acre of land in Arpeley aforesaid lying beside the thorn in Arpeley, to wit, [on the side] nearest to the town of Weryngton, in breadth between an acre of the said Peter in the tenure of the said John Hakynsall on the north, (a eertain biland divides the said acre in the tenure of the said Ralph, and an acre of the said Peter in the tenure of John Hakynsall, and land of Randle Ryxton in the tenure of Roger Hyndeley on the south,) and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of Richard Hardewar on the west, as far as the land supposed to be William Botiller's in the tenure of the wife of Roger Clerk the elder on the east.

Also he holds a half acre of land in Arpeley aforesaid lying in breadth between the said land supposed to be William Botiller's

in tenura dictæ uxoris Rogeri Clerk ex parte boreali et terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura dictæ uxoris ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a terra heredis Rogeri Arosmythe in tenura Johannis Twysse ex parte occidentali usque ad quandam acram terræ in tenura Willielmi Fletcher ex parte orientali.

Item tenet duas seliones in Arpeley prædicto jacentes in latitudine inter terram Ricardi Pasmethe in tenura Willielmi Hille ex parte occidentali et terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Willielmi Kyngcley ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a terra Johannis Birom in tenura Johannis Hardwar ex parte fere boreali et partim occidentali usque ad terram Willielmi Gerard de Ince in tenura Rogeri Clerk junioris ex parte fere australi et partim orientali.

Item tenet unam dimidiam acram terræ jacentem in loco dicto Arpeley vocato Weteakyrs in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Hardwar ex parte orientali et terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura dictæ uxoris Hamundi Nayler ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura dictæ uxoris Hamundi ex parte boreali usque ad terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Willielmi Barbor ex parte australi.

Item tenet aliam dimidiam acram terræ jacentem in dicto loco de Weteakyrs in latitudine inter terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Ricardi Wynyngton ex parte boreali et terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Willielmi Sporis et dictæ uxoris Hamundi Nayler ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Hardewar ex parte occidentali usque ad duas seliones dicti Petri in tenura dicti Ricardi Hardewar ex parte orientali.

Item tenet unum croftum continens duas acras terræ et dimidiam unius acræ cum sepibus et fossis inclusum jacens in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Fulshaghe ex parte orientali et altam viam ducentem a villa de Weryngton usque ad campum de Arpcley ex parte occidentali et extendens in longitudine a via ducente a Weryngton versus Sonky ex parte

in the tenure of the said Roger Clerk's wife on the north, and land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of the said wife on the south, and extending in length from land of Roger Arosmythe's heir in the tenure of John Twysse on the west, as far as a certain acre of land in the tenure of William Fletcher on the east.

Also he holds two ridges of land in Arpeley aforesaid lying in breadth between land of Richard Pasmethe in the tenure of William Hille on the west and land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of William Kyngeley on the east, and extending in length from land of John Birom in the tenure of John Hardwar in part towards the north and in part towards the west, as far as the land of William Gerard of Ince in the tenure of Roger Clerk the younger in part towards the south and in part towards the east.

Also he holds one half acre of land lying in a part of Arpeley aforesaid called Weteakyrs, in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of John Hardwar on the east and land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of the said wife of Hamund Nayler on the west, and extending in length from land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of the said Hamund's wife on the north, as far as the land of the said William Barbor on the south.

Also he holds another half acre of land lying in the said place called Weteakyrs, in breadth between land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Richard Wynyngton on the north and land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of William Sporis and of the said wife of Hamund Nayler on the south, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of John Hardewar on the west, as far as two ridges of land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Richard Hardewar on the east.

Also he holds one croft containing two acres and a half of land inclosed with hedges and ditches, lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of John Fulshagh on the east and the highway leading from the town of Weryngton as far as the Arpeley field on the west, and extending in length from a way leading from Weryngton to Sankey on the north, as far as land of Peter War-

boreali usque ad terram Petri Werburton[1] in tenura Henrici Garnet ex parte australi quæ omnia prædicta reddunt dicto Petro per annum . . . . . cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent per annum quatuor denarios.

§ Johannes Hakynsall de Weryngton tenet de dicto Petro Legh unum messuagium cum orto adjacente in dicto loco vocato Pratte rowe cum orreo et gardino jacentia in latitudine inter regiam stratam quæ ducit a dicto foro de Weryngton versus Beawsee et Wynwhik ex parte orientali et gardinum dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Mulyngton ex parte occidentali et extendunt in longitudine a messuagio et gardino dicti Petri in tenura Radulphi Sothurne ex parte australi usque ad gardinum dicti Petri in tenura dicti Johannis Dychefeld ex parte boreali.

Item tenet unam acram terræ in campo vocato Cocage cum sepibus et fossis inclusam jacentem in latitudine inter campum Ranulphi de Rixton in tenura Willielmi Kyngeley[2] ex parte boreali et campum dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Radulphi Kellurmargh ex parte australi et extendentem in longitudine a terra Mariæ nuper uxoris Hamundi Assheton ex parte occidentali usque ad certa burgagia . . . . . in tenura Thomæ Balfrunte ex parte orientali et in parte occidentali prædictæ acræ dicti Petri in tenura dicti Johannis Hakynsall est quadam via[3] ducta per duodecim juratores quia invenitur per dictos duodecim quod dicta acra dicti Petri non fecit burgagium[4] in antiquo tempore neque moderno &c.

Item tenet duas acras terræ in quadam parva haia cum sepibus et fossis inclusa et vulgariter nuncupata le Crymbull jacentes inter

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[1] Ante page 46.

[2] We meet with two William de Kyghleys, probably of this family, amongst the warriors at Agincourt, and "Monsieur Richard Kyghley" was then in the retinue of Sir William Butler. (Nicholas's *Agincourt*, pp. 353, 357.) In the introduction to this work, where Richard Kyghley is mentioned, his name is spelt as in the Agincourt roll.

[3] One portion of the footway over Cockhedge, which the public at this day enjoy,

burton in the tenure of Henry Garnet on the south; all which aforesaid premises render unto the said Peter yearly . . . . . with two days' service in autumn, worth four pence a year.

John Hakynsall of Weryngton holds of the said Peter Legh one messuage with a garden adjoining in the said place called Pratte rowe, with a barn and garden lying in breadth between the king's [highway or] street which leads from the said market place of Weryngton towards Beawsce and Wynwhick on the east and a garden of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Mulyngton on the west, and extending in length from a messuage and garden of the said Peter in the tenure of Ralph Sothurne on the south, as far as the garden of the said Peter in the tenure of the said John Dychefeld on the north.

Also he holds one acre of land in a field called Cocage inclosed with hedges and ditches, lying in breadth between a field of Randle de Rixton in the tenure of William Kyngeley on the north and a field of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Ralph Kellurmargh on the south, and extending in length from land of Mary late the wife of Hamund Assheton on the west as far as certain burgages . . . . . in the tenure of Thomas Balfrunte on the east; and on the western side of the aforesaid acre of the said Peter in the tenure of the said John Hakynsall a certain way has been made by the twelve jurors, because it is found not to have been a burgage either heretofore or now &c.

Also he holds two acres of land within a certain small enclosure enclosed with hedges and ditches, and commonly called le Crym-

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seems to be owing to this spirited resistance of our forefathers against an incroachment on their rights. The interference here, to his honour so faithfully recorded by the Legh chronicler, has probably been the means of preserving to us that portion of the road over Cockhedge, which crosses the field lately rented from Thomas Legh, esquire, as a depository for the street sweepings and paving stones.

[4] The term burgage is here applied with reference to the exercise of some privilege to be exercised in the manor court; and the twelve men who are here found asserting the public right by drawing "a ploughshare" across the site of the assumed burgage, were no doubt the jury of the court baron.

brueram de Weryngton ex orientali latere molendini ventritici de Weryngton ex parte boreali et quendam campum Johannis Wynyngton in tenura Ricardi de Wynyngton ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a terra pertinente ecclesiæ altæ de Weryngton vocata Seint Mary's londe ex parte orientali usque ad terram Ricardi Pasmethe in tenura Willielmi Hille ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet unam acram terræ jacentem in Arpeley prædicto in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura Radulphi Sothurne ex parte australi et tenura dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Mulyngton et Willielmi Fletcher ex parte boreali et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Petri et in tenura Ricardi Hardewar ex parte occidentali usque ad terram Willielmi Botiller ut supponitur in tenura nuper uxoris Rogeri Clerk senioris ex parte orientali.

Item tenet dimidiam acram terræ jacentem in campo de Arpeley prædicto in latitudine inter aquam de Mersee ex parte occidentali et terram Willielmi Gerard de Ince ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Fulshaghe ex parte boreali usque ad terram Ricardi Bruche in tenura Willielmi Holbroke ex parte australi, quæ prædicta reddunt dicto Petro per annum tresdecim solidos quatuor denarios cum duobus diebus autumpnalibus quæ valent quatuor denarios.

§ Henricus Hatton tenet de dicto Petro Legh quoddam messuagium jacens super et juxta latus australe brueræ de Weryngton cum gardino eidem adjacente in latitudine inter gardinum dicti Petri in tenura nuper Edwardi Sothewurthe ex parte orientali et quoddam croftum dicti Petri et in tenura dicti Henrici ex parte occidentali et extendunt in longitudine a gardino dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Lache et Sibillæ Andrewe ex parte australi usque ad prædictam brueram de Weryngton ex parte boreali.

Item tenet unum croftum jacens in latitudine inter prædictam brueram de Weryngton ex parte occidentali et dictum gardinum in tenura dicti Henrici ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a dicta brueria de Weryngton ex parte boreali usque ad quandam

bull, lying between Weryngton heath to the east of Weryngton windmill on the north and a certain field of John Wynyngton in the tenure of Richard de Wynyngton on the south, and extending in length from land belonging to the high church of Weryngton, called Saint Mary's land on the east, as far as the land of Richard Pasmethe in the tenure of William Hille on the west.

Also he holds one acre of land lying in Arpeley aforesaid, in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of Ralph Sothurne on the south, and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Mulyngton and William Fletcher on the north, and extending in length from the land of the said Peter in the tenure of Richard Hardewar on the west, as far as the land which is supposed to be William Botiller's in the tenure of the late wife of Roger Clerk the Elder on the west.

Also he holds half an acre of land lying in Arpeley field aforesaid in breadth between Mersee water on the west, and land of William Gerard of Ince on the east, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of John Fulshagh on the north, as far as land of Richard Bruche in the tenure of William Holbroke on the south, which premises aforesaid render to the said Peter yearly thirteen shillings and four pence, with two days' in autumn which are worth four pence.

Henry Hatton holds of the said Peter Legh a certain messuage lying upon and beside the south side of Weryngton heath with a garden thereto adjoining, in breadth between a garden of the said Peter late in the tenure of Edward Sothewurthe on the east, and a certain croft of the said Peter in the tenure of the same Henry on the west, and extending in length from a garden of the said Peter in the tenure of John Lache and Sybil Andrewe on the south, as far as the aforesaid Weryngton heath on the north.

Also he holds a croft lying in breadth between the aforesaid heath of Weryngton on the west, and the said garden in the tenure of the said Henry on the east, and extending in length from the said heath of Weryngton on the north, as far as a certain bake-

ustrinam Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannis Massy ex parte australi.

Item tenet tres acras terræ invicem jacentes in Arpeley in prædicto loco vocato Weeteakyrs in latitudine inter terram uxoris nuper Johannis Pigot de dote sua sed hereditatis Ranulphi Rixton in tenura Johannis Webster ex parte australi et terram dicti Petri Legh & in tenura dicti Henrici Hatton et scilicet terram Willielmi Botiller in tenuris Willielmi Barbor et Willielmi Sporis ex parte boreali et extendunt in longitudine a terra hæredis Rogeri Arosmythe et abuttant super viam ex altera parte fossæ ex parte orientali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Fulshagh ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet unam acram terræ in Arpeley prædicto in prædicto loco de Weteakyrs jacentem in latitudine inter acram dicti nuper Petri tenura Johannis Wode ex parte orientali et terram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Willielmi Barbor ex parte occidentali et extendentem in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Hatton ex parte australi usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenuris Johannis Hardewar et Radulphi Sothurne ex parte boreali, quæ valent per annum dicto Petro . . . . . cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent per annum quatuor denarios.

§ Item dictus Petrus Legh miles habet quandam parvam pulcram aulam cum alta camera et duabus shopis situata in cornerio strati occidentalis ducentis a foro de Weryngton versus ecclesiam altam dictæ villæ et in latere occidentali dicti strati in loco vocato le Marketheyate,[1] ubi quatuor strata dictæ villæ de Weryngton invicem obviant modo crucis, modo in tenura uxoris nuper Laurentii Balfrunte, quæ quidem aula cum camera et shopis jacent et situantur in latitudine inter quandam opellam sive shopam Ricardi Pasmethe in tenura Petri Bruche ex parte boreali et dictum cornerium strati

[1] This place, which still retains the same name, appears to have obtained its name at least as early as 17 Richard II., at which time it is mentioned in a charter of Sir John Botiller, by which certain premises there situate are granted with an express stipulation against the grantee laying filth in the highway.

house of William Botiller in the tenure of John Massy on the south.

Also he holds three acres of land lying together in Arpeley in the aforesaid place called Weteakyrs, in breadth between land of the late John Pigot's wife for her dower but the inheritance of Randle Rixton in the tenure of John Webster on the south, and land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of the said Henry Hatton, and [other] land of the said William Botiller in the tenures of William Barbor and William Sporis on the north, and extending in length from the land of Roger Arosmythe's heir and abutting in part upon the way of the common ditch on the east, as far as the land of the said Peter in the tenure of John Fulshagh on the west.

Also he holds one acre of land in Arpeley aforesaid in the aforesaid place called Weteakyrs lying in breadth between an acre of the said Peter late in the tenure of John Wode on the east, and land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of William Barbor on the west, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Hatton on the south, as far as land of the said Peter in the tenures of John Hardewar and Ralph Sothurne on the north, which are worth per annum to the said Peter . . . . . with two days' service in autumn worth four pence yearly.

Likewise the said Peter Legh, knight, hath a certain small and fair hall with a high chamber and two shops, situate at the corner of the western street leading from the market place of Weryngton towards the high church of the said town and in the western side of the said street, in a place called le markethe yate, where four streets of the said town meet together in the form of a cross, now in the tenure of the late Lawrence Balfrunte's wife; which said hall, with the chamber and shops, lie and are situate in breadth between a certain workplace or shop of Richard Pasmethe in the tenure of Peter Bruche on the north and the said corner of the street leading

ducentis a le Marktheyate prædicta usque ad dictam altam ecclesiam ex parte australi et extendunt in longitudine a dicto loco vocato Marketh yate ex parte occidentali usque ad messuagium Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannis Massy ex parte orientali. Et dicta uxor Laurentii Balfrunte habet dictam aulam ad certum terminum ut patet per indenturas inter dictum Petrum Legh et Laurentium factas. Quæ valent per annum ut supponitur decem solidos cum servitio duorum dierum autumpnalium quæ valent per annum quatuor denarios.

§ Item dictus Petrus habet in strato vocato le Kyrkestrete villæ prædictæ unum parvum gardinum continens duo lecta terræ jacens in latitudine inter certa lecta Ranulphi Rixton in tenura Ricardi Massy ex parte occidentali et gardinum Willielmi Botiller in tenura dicti Ricardi Massy ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a dicta strata de Kyrkestrete prædicta ex parte boreali usque ad orrea rectoriæ ecclesiæ altæ de Weryngton ex parte australi, quod gardinum valet per annum dicto Petro Legh videlicet ——.

§ Willielmus Holme tenet de dicto Petro unum gardinum continens unum latum lectum terræ jacens in orto vocato Davidis yorde the webster in latitudine inter lectum Willielmi Botiller in tenura dicti Willielmi Holme ex parte australi scilicet et inter dictum stratum ducentem a fonte vocato Hallumswalle[1] usque ad ecclesiam altam ex parte australi et parvum gardinum Petri de Werburton in tenura dicti Willielmi Holme ex parte boreali, et extendit in longitudine a terra videlicet croftum ortum et pomœrium Willielmi Blakchurst ad certum terminum per dictum Petrum Legh dicto Willielmo per indenturam dimissa ex parte occidentali usque ad quandam venellam vocatam le Hethe strete ducentem a domo hæredis Rogeri Arosmythe modo in tenura dicti Willielmi Holme versus brueram de Weryngton ex parte orientali, et valet per annum dicto Petro per annum octo denarios.

[1] In the manuscript this word, and Hallumslane, are written with contractions, thus: Hallūslane, Hallûslane, Hallūswalle; and it is not easy to say very accurately what the word is. It is conjectured that it is a corruption for Helen's well.

from le Markethe yate aforesaid as far as the said high church on the south, and extending in length from the said place called Marketh yate on the west as far as the messuage of William Botiller in the tenure of John Massy on the east. And the said wife of Laurence Balfrunte hath the said hall for a certain term, as appears by indentures made between the said Peter Legh and [the said] Laurence. Which [premises] are worth yearly, as it is supposed, ten shillings, with the service of two days in autumn, worth fourpence per annum.

Likewise the said Peter has in the street called Kyrkestrete of the aforesaid town one small garden containing two beds of land lying in breadth between certain beds of Randle Rixton in the tenure of Richard Massy on the west, and a garden of William Botiller in the tenure of the said Richard Massy on the east, and extending in length from the said street of Kyrkestrete aforesaid on the north as far as the barns of the rectory of the high church of Weryngton on the south, which garden is worth yearly to the said Peter Legh, to wit ——.

William Holme holds of the said Peter one garden containing one broad bed of land lying in an orchard called Davidis yorde the webster, in breadth between a bed of William Botiller's in the tenure of the said William Holme on the south, [interposed] between the said street leading from the fountain called Hallumswalle as far as the high church on the south and a small garden of Peter de Werburton in the tenure of the said William Holme on the north, and extending in length from land, to wit, a croft, garden, and appleyard of William Blakehurst, demised by indenture for a certain term by the said Peter Legh to the said William, on the west, as far as a certain lane called le Hethe street leading from a house of Roger Arosmythe's heir, now in the tenure of the said William Holme towards Weryngton heath on the east, and is worth yearly to the said Peter eightpence.

§ Ricardus Pasmethe nuper de Weryngton tenuit in vita sua de dicto Petro Legh in villa prædicta ad certum terminum unum ortum cum una ustrina nova desuper ædificata jacentia in vico vocato Kyrkestrete in latitudine inter unum croftum friscum Henrici Garnet ex parte orientali et terram . . . . . ex parte occidentali et extendentia in longitudine a prædicto vico de Kyrke strete ex parte boreali usque ad alium vicum dictæ villæ vocatum le Bonke strete ex parte australi, quæ valent per annum dicto Petro . . . . .

§ Willielmus Kyngeley de Weryngton tenet de dicto Petro Legh milite unam aeram terræ jacentem in campo de Hollay in latitudine inter altam viam quæ ducit a vico de Kyrkestrete usque ad Hollay ex parte orientali et terram uxoris Laurentii Balfrunte ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a terra Ricardi Bruche in tenura Johannis Pasmethe glover ex parte australi usque ad prædictam altam viam a le vico de Kyrkestrete usque ad Hollay prædictum ex parte boreali et valet per annum . . . . .

Item dictus Willielmus Kyngeley tenet de dicto Petro Legh quendam campum cum sepibus et fossis inclusum continentem tres aeras terræ jacentem in latitudine inter quendam Pyghull[1] Willielmi Gerard de Inee ex parte fere boreali et partim orientali et altam viam quæ ducit a bruera de Weryngton usque ad venellam vocatam Baglane ex parte fere australi et partim occidentali et extendit in longitudine a via quæ ducit de le Kyrke strete usque ad dictam brueram ex parte fere occidentali et partim boreali usque ad terram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Edmundi Berdisley ex parte fere orientali et partim australi, qui valet per annum dicto Petro quatuor solidos duos denarios.

Item dictus Petrus habet unum gardinum jacens in le Hethestrete villæ de Weryngton in latitudine inter messuagium Johannis

[1] This term occurs in the Whalley Coucher Book, (p. 611,) where we meet with the Flax Pyghull Its origin is probably explained in the following extract from Blount's Law Dictionary, i.e. " Picle, alias Pightel, (Pictellum et Pightellum ;) a

Richard Pasmethe, late of Weryngton, held during his life of the said Peter Legh in the town aforesaid, for a certain term, one garden with one new bakehouse lately erected, lying in the street called Kyrkestrete, in breadth between one fresh croft of Henry Garnet on the east and land . . . . . on the west and extending in length from the Kyrkestrete aforesaid on the north as far as another street of the said town called le Bonke strete on the south, which are worth yearly to the said Peter . . . . .

William Kyngeley of Weryngton holds of the said Peter Legh, knight, one acre of land lying in Hollay field, in breadth between the highway which leads from Kyrkestrete as far as Hollay [i.e. Howley] on the east, and land of Laurence Balfrunte's wife on the west, and extending in length from land of Richard Bruche in the tenure of John Pasmethe, glover, on the south, as far as the aforesaid highway from le Kyrkestrete to Hollay aforesaid on the north, and is worth yearly . . . . .

Also the said William Kyngeley holds of the said Peter Legh a certain field inclosed with hedges and ditches, containing three acres of land lying in breadth between a certain Pyghull of William Gerard of Ince towards the north and in part towards the east, and a highway which leads from Weryngton heath as far as a lane called Baglane towards the south and in part towards the west, and extending in length from a way which leads from the Kyrke strete as far as the said heath in part towards the west and in part towards the north, as far as land of William Botiller in the tenure of Edmund Berdisley in part towards the east and in part towards the south, which is worth to the said Peter four shillings and twopence.

Likewise the said Peter has one garden lying in le Hethestrete of the town of Weryngton in breadth between a messuage of John

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small parcel of land enclosed with a hedge; a little close; perhaps from the Italian Picciola, *minutus*, which the common people in many parts of England do usually call a pingle."

Sonky ex parte australi et messuagium quondam uxoris hominis vocati le Fyche ex parte boreali et extendit in longitudine a terra pertinente ecclesiæ altæ de Weryngton modo in tenura Thomæ Wadyngton ex parte orientali usque ad dictam venellam vocatam Hethestrete ex parte occidentali et reddit per annum octo denarios.

Redditus Capitalis de Weryngton.

Ricardus Bruche tenet de Petro Legh milite duo burgagia jacentia in le Kyrkestrete villæ de Weryngton in capite per servitium militare et unam bovatam terræ jacentem in Arpeley Hollay et Pilothull cum placia terræ vocata le Rawrydynge quæ continet quatuor acras terræ quarum quidem unum burgagium cum orto jacent et situantur inter burgagium et ortum Rogeri Arosmythe ex parte occidentali et burgagium et ortum Henrici Garnet modo in tenura Ricardi Ryder ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a uno crofto dicti Ricardi Bruche ex parte australi usque ad vicum regium de Kyrkestrete ex parte boreali. Et aliud burgagium jacet et situatur inter burgagium et ortum Henrici Garnet ex parte occidentali et messuagium et ortum Ranulphi Rixton ex parte orientali et extendens in longitudine a dicto vico regio ex parte boreali usque ad terram dicti Ricardi Bruche ex parte australi.

Item tenet unum croftum in capite de dicto Petro continens duas acras terræ arabilis jacens inter rodam terræ dicti Henrici Garnet ex parte occidentali et venellam vocatam Hollay lane ex parte orientali et inter orta pertinentia certis messuagiis in le Kyrkestrete prædicta ex parte boreali et terram Willielmi Botiller modo in tenura Willielmi Hulme ex parte australi.

Item tenet in capite scilicet duas acras terræ et dimidiam acram invicem jacentes sed dummodo quarum dimidia acra ad finem borealem dictarum duarum acrarum præscriptarum quæ quidem duæ acræ et dimidia jacent in parvo campo in Hollay vocato le Hole.

Sonky on the south and a messuage formerly of a man called le Fyche on the north, and extending in length from land belonging to the high church of Weryngton now in the tenure of Thomas Wadyngton on the east as far as the said lane called Hethe strete on the west, and [which same garden] renders eightpence yearly.

Chief Rents in Weryngton.

Richard Bruche holds of Peter Legh, knight, two burgages lying in the Kyrkestrete of the town of Weryngton in capite by military service, and one bovate of land lying in Arpeley, Hollay, and Pilot hull, with a place of land called the Rawrydinge, which contains four acres of land; of all which, one burgage with a garden lies and is situate between a burgage and a garden of Roger Arosmythe on the west and a burgage and a garden of Henry Garnet now in the tenure of Richard Ryder on the east, and extends in length from a croft of the said Richard Bruche on the south as far as the king's highway of Kyrkestrete on the north; and another burgage lies and is situate between a burgage and garden of Henry Garnet on the west and a messuage and garden of Randle Rixton on the east, and extends in length from the same king's highway on the north as far as land of the said Richard Bruche on the south.

Also he holds a croft in capite of the said Peter, containing two acres of arable land lying between a rood of land of the said Henry Garnet on the west and the lane called Hollay lane on the east, and between the gardens belonging to certain messuages in le Kyrkestrete aforesaid on the north and land of William Botiller now in the tenure of William Hulme on the south.

Also he holds in capite to wit, two acres and a half of land lying together, yet so that the half acre of the same lies at the north end of the said two acres before written, which said two acres and a half lie in a small field in Hollay called le Hole.

Item tenet unam aeram terræ in Hollay prædicto jacentem in tribus parcellis &c.

Sequitur capitalis redditus villæ de Weryngton prædictæ ac pertinens hæreditati prædicti Petri Legh militis &c.

Thomas Dawne de Crawton tenet in capite de prædicto Petro et per servitium militare unum burgagium vacuum jacens in Newgate villæ de Weryngton inter burgagium nuper ædificatum Nicholai Blundell modo in tenura Rogeri Clerke ex parte australi et quatuor burgagia invicem jacentia hæreditatis Ranulphi Rixton in quibus Alanus Walton, Johannes Dychefeld, et Johannes Pulforthe modo inhabitant, quod redderet dicto Petro de capitali redditu per annum sexdecim denarios.

Ricardus Bruche[1] del Bruche tenet medictatem manerii sui del Bruche in capite per servitium militare cum omnibus membris messuagiis terris dominicalibus ac aliis terris et tenementis dicto dimidio prædicti manerii spectantibus de dicto Petro Legh quod quidem manerium cum pertinentiis jacet et situatur ex parte australi cujusdam brueræ vocatæ le Bruche hethe et sic extendentia versus quandam venellam ducentem a villa de Weryngton usque ad villam de Wulstone et sic a dicta venella usque ad aquam de Mersec quod quidem messuagium cum omnibus membris et terris dominicalibus suis cum suis pertinentiis jacent in latitudine inter quendam rivulum vocatum le Bruche broke ex parte occidentali et alium rivulum vocatum le Wulstone Broke ex parte orientali, quod quidem dimidium manerii prædicti cum pertinentiis reddunt dicto Petro de capitali redditu per annum duodecim denarios.

Item idem Ricardus tenet de prædicto Petro in capite per dictum

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[1] According to the pedigree of the Legh family, this Richard Bruche married Margaret Legh, the daughter of the compiler of the MS.

Also he holds one acre of land in Hollay aforesaid, lying in three parcels, &c.

Here follow the chief rents of the said town of Weryngton belonging to the inheritance of the aforesaid Peter Legh, knight.

Thomas Dawne of Crawton holds in capite of the aforesaid Peter and by military service, one vacant burgage lying in Newgate of the town of Weryngton between a newly erected burgage of Nicholas Blundell now in the tenure of Roger Clerke on the south, and four burgages lying together, the inheritance of Randle Rixton, in which Alan Walton, John Dychefeld, and John Pulforthe now dwell, which should render to the said Peter for chief rent sixteen pence yearly.

Richard Bruche del Bruche holds of the said Peter Legh half of his manor of Bruche in capite by military service, with all the members, messuages, demesne and other lands and tenements to the said half of the aforesaid manor belonging, which manor with its appurtenances lies and is situate on the south of a certain heath called le Bruche hethe, and extends from thence towards a certain lane leading from the town of Weryngton as far as the town of Wulstone, and so from the said lane as far as the water of Mersce, which said messuage [query, manor ?] and all its members and demesne lands with their appurtenances lie in breadth between a certain brook called le Bruche broke on the west and another brook called le Wulstone broke on the east; which said half of the manor aforesaid with the appurtenances renders to the said Peter for chief rent twelve pence yearly.

Also the same Richard holds of the aforesaid Peter in capite by

servitium unum messuagium cum orto eidem adjacente in quadam strata villæ de Weryngton vocata le Kyrkestrete vocatum le Barbor's lande jacens in longitudine dicti messuagii et in latitudine dicti orti inter novum messuagium nuper Henrici Fyssher legatum altæ ecclesiæ de Weryngton ex parte orientali et burgagium vacuum nuper Rogeri Arosmythe et Henrici Garnet ex parte occidentali et extendens in longitudine dicti orti et in latitudine dicti messuagii a prædicta strata de Kyrkestrete prædicta ex parte australi usque ad ortum dicti Rogeri in tenura Willielmi Holme ex parte boreali, quod quidem messuagium et ortum reddunt dicto Petro de capitali redditu per annum quatuordecim denarios.

Item dictus Ricardus tenet de dicto Petro duo burgagia jacentia in le Kyrkestrete villæ de Weryngton in capite scilicet cum una bovata terræ jacens in Hollay Arpeley et Pylothull cum una placea terræ vocata Rawrydynge quæ continet quatuor acras terræ, et tenet prædicta omnia per cartam, quæ valent tres solidos et octo denarios.

Ranulphus filius et hæres Mathei de Rixton[1] tenet de dicto Petro Legh milite in capite per servitium militare quatuor burgagia invicem jacentia in quibus Alanus Walton, Johannes Dychefeld, et Johannes Pulforthe modo tenent et inhabitant, quæ quidem burgagium tenentur et situantur inter vacuum burgagium quondam Galfridi Werburton de Newerofte ex parte boreali et alium vacuum burgagium Thomæ Daune de Crawton ex parte australi et extendunt in longitudine a regia strata de Newgate prædicta ex parte occidentali usque ad pomœrium Henrici Byrom nuper in tenura Johannis Hardewar ex parte orientali.

Item dictus Ranulphus tenet de prædicto Petro Legh in capite per servitium militare duo burgagia invicem jacentia in vico prædicto de Newgate villæ prædictæ in quibus Ricardus Lawe et Alicia

[1] In a MS. collection of fines with which I have been favoured by Mr. Langton I find the following, which possibly relates to one of the houses here held by Randle de Rixton. "Apud Preston die Lunæ in secunda septimanâ quadragesimæ anno

the said service one messuage, with a garden called le Barber's lande thereto adjoining, in a certain street of the town of Weryngton called le Kyrkestrete lying in length of the said messuage and in breadth of the said garden between a new messuage late of Henry Fyssher, and bequeathed to the high church of Weryngton, on the east, and an empty burgage late of Roger Arosmythe and Henry Garnet on the west, and extending in length of the said garden and in breadth of the said messuage from Kyrkestrete aforesaid on the south as far as the garden of the said Roger in the tenure of William Holme on the North; which messuage and garden render to the said Peter for chief rent fourteen pence yearly.

Also the said Richard holds of the said Peter two burgages lying in le Kyrkestrete in the town of Weryngton in capite, to wit, with one bovate of land lying in Hollay, Arpelay, and Pilot hull, with one place of land called Rawrydynge, which contains four acres of land; and he holds by charter all the aforesaid [premises,] which are worth three shillings and eightpence.

Randle, son and heir of Matthew de Rixton, holds of the said Peter Legh, knight, in capite by military service, four burgages lying together, in which Alan Walton, John Dychefeld, and John Pulforthe now dwell and inhabit, which burgages are held and are situate between an empty burgage formerly of Geoffrey Werburton of Newcrofte on the north, and another empty burgage of Thomas Dawne of Crawton on the south, and extend in length from the king's high way of Newgate aforesaid on the west, as far as the apple yard of Henry Byrom late in the tenure of John Hardewar on the east.

Also the said Randle holds of the said Peter Legh in capite by military service, two burgages lying together in the aforesaid street of Newgate of the town aforesaid, in which Richard Lawe and

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ducatus Henrici ducis Lanc. septimo coram &c. Inter Ricum de Rixton quer. . . . Hugonem de Hawarden et Agn. uxorem ejus defore. . . . . uno messuagio cum pertin. in Weryngton unde pltum &c."

Turton modo inhabitant jacentia in latitudine inter magnum hospitium[1] Willielmi Botiller quondam in tenura Willielmi Arosmythe sed modo in tenura Johannæ nuper uxoris Hamundi Nayler ex parte australi et alium burgagium sive messuagium dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Willielmi Sporis ex parte boreali et extendunt in longitudine a vico de Newgate prædicto ex parte orientali usque ad aliam parcellam terræ dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura dicti Willielmi Sporis ex parte occidentali.

Item dictus Ranulphus tenet de prædicto Petro in capite per dictum servitium quinque parva burgagia invicem jacentia et situata sub uno tecto in vico de Newgate prædicto susum et josum[2] muros fratrum Augustinensium villæ de Weryngton prædictæ jacentia in latitudine inter dictum vicum de Newgate ex parte orientali et muros dictorum fratrum ex parte occidentali et extendunt in longitudine a messuagio dicti Petri Legh in tenura Johannæ Johannis Doghtun ex parte boreali et messuagium Willielmi Botiller in tenura Roberti Webster ex parte australi.

Item tenet dictus Ranulphus de dicto Petro Legh tria burgagia sive messuagia invicem jacentia in capite per servitium militare situata in vico prædicto de Newgate dictæ villæ videlicet ex orientali parte dicti vici et ex opposito prædicta quinque parva burgagia jacentia in latitudine inter messuagium et terram Laurentii Longetre in tenura Simonis Mason ex parte boreali et messuagium Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannis Lawe ex parte australi et extendunt in longitudine a dicto vico de Newgate ex parte occidentali usque ad gardina dictorum Petri Legh, Willielmi Botiller, et Laurentii Longetre ex parte orientali. Quæ omnia prædicta messuagia et burgagia in tenura dicti Ranulphi Rixton reddunt dicto Petro Legh per annum de capitali redditu quinque solidos et duos denarios.

Item dictus Ranulphus Rixton tenet de dicto Petro in capite per dictum servitium dimidium unius burgagii vacui jacentis in vico de

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[1] Magnum hospitium in this place, I apprehend, can only mean the great inn of which Joan the widow of Hamon Nayler was the keeper.

Alice Turton now inhabit, lying in breadth between a great hostelry of William Botiller formerly in the tenure of William Arosmythe but now in the tenure of Johanna, late the wife of Hamund Nayler, on the south, and another burgage or messuage of the said William Botiller in the tenure of William Sporis on the north, and extending in length from Newgate street aforesaid on the east as far as another parcel of land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of the said William Sporis on the west.

Also the said Randle holds of the aforesaid Peter in capite by the said service, five small burgages lying together snd situate under one roof in Newgate street aforesaid, up and down the walls of the Austin friars of the town of Weryngton aforesaid, lying in breadth between the said Newgate street on the east and the walls of the said friars on the west, and extending in length from a messuage of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of Johanna [late the wife] of John Doghton on the north, and a messuage of William Botiller in the tenure of Robert Webster on the south.

Also the said Randle holds in capite by military service of the said Peter Legh, three burgages or messuages lying together, situate in the aforesaid street of Newgate in the said town, to wit, on the east of the said street and opposite the aforesaid five small burgages, lying in breadth between a messuage and land of Lawrence Longetre in the tenure of Simon Mason on the north and a messuage of William Botiller in the tenure of John Lawe on the south, and extending in length from the said street of Newgate on the west as far as the gardens of the said Peter Legh, William Botiller, and Lawrence Longetre on the east; all which aforesaid messuages and burgages in the tenure of the said Randle Rixton render to the said Peter Legh yearly for chief rent five shillings and two-pence.

Also the said Randle Rixton holds of the said Peter in capite by the said service the half of one empty burgage lying in Hethestrete

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[2] These words, susum and josum, are very rarely met with in the sense to be implied here.

Hethe strete villæ prædictæ quondam hæreditatis Johannis Spycer jacens inter burgagium vacuum Johannis Wynyngton ex parte australi et terram ex parte boreali et extendit in longitudine a dicta strata vocata Hethe strete ex parte occidentali usque ad terram ex parte orientali, quod valet per annum duodecim denarios.

§ Johannes Norreis tenet de dicto Petro duo burgagia vacua in capite per servitium militare jacentia in vico de Kyrkestrete villæ de Weryngton in latitudine inter messuagium cum orto Ricardi Pasmethe in tenura Willielmi Hille ex parte occidentali et messuagium pertinens Abbathiæ de Norton ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine a prædicta strata de Kyrkestrete ex parte boreali usque ad pratum hæredis Rogeri Arosmythe vocatum Downehouse medo ex parte australi.

Item tenet alium burgagium vacuum in dicto vico de Kyrkestrete et per dictum servitium militare jacens in latitudine inter unum vacuum burgagium Nicholai Blundell in tenura Ricardi Massy ex parte orientali et burgagium sive messuagium ædificatum Henrici Byrom in tenura Johannis Pasmethe glover ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a prædicta strata de Kyrkestrete ex parte australi usque ad messuagium Abbatis de Whallay in tenura Ricardi Massy ex parte boreali.

Item tenet de dicto Petro unum campum per dictum servitium cum sepibus et fossis inclusum in campo de Arpelay prædicto in quodam forlongo vocato Aldirswell continentem quinque acras terræ arabilis jacentem in latitudine inter terram Johannis de Weryngton ex parte orientali et campum communem[1] villæ de Weryngton ex parte occidentali et extendentem in longitudine a prato vocato Frere medo ex parte boreali usque ad pratum commune de Arpeley ex parte australi.

Item tenet alium campum de dicto Petro et per dictum servitium in Arpeley prædicto vocatum le Butturlache continentem quinque

[1] It were to be wished on many accounts that this common field were still a possession of all the inhabitants of Warrington.

in the aforesaid town, formerly the inheritance of John Spycer, lying between an empty burgage of John Wynyngton on the south and land on the north, and extending in length from the said street called Hethe street on the west as far as land on the east, which is worth twelve pence yearly.

John Norreis holds of the said Peter two empty burgages in capite by military service, lying in Kyrkestrete of the town of Weryington, in breadth between a messuage with a garden of Richard Pasmethe in the tenure of William Hill on the west and a messuage belonging to the abbey of Norton on the east, and extending in length from the Kyrkestrete aforesaid on the north as far as a meadow of Roger Arosmythe's heir, called Downehouse medo on the south.

Also he holds another empty burgage in the said Kyrkestrete by the said military service, lying in breadth between one empty burgage of Nicholas Blundell in the tenure of Richard Massy on the east and the burgage or [lately] erected messuage of Henry Byrom in the tenure of John Pasmethe, glover, on the west, and extending in length from the aforesaid Kyrkestrete on the south as far as a messuage of the Abbot of Whalley in the tenure of Richard Massy on the north.

Also he holds of the said Peter by the said service one field inclosed with hedges and ditches in Arpeley field aforesaid, in a certain furlong called Aldirswell, containing five acres of arable land lying in breadth between land of John de Wynyngton on the east and a common field of the town of Weryington on the west, and extending in length from a meadow called Frere medo on the north as far as the Arpeley common meadow on the south.

Also he holds another field of the said Peter by the said service in Arpeley aforesaid, called le Butturlache, containing five acres of

acras terræ arabilis extendentem in longitudine a quadam venella vocata le Slytcherslane ex parte orientali usque ad campum Willielmi Botiller vocatum Gillefylde ex parte occidentali et jacentem in latitudine inter aquam de Mersee ex parte australi et quendam campum Willielmi Botiller in tenura Ricardi Wynyngton vocatum Perynsfylde ex parte boreali.

Item tenet alium campum de dicto Petro et per prædictum servitium jacentem in Arpeley prædicto scilicet vocatum Butturlache continentem duas acras terræ arabilis jacentem in latitudine inter prædictam aquam de Mersee ex parte australi et campum dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Ricardi Wynyngton ex parte boreali et extendit in longitudine a dicta venella vocata Slytcherslane ex parte orientali usque ad campum Willielmi Botiller in tenura nuper Johannis Wynyngton ex parte occidentali quæ burgagia cum omnibus terris prædictis reddunt dicto Petro Legh de capitali redditu per annum videlicet decem solidos tres denarios.

Unum messuagium sive burgagium cum domo superædificatâ et uno orto de hæreditate Ciciliæ Gille tenetur de dicto Petro Legh in capite per servitium militare jacentia in vico de Kyrkestrete villæ prædictæ in latitudine inter unum lectum terræ Nicholai Blundell in tenura Rogeri Clerk junioris ex parte occidentali et alium lectum Ranulphi Rixton ex parte orientali et extendentia in longitudine a strata de Kyrkestreet prædicta ex parte boreali usque ad orreum rectoriæ de Weryngton ex parte australi.

Item una acra terræ in Hollay hæreditatis dictæ Ceciliæ tenetur de dicto Petro per prædictum servitium jacens in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura Willielmi Holme ex parte occidentali et terram Johannis Birom in tenura Johannis Pasmethe glover ex parte orientali et quadam bilanda terræ dividit prædictam acram dictæ Ceciliæ et dictam terram dicti Johannis Birom et extendens in longitudine a quadam venella ducente a prædicto vico de Kyrkestrete ex parte boreali usque ad terram dicti Johannis Birom in tenura dicti Johannis Pasmethe ex parte australi.

Item unum orreum cum tribus acris terræ cum sepibus inclusis in uno crofto de hæreditate dictæ Ceciliæ Gille in tenura Marga-

arable land, extending in length from a certain lane called le Slytcherslane on the east as far as the field of William Botiller called Gyllefylde on the west, and lying in breadth between Mersee water on the south and a certain field of William Botiller in the tenure of Richard Wynyngton called Perynsfylde on the north.

Also he holds another field of the said Peter and by the aforesaid service, lying in Arpeley aforesaid, to wit, called Butturlache, containing two acres of arable land lying in breadth between the aforesaid water of Mersee on the south and a field of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Richard Wynyngton on the north, and extending in length from the said lane called Slytcherslane on the east as far as a field of William Botiller late in the tenure of John Wynyngton on the west; which burgages, with all the lands aforesaid, render to the said Peter Legh yearly for chief rent, to wit, ten shillings and threepence.

One messuage or a burgage with a house built thereon, and one garden of the inheritance of Cecilia Gille is holden of the said Peter Legh in capite by military service, lying in the Kyrkestrete of the aforesaid town in breadth between one bed of land of Nicholas Blundell in the tenure of Roger Clerk the younger on the west and another bed of Randle Rixton on the east, and extending in length from Kyrkestrete aforesaid on the north as far as a barn of the rectory of Weryngton on the south.

Also one acre of land in Hollay, the inheritance of the said Cecilia, is holden of the said Peter by the aforesaid service, lying in breadth between land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of William Holme on the west and land of John Birom in the tenure of John Pasmethe, glover, on the east, (and a certain biland divides the aforesaid acre of the said Cecilia and the said land of the said John Birom,) and extending in length from a certain lane which leads from Kyrkestrete aforesaid on the north as far as the land of the said John Birom in the tenure of the said John Pasmethe on the south.

Also one barn with three acres of land inclosed with hedges and ditches in one croft, the inheritance of the said Cecilia Gille, in the

retæ nuper uxoris Laurentij Balfrunte tenetur, scilicet, ut supponitur de dicto Petro per dictum servitium jacentia ad finem villæ de Weryngton versus Wynwhik jacentia in latitudine inter viam ducentem a Weryngton usque Wynwhik ex parte occidentali et campum Nicholai Blundell continentem sex acras terræ in tenura Nicholai Kyngeley ex parte orientali et extendentia in longitudine a bruera de Weryngton versus molendinum ventriticum ex parte boreali usque ad terram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Willielmi Chaloner ex parte australi. Quæ omnia prædicta reddunt dicto Petro de capitali redditu per annum sex denarios.

Willielmus Gerard de Ince tenet de dicto Petro Legh in capite per servitium militare quinque acras terræ arabilis invicem jacentes in campo de Arpeley vocatas Ince lande in latitudine inter tres acras prati dicti Willielmi Gerard tentas de prædicto Petro per dictum servitium vocatas Ince medo ex parte orientali et terram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Willielmi Kyngeley ex parte occidentali et extendunt in longitudine a tribus acris terræ arabilis dicti Willielmi Gerard ex parte australi usque ad quandam acram terræ ecclesiasticæ in tenura Willielmi Fletcher et viam bigalem de Arpeley et plures alias parcellas diversorum hominum ex parte boreali.

Item tenet de dicto Petro per dictum servitium tres acras terræ arabilis in dicto campo de Arpeley jacentes in latitudine inter dictum pratum prædicti Willielmi Gerard ex parte orientali et duas acras terræ Willielmi Botiller in tenura Aliciæ nuper uxoris Rogeri Clerk senioris ex parte occidentali et extendunt in longitudine a prædictis quinque acris terræ dicti Willielmi Gerard ex parte boreali usque ad fossam communem dicti campi de Arpeley ex parte australi.

Item dictus Willielmus Gerard tenet de dicto Petro per prædictum servitium unam acram terræ in Arpeley prædicto jacentem in latitudine inter quoddam croftum dicti Petri Legh continens tres acras terræ in tenura Johannis Fullshagh ex parte orientali et pratum de Arpeley ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a duabus acris dicti Willielmi Gerard in tenura Rogeri Clerk junioris, et

tenure of Margaret, late the wife of Lawrence Balfrunte, is holden, as it is supposed, by the said service, lying at the end of the town of Weryngton towards Wynwhik, lying in breadth between the way leading from Weryngton as far as Wynwhik on the west, and a field of Nicholas Blundell containing six acres of land in the tenure of Nicholas Kyngeley on the east, and extending in length from Weryngton heath towards the windmill on the north as far as the land of William Botiller in the tenure of William Chaloner on the south; all which aforesaid premises render yearly to the said Peter for chief rent sixpence.

William Gerard of Ince holds of the said Peter Legh in capite by military service five acres of arable land lying together in Arpeley field called Ince lande in breadth between three acres of meadow of the said William Gerard held of the aforesaid Peter by the said service called Ince medo on the east and land of William Botiller in the tenure of William Kyngeley on the west, and extending in length from three acres of arable land of the said William Gerard on the south as far as a certain acre of church land in the tenure of William Fletcher, and the Arpeley cartway, and various other parcels [of land] of divers other persons on the north.

Also he holds of the said Peter by the said service three acres of arable land in the said Arpeley field lying in breadth between the said meadow of the aforesaid William Gerard on the east and two acres of land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Alice, late wife of Roger Clerk the elder on the west, and extending in length from the aforesaid five acres of land of the said William Gerard on the north as far as the common ditch of the said Arpeley field on the south.

Also the said William Gerard holds of the said Peter by the aforesaid service one acre of land in Arpeley aforesaid, lying in breadth between a certain croft of the said Peter Legh containing three acres of land in the tenure of John Fullshagh on the east and Arpeley meadow on the west, and extending in length from the two acres of the said William Gerard in the tenure of Roger

duæ acræ prædictæ sunt le Hadebutts dietæ acræ ex parte australi usque ad pratum dieti Petri Legh continens septemdecim acras prati vocati Arpeley medo ex parte boreali.

Item tenet de dicto Petro per dietum servitium tres acras prati jacentes in prædicto campo de Arpeley in latitudine inter pratum Willielmi Botiller ex parte orientali et dictas quinque acras terræ dicti Willielmi Gerard ex parte occidentali et extendunt in longitudine a prato dieti Willielmi Botiller vocato Lungeshote ex parte australi usque ad acram terræ arabilis dicti Petri in tenura Ricardi Hardewar ex parte boreali.

Item tenet de dicto Petro in capite duas acras terræ in Arpeley prædicto jacentes inter dictum pratum dieti Petri Legh ex parte boreali et terram Willielmi Botiller ut supponitur ex parte australi et extendunt in longitudine a communi fossa de Arpeley ex parte occidentali usque ad prædictum croftum dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Fulshagh ex parte orientali.

Item tenet unam acram terræ de dicto Petro et per dietum servitium in Arpeley prædicto, jacentem in latitudine inter terram hæredis Rogeri Arosmythe in tenura Johannis Hille ex parte orientali et terram dieti Petri Legh in tenura Johannis Hakynsall ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a quadam acra terræ Ricardi Bruche in tenura Willielmi Holbroke ex parte australi usque ad terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura Johannis Fulshaghe ex parte boreali.

Item tenet unam rodam prati jacentem in latitudine juxta pratum dieti Petri ex parte boreali et dictam acram terræ arabilis dicti Willielmi Gerard ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a dicto crofto prædicti Petri in tenura Johannis Fulshaghe ex parte orientali usque ad dietum pratum dicti Petri Legh continens septemdecim acras ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet de dicto Petro per dietum servitium unum burgagium vacuum jacens in le Hethestrete villæ de Weryngton continens unam rodam terræ in latitudine inter campum Johannis Wynynggton ex parte boreali et croftum dieti Petri in tenura Willielmi Kyngeley ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a dicta

Clerk the younger, and the same two acres are the hadebutts of the said acre on the south as far as the said Peter Legh's meadow, containing seventeen acres, and called the Arpeley medo, on the north.

Also he holds of the said Peter by the said service three acres of meadow lying in Arpeley field aforesaid, in breadth between a meadow of William Botiller on the east and the said five acres of land of the said William Gerard on the west, and extending in length from a meadow of the said William Botiller called Lungeshote on the south as far as an acre of arable land of the said Peter in the tenure of Richard Hardewar on the north.

Also he holds of the said Peter in capite two acres of land in Arpeley aforesaid, lying between the said meadow of the said Peter Legh on the north and land supposed to be William Botiller's on the south, and extending in length from the common ditch in Arpeley on the west as far as the aforesaid croft of the said Peter in the tenure of John Fullshagh on the east.

Also he holds one acre of land of the said Peter, and by the said service, in Arpeley aforesaid, lying in breadth between land of Roger Arosmythe's heir in the tenure of John Hille on the east and the land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of John Hakynsall on the west, and extending in length from a certain acre of land of Richard Bruche in the tenure of Richard Holbroke on the south as far as the land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of John Fulshaghe on the north.

Also he holds one rood of meadow lying in breadth beside a meadow of the said Peter on the north and the said acre of arable land of the said William Gerard on the south, and extending in length from the said croft of the aforesaid Peter in the tenure of John Fulshaghe on the east as far as the said seventeen acre meadow of the said Peter Legh on the west.

Also he holds of the said Peter by the said service one empty burgage lying in le Hethestrete of the town of Weryngton, containing one rood of land in breadth between a field of John Wynyngton on the north and a croft of the said Peter in the tenure of William Kyngeley on the south, and extending in length from

strata de Hethe strete prædicta ex parte occidentali usque ad terram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Henrici Munke ex parte orientali. Quæ omnia prædicta reddunt dicto Petro Legh per annum de capitali redditu quatuor solidos et decem denarios, ut patet in antiquo rotulo Gilberti Haydok facto anno R. r. Ricardi secundi xi. solidos.

Ricardus Pasmethe nuper de Weryngton et hæredes sui tenent de dicto Petro Legh milite in capite per servitium militare unum messuagium cum orreo et orto in le Kyrkestrete villæ prædictæ in tenura Willielmi Hille jacentia in latitudine dicti orti et in longitudine dicti messuagii inter messuagium Willielmi Botiller in tenura Elenæ Munke ex parte occidentali et burgagium vacuum Johannis Norreis in tenura dicti Willielmi Hille ex parte orientali et extendunt in latitudine dicti messuagii et longitudine dicti orti a prædicta strata de Kyrkestrete ex parte boreali usque ad pratum Rogeri Arosmythe et Thomæ Hille vocatum le Downehouse medo ex parte australi.

Item tenet unam acram terræ arabilis in campo de Hollay, jacentem in duabus parcellis quarum una pars jacet in latitudine inter dimidiam acram Ranulphi Rixton ex parte fere occidentali et aliam dimidiam acram . . . . . in tenura uxoris Laurentii Balfrunte ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a quadam acra terræ dicti Ranulphi Rixton vocata le Heghe Hadeland usque ad terram . . . . .

Item tenet duos campos jacentes in fine boreali dicti strati vocati le Heth strete continentes quinque acras terræ arabilis cum sepibus et fossis inclusos jacentes in latitudine inter brueram de Weryngton ex parte boreali et campum Johannis Wynyngton ex parte australi et extendentes in longitudine a crofto dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Hakynsall vocato le Crymbull et alium campum dicti Johannis Wynyngton ex parte orientali usque ad dictam brueram de Weryngton versus molendinum ventriticum et versus manerium de Beawsee ex parte occidentali et unus Gilbertus de Sothewurthe et hæredes sui habent quandam acram terræ in dicto campo pro-

the said street of Hethestrete aforesaid on the west as far as land of William Botiller in the tenure of Henry Munke on the east. All which aforesaid premises render yearly to the said Peter Legh for chief rent four shillings and tenpence, [or,] as appears by an ancient roll of Gilbert Haydock made in the year of Richard II., eleven shillings.

Richard Pasmethe, late of Weryngton, and his heirs, hold of the said Peter Legh, knight, in capite by military service, one messuage with a barn and garden in le Kyrkestrete of the aforesaid town in the tenure of William Hille, lying in breadth of the said garden and in length of the said messuage between a messuage of William Botiller in the tenure of Ellen Munke on the west and an empty burgage of John Norreis in the tenure of the said William Hille upon the east, and extending in breadth of the said messuage and in length of the said garden from Kyrkestrete aforesaid on the north as far as a meadow of Roger Arosmythe and Thomas Hille called le Downehouse medo on the south.

Also he holds one acre of arable land in Hollay field, lying in two parcels, whereof one part lies in breadth between a half acre of Randle Rixton towards the west and another half acre . . . . . in the tenure of Laurence Balfrunte's wife towards the east, and extending in length from a certain acre of land of the said Randle Rixton called le Heghe Hadeland as far as the land . . . . .

Also he holds two fields lying at the north end of the said street called le Heth strete containing five acres of arable land inclosed with hedges and ditches, lying in breadth between Weryngton heath on the north and a field of John Wynyngton on the south, and extending in length from the croft of the said Peter in the tenure of John Hakynsall, called le Crymbull, and another field of the said John Wynyngton on the east, as far as the said heath towards the windmill, and towards the manor of Beawsee on the west; and one Gilbert de Sothewurthe and his heirs have a certain

pinquiorem brueræ de Weryngton versus Overforthe, quod messuagium cum terris prædictis dicti Ricardi Pasmethe et hæredis sui reddunt dicto Petro per annum de capitali redditu tres solidos et septem denarios.

Nicholaus Blundell[1] tenet de dicto Petro Legh milite in capite per servitium militare duo messuagia invicem jacentia quorum quidem unum nuper ædificatum cum camera et solariis modo in tenura Rogeri Clerk junioris et alterum in tenura Henrici Hawrobyn, jacentia in Newgate villæ de Weryngton prædicta in latitudine inter vacuum burgagium Thomæ Dawne de Crawton ex parte boreali et messuagium Johannis Sonky modo in tenura Johannis Richerop ex parte australi et extendunt in longitudine a prædicto vico de Newgate ex parte occidentali usque ad terram Henrici Birom videlicet introitum usque ad domum nuper in tenura Johannis Hardewar et terram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Thomæ Derneluff ex parte orientali.

Item dictus Nicholaus tenet de dicto Petro per dictum servitium alium messuagium jacens super orientale latus brueræ de Weryngton juxta molendinum ventriticum cum uno campo continente sex acras terræ in tenura Nicholai Kyngeley jacente in latitudine inter unum croftum vocatum Gille lande in tenura uxoris Laurentii Balfrunte ex parte occidentali et brueram de Weryngton ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a crofto Henrici Garnet ex parte australi usque ad dictam brueram de Weryngton ex parte boreali, quæ prædicta reddunt dicto Petro de capitali redditu per annum duodecim denarios.

Unum burgagium ruinosum nuper hæreditatis Gilberti Sothe-

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[1] Two entries in the calendar of Inq. p. m. in the duchy of Lancaster show that the Blundells retained their property in Warrington at a later period :

P. 19—"8 Hen. 8. Hen. Blundell.
Bolde.
Weryngton and other places." Kuerden MSS. 66, adds that the Warrington lands were held under Thomas Butler.

acre of land in the said field nearer to the Weryngton heath towards Overforthe; which messuage with the lands aforesaid of the said Richard Pasmethe and his heirs render to the said Peter yearly for chief rent three shillings and seven pence.

Nicholas Blundell holds of the said Peter Legh, knight, in capite by military service two messuages lying together, one whereof [being] lately erected with a chamber and sollars, is now in the tenure of Roger Clerk the younger, and the other is in the tenure of Henry Hawrobyn, lying in Newgate [street] of the aforesaid town of Weryngton, in breadth between an empty burgage of Thomas Dawne de Crawton on the north and a messuage of John Sonky now in the tenure of John Richerop on the south, and extending in length from the aforesaid street of Newgate on the west as far as the land of Henry Birom, to wit, an entry [leading] as far as a house lately in the tenure of John Hardewar and the land of William Botiller in the tenure of Thomas Derneluff on the east.

Also the said Nicholas holds of the said Peter by the said service another messuage lying upon the east side of Weryngton heath beside the windmill, with one field containing six acres of land in the tenure of Nicholas Kyngeley, lying in breadth between a croft called Gille land in the tenure of Laurence Bulfrunte's wife on the west and Weryngton heath on the east, and extending in length from a croft of Henry Garnet on the south as far as the said Weryngton heath on the north; which aforesaid [premises] render yearly to the said Peter for chief rent sixteen pence.

One ruinous burgage late the inheritance of Gilbert Sothewurthe

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P. 27 — "20 H. 8. Jacobus Blundell.
Lyverpole.
Wyddenis.
Weryngton and other places."

wurthe tenetur de dicto Petro Legh in capite per servitium militare quod quidem burgagium jacet et situatur in vico de Newgate prædictæ villæ de Weryngton videlicet super ripam maris de Mersee ex occidentali parte dicti vici videlicet ad finem borealem ubi pons[1]

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[1] It may not be improper to inquire here at what period the first bridge was erected over the Mersey at Warrington. An opinion prevailed which was implicitly received until the publication of the *History of Cheshire*, that to the Earl of Derby, who in 1495 was honoured with a visit by his royal father-in-law, King Henry VII., and to his wish to facilitate the royal progress, we are indebted for the first bridge at Warrington. During the Roman period, when the passage over the Mersey at this place was the entrance to a new province, and was consequently held in much estimation, a ford was the only means of communication. The ford, as there is every reason to believe, was at some distance from the present bridge, and was made to enter Latchford near to a place now called the Wash. The works for making the river navigable, and an extensive desertion by the river of its ancient bed, in consequence of a violent flood which occurred nearly a century ago, have now nearly obliterated every trace of the former site of the ford.

The writer of the story of the Bewsey tragedy, in the Bodleian collection, makes the dispute which originated it arise out of Sir John Butler's claim to take toll for passing over the Mersey. "King Henry the VII." (says the story) "being come to Latham, the erle Sir John's brother in law sent unto him a message to desire him to wear his cloth at that time; but in his absence his lady scorn'd that her husband should wayte on her brother, being as well able to entertaine the king as he was, which answer he tooke in great disdeigne and prosecuted the said Sir John with all malice that could be, and amongst other things the said Sir John had a ferry at Warrington which was worth c. marcs by the year unto him, there being no bridge: and the erle coming to go to London, the said Sir John would not suffer him to pass, but forced him about by Manchester, whereupon the erle bought a piece of land of one Norris of Warrington, by which means he was privileged to ..... on the other side, and so builded a bridge at Warrington, on both sides being his own land; and the said Sir John Butler after the bridge was builded did notwithstanding exact and take toll and tax of all passengers as before, whereon the erle caused the king to make it free. On that and such like discontents they tooke arms against one another."

In the Introduction to this work we have given Seacome's version of the cause of the building of the bridge. At the general quarter sessions of the peace for the county of Chester, held at Nantwich on the 13th July 1624, the grand jury presented the Cheshire half of Warrington bridge, and found that Edward, son of Thomas earl of Derby, did, at his own charge, repair the same, and Henry, the son of Edward, did likewise; and they thought that William, the then earl, ought to repair the same; but they desired the advice of his majesty's justices at Chester, whereupon, after motion at the assizes, reciting that the repairs of the said bridge

is held of the said Peter Legh in capite by military service, which burgage lies and is situate in Newgate street of the aforesaid town of Weryngton, to wit, upon the north shore of the sea of Mersee, and on the west side of the said street where the bridge of Weryng-

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would be useless unless there was a causeway with arches from Wilderspool bridge, and that Sir Thomas Ireland, knight, and Thomas Marbury, esquire, were content to give so much land as was necessary for that good use for ever, the court said the hundred of Bucklow should ever afterwards repair the same works; nevertheless, it is believed that this half has always been repaired by the county of Chester.

In the Kuerden papers, (ii. 607,) we find some further particulars. On the 26th Aug. 1656, the account states, it was stated before the court at Lancaster that a deed, made thirty-five years before, by some of the earls of Derby, was in the custody of Sir Thomas Ireland, knight, at Bewsey, whereby lands called Norres's tenement were committed to certain persons for the repair of Warrington bridge, and that Thomas Ireland, son of the said Sir Thomas Ireland, had sold, amongst other things, the said lands unto Mr. Robert Neild, deceased, for £30; whereupon it was ordered that the owners should pay £13 per annum to the surveyors of the highways yearly for ever towards the repair of the said bridge. And we learn from Ormerod, (i. 447,) that the Earl of Derby, by his will, dated 28th July 1504, bequeathed three hundred marks "to the purchase of the rent and toll of Weryngton bridge, to the intent that the passage shall be free for all people for ever, and also for the making up of the said bridge cccc marcs, that no toll or farm there be asked." Upon these and similar statements the public opinion was founded, that the first Earl of Derby was the founder of the first bridge at Warrington.

From the *History of Cheshire*, however, (i. 446,) we learn that, by a charter of Randle Blundeville, earl of Chester, the passage of the river Mersey, from Thelwall down to Runcorn, was granted about the reign of Richard I. to Hugh Boydell of Doddleston, lord of the manor of Latchford; and at this time a ferry boat probably supplanted the ancient ford across the Mersey from Warrington to Latchford. In the 40th Edward III., as we learn from the same authority, the renowned Black Prince appointed certain commissioners to arrest all persons who made passage across the Mersey by boats between Runcorn and Crosse Ferry, (which latter place was probably the Fiddlers' Ferry, about half way between Runcorn and Warrington,) and to commit them to the castle of Chester. The commission here given had no doubt relation to some infringement of the privileges before granted to the Boydells; and its being limited to the river intermediate between Runcorn and Cross Ferry, a place short of Warrington, affords an inference that there already existed at the latter place some more steady passage over the river than that afforded by a boat. And this we shall soon see was actually the case. By an inquisition on the death of William Boydell of Doddleston, in the 23rd Edward III., *(ibid.)* he was found to have held in Latchford "quoddam passagium cum piscaria quod val. per an. xiii^{s} iiii^{d};" and by another inquisition on the

de Weryngton quondam stetit jacens in latitudine inter muros fratrum Augustinensium dictæ villæ ex parte occidentali et vicum

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death of Thomas Boydell, 20 Richard II., it is found that the deceased held "Lacheford cum passagio pontis de Weryngton" from the Earl of Chester in capite.

In the plea to a quo warranto, temp. Henry VII., (Ormerod, iii. 444,) Henry Byrom and Constance his wife, and James Holte and Isabella his wife, (the representatives of the Boydell privileges,) claim for themselves and their heirs, in right of the said Constance and Isabella, to have chiminum de Lacheforde & heys de Lacheforde usque ad aquam juxta Weryngton, and claim also "passagium ultra aquam de Mersey Runcorn et Thelwall;" and, in right of this passage, claim for every man and his horse passing the said water from Runcorn up to Thelwall a farthing, and for every laden horse a farthing, for every laden wain or cart drawn by two horses 4d., for twenty beasts of burden 4d., for one hundred heifers or sheep 4d., and for twenty unbroken horses or mares 4d., and for a smaller number according to the same rate. It is clear from the inquisition on the death of Thomas Boydell, that the credit of the first bridge can no longer be ascribed to the first Earl of Derby, and it is equally clear from the passage in the text, that the first bridge had fallen into decay before the date of the manuscript. When and by whom the first bridge was built, and when and how it fell into decay, remain for our future enquiry. It is clear, I think, that the Earl of Derby's structure was entirely new. In the Kuerden MSS. we have the following passage:—John le Webster de Weryngton relaxavit Roberto de Sothewurthe 2 mess. et 2 gardin. in Weryngton in le Norris street, ad terminum vitæ ejusdem. It may be observed, that this deed very probably relates to premises nearly adjoining to those mentioned in the text, and that the name of Norris occurring in it may very possibly be derived from the Norris property in the same neighbourhood, and which the Earl of Derby subsequently acquired when he built the new bridge.

Amongst the deeds in Lord Lilford's possession are two which throw additional light on this subject. By the first of these, dated 33 Edward I., Willielmus le Botiller dominus de Weryngton grants to Jordan Fitz-Robert de Sonke a plat of land near the bridge of Merse of the one part, and the Silche which falls into the water of Mersey; and by the other, dated in the same reign, but of which the year is uncertain, the same Willielmus le Botiller grants to William de Hereford unam placeam terræ jacentem inter Domum Laurentii Pistoris et pontem de Merse in Weryngton et unam acram terræ jacentem in Alderswell propinquiorem fossato fratrum Sancti Augustini de Weryngton. The site of the ancient ferry was unsuitable for the erection of a bridge, for the ground was low and peculiarly liable to floods, while the soil was soft and marshy, and did not on either side admit of a solid foundation for the piers. In choosing the site of a bridge it was necessary, therefore, to move lower down the river towards the situation where the present bridge stands, and from the deeds which have been just mentioned it may be safely, I think, inferred that the first bridge stood very nearly on the site of the present

ton formerly stood, lying in breadth between the walls of the Austin friars of the said town on the west and the aforesaid street

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one. The passage in the text and the mention of the Silche in one of the deeds, the latter being the drain or syke which runs into the river a few yards to the east of the present bridge, combine to render this probable. As soon as the bridge was built, which is at a distance of not more than half a mile from the parish church, where the town had hitherto terminated, buildings and population soon began to be attracted towards the spot where the new communication was opened, and the street of Newgate, the modern Bridge street, was gradually formed. The priory would soon follow. For reasons before alluded to, I am inclined to think it did not lead the stream. It is true that the 33 Edward I., when the bridge is first mentioned, precedes the first express mention of the priory by many years; but not long after the battle of Evesham, in 1265, we find Richard the hermit, of Warrington, (almost certainly an Austin friar,) making a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Simon the righteous, (*see Introduction*,) and both the bridge and the priory were probably then standing.

The conjecture of Mr. Ormerod, (*Hist. of Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 447,) that the date of the erection of the bridge was intermediate between the two Boydell inquisitions, must now be abandoned since the discovery of Lord Lilford's deeds, and we shall still have to inquire at what earlier period than the 33d Edward I. the first bridge was erected at Warrington.

For nearly a century after the Norman Conquest there was little territorial connexion between the earldom of Chester and the lands between Ribble and Mersey. But about the year 1153 the lands between Ribble and Mersey were granted by King Stephen to Randle Gernons, earl of Chester. In those days, however, a parchment did not always immediately give a settled possession, and Stephen's authority would require to be confirmed, as it afterwards was by his next successor on the throne. Randle Gernons survived the confirmation of the royal grant but a few years, and, dying in 1160, was succeeded by Hugh Kyveliock as lord of the Cheshire palatinate. During his enjoyment of the earldom, which continued until 1182, when he died, we find but little mention of the possessions between Ribble and Mersey; but in the vigorous hands of his immediate successor, Randle Blundeville, the Lancashire possessions of the earldom seem to have been made available to their owner. In order to draw closer the communication between the two counties, the grant before referred to was made by him to the Boydells, of the passage over the Mersey; and I should date the erection of the bridge soon after the period of that grant. We have no information as to what were the materials of the first bridge, nor what was its form, and we are equally ignorant whether it was destroyed by the land floods, by the violence of man, or by the slow hand of time. If we knew the cause of its destruction, we might with some probability infer the nature of the fabric. Our ancestors, wiser in this respect than their sons, were not apt to erect their public buildings of a flimsy

prædictum ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a aqua de Mersee prædicta ex parte australi usque ad quoddam vacuum burgagium Petri Werburton armigeri ex parte boreali, quod redderet per annum dicto Petro de capitali redditu sex solidos et octo denarios.

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construction, and we shall probably not be wrong in supposing that their first bridge at Warrington over our noble stream was a solid structure of stone.

Ignorant as we are of the exact date of its erection, we are equally ignorant of the date when the first bridge disappeared. It was standing, however, in 20th Richard II. (1397,) and in 1465, the date of the manuscript, it was standing no longer, for we read in the text, "ubi pons stetit;" but how long it had then disappeared, we are not informed. We cannot, however, imagine that our forefathers did not experience great inconvenience from the interruption of the usual communication between the two counties for thirty years, for such at least must have been the period which elapsed before the Earl of Derby's munificent renewal of the bridge; and we cannot but suspect that the long wars of York and Lancaster, and the disturbances they occasioned, if not the actual cause of the destruction of the first bridge, were the means which prevented its earlier restoration. There might be more safety in those troublous times for our hardy forefathers behind the natural foss which the stream of the Mersey presented against their southern neighbours. We hear nothing of the old bridge after the eve of the usurpation of King Henry IV.; and no sooner had the red and white roses been united under the rule of King Henry VII. than we see the new bridge of the Earl of Derby spanning the stream at Warrington.

There is a passage in Mr. Baines's *History of Lancashire*, vol. ii. p. 352, which requires us to understand the word bridge in a sense different from the ordinary meaning. In the year 1362, he says, Liverpool was slowly rising into importance and an order was issued by the king to the admiral on the station, as well as to the sheriff of the county and the mayor and bailiffs of the borough, to rebuild (de novo construere) a bridge over the Mersey within their lordship. The bridge here meant must surely have been a large ferry boat?

Turning over the pages of the *Fœdera* for quite a different purpose, after the foregoing note was written, I met with the following royal warrant of protection, from which we learn that there had been not only one, but two bridges at Warrington before the Earl of Derby's structure; for the expression in the warrant, "de novo construere," shows that the intended work was a re-erection of some former bridge. It confirms also the conjecture I have offered as to the solidity of the old structure, and by inference perhaps affords us some insight into the reasons why it was so soon destroyed. Some danger was evidently even then apprehended from persons who were jealous of the new work, and these persons might be the parties interested in the tolls of the ancient ferry, who, it seems, took no part in promoting the new work. Sir John le Botiller, Geoffrey de Werburton, and Mathew de Rixton, were

on the east, and extending in length from the water of Mersee aforesaid on the south as far as a certain empty burgage of Peter Werburton, esquire, on the north; which should render to the said Peter yearly for chief rent six shillings and eight pence.

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the parties who, it seems, entitled themselves to the public gratitude by this public service. The warrant, which bears date 6th July 38 Edward III., 1364, may be found in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 740, 741, and is as follows:

Rex universis et singulis vicecomitibus, majoribus, ballivis, ministris, et aliis fidelibus suis, tam infra libertates quam extra, ad quos, &c., salutem. Sciatis quod cum dilecti et fideles nostri Johannes le Botiller, Galfridus de Werberton, et Matheus de Rixton, quendam pontem ultra aquam de Mercy infra dominium suum, caritatis intuitu, de novo construere, et ad tranquillitatem et quietem populi nostri partium illarum ac aliunde, ibidem transfretare volentium, ac etiam pro cariagio petrarum, calcium, et aliarum rerum pro constructione pontis illius, quendam batellum, vocatum la Cristofre, ibidem ordinare proponant, ut accepimus, ac metuant tam sibi, carpentariis, cementariis, latomis, et aliis operariis quam batello prædicto, et marinariis in eo existentibus, per quosdam emulos suos et eorum procurationem, dampnum vel periculum posse de facili evenire.

Nos, ad præmissa considerationem habentes, ac opera caritatis nostris temporibus manuteneri volentes, suscepimus ipsos Johannem, Galfridum, et Matheum, ac carpentarios, cementarios, latomos, et alios operarios, ac eorum homines et servientes, necnon batellum prædictum et marinarios in eo existentes, tam petras, maeremium, et alia necessaria pro constructione pontis prædicti, quam homines partium illarum, et aliunde ultra aquam prædictam ibidem transfretari volentes, ducendo et educendo, in protectionem et defensionem nostram specialem.

Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eisdem Johanni, Galfrido, et Matheo, carpentariis, cementariis, latomis, et aliis operariis, seu eorum hominibus et servientibus, aut batello vel marinariis prædictis, non inferatis seu quantum in vobis est, ab aliis inferri permittatis, injuriam molestiam, dampnum, impedimentum aliquod, seu gravamen.

Et si quid eis, vel eorum alicui, forisfactum vel injuriatum fuerit, id eis sine dilatione faciatis emendari.

Ita semper quod dicti carpentarii, cementarii, latomi, operarii, seu marinarii, ab operationibus vel obsequiis nostris, cum eos seu eorum aliquem pro eisdem capi vel eligi præceperimus prætextu præsentis protectionis nostræ, nullatenus se absentent, set ad nostra obsequia promptos se reddant.

In cujus, &c. per unum annum duratur'. Teste Rege, apud Westm. ii. die Julii.

Per concilium.

Willielmus Botiller armiger filius et hæres Johannis Botiller militis dominus de Beawsee tenet de dicto Petro Legh milite in capite et per servitium militare ut patet per cartam originalem duo nova burgagia sub uno tecto ædificata vocata terram Henrici Lacheforthe perquisita[1] de uno Ricardo Patun et de uxore ejusdem ut de jure dictæ uxoris cum uno gardino vel crofto et pomœrio eisdem messuagiis spectantibus et pertinentibus, quæ quidem messuagia gardina et pomœria jacent et situantur in vico de Sonkygate dictæ villæ in latitudine dicti pomœrii gardini sive crofti et in longitudine dictorum burgagiorum inter messuagium dicti Petri in tenura Rogeri Holbroke ex parte occidentali et novum messuagium dicti Willielmi Botiller et gardinum in tenura Henrici Sadler ex parte orientali et extendunt in latitudine dictorum burgagiorum et in longitudine dicti gardini sive crofti et pomœrii a vico de Sonkygate prædicto ex parte borcali usque ad pomœrium fratrum Augustinensium dictæ villæ de Weryngton ex parte australi, quæ reddunt dicto Petro per annum de capitali redditu quinque solidos.

Henricus Birom[2] tenet de dicto Petro Legh in capite per servitium militare unum novum hospitium in quo Johannes Hardwar nuper mansit jacens in vico ducente a le Marketh yate de Weryngton usque ad altam ecclesiam quondam vocatum le Morslande[3] cum coquino et stabulo cum aliis domibus necessariis quod quidem messuagium cum pertinentiis jacet et situatur in longitudine inter terram in lite pendentem inter hæredem Galfridi Werburton[4] de Newerofte et Thomam Danyell[5] de Tabley modo in tenura Henrici Wodecok ex parte occidentali et terram Johannis Sonkey in tenura

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[1] It is not said by what ancestor of William Botiller this purchase was made; probably it was by his father, Sir John, that the purchase from Richard Patun and his wife was acquired.

[2] In a note to page 86 will be found a claim of the time of Henry VII., by Henry Byrom and Constance his wife. This Henry Byrom, according to Sir Peter Leycester, was of the Byroms in Lancashire, and he was probably the Henry Byrom mentioned in the text.

[3] See this name noticed in the Introduction.

William Botiller, esquire, son and heir of John Botiller, knight, lord of Beawsec, holds of the said Peter Legh, knight, in capite and by military serviec, as appears by an original eharter, two new burgages erected under one roof and ealled the land of Henry Lacheforthe, purchased from one Richard Patun and his wife, as of the right of the said wife, with one garden or croft and appleyard to the same messuages belonging and appertaining; which messuages, gardens and appleyards lie and are situate in Sonky gate street of the said town, in breadth of the said appleyard, garden or croft, and in length of the said burgages, between a messuage of the said Peter in the tenure of Roger Holbroke on the west and a new messuage of the said William Botiller and a garden in the tenure of Henry Sadler on the east and extending in breadth of the said burgages and in length of the said garden or croft and appleyard from Sonky gate street aforesaid on the north as far as the appleyard of the Austin friars of the said town of Weryngton on the south; which [premises] render to the said Peter yearly for chief rent five shillings.

Henry Birom holds of the said Peter Legh in eapite by military serviee one new hostel wherein John Hardwar lately dwelt, lying in a street leading from the Marketh yate of Weryngton as far as the high ehureh formerly ealled le Morslande, with the kitchen, stable, and other necessary outbuildings; whieh messuage, with its appurtenanees, lies and is situate in length between land which is now in litigation between the heir of Geoffrey Werburton of Neweroft and Thomas Danyell of Tabley now in the tenure of Henry Wodecok on the west, and land of John Sonky in the tenure of John

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[4] This Geoffrey was probably the same person who, in the 40 Edward III., was appointed a commissioner to arrest offenders passing the Mersey against the privileges granted to the Boydells, as mentioned in the note at page 86.

[5] These lands were probably a portion of the property which, according to Sir Peter Leycester, the Daniels acquired in Warrington by the marriage of Thomas Daniel, the father of this Thomas, with Isabel, the daughter of John Rixton. (See Ormerod's *Cheshire*, i. 366.)

Johannis Roby ex parte orientali et in latitudine inter vicum prædictum sic ducentem ut præscribitur ex parte boreali et terram Ranulphi de Rixton ex parte australi, quæ reddunt dicto Petro de capitali redditu per annum sex denarios.

Item dictus Henricus Birom tenet de dicto Petro in capite per dictum servitium unum messuagium cum orto eidem adjacente in vico de Kyrkestrete cum una acra terræ arabilis jacente in Hollay, quod quidem messuagium cum orto jacent in longitudine dicti messuagii et in latitudine dicti orti inter messuagium Willielmi Botiller in tenura Henrici Munke ex parte occidentali et burgagium vacuum Johannis Norreis ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine dicti orti et in latitudine prædicti messuagii a prædicto strata de Kyrkestrete ex parte australi usque ad quoddam gardinum abbatis et conventus de Qwallay[1] ex parte boreali, quæ quidem acra jacet in duabus partibus in dicto campo de Hollay quarum una pars jacet in latitudine inter terram Henrici Garnet ex parte australi et terram Mariæ nuper uxoris Hamonis le Assheton ex parte boreali et extendit in longitudine a terra Johannis Birom ex parte occidentali usque ad aquam de Mersee ex parte orientali, et altera pars prædictæ acræ jacet juxta prædictam parcellam inter terram dicti Petri Legh militis et terram Johannis Norres, quæ reddit dicto Petro per annum de capitali redditu duodecim denarios.

Hæres Rogeri Arosmythe nuper de Weryngton tenet de dicto Petro Legh in capite per servitium militare unum messuagium principale cum solariis coquina orreo ustrina orto et pomœrio cum triginta sex acris terræ arabilis et prati jacentibus in campo de

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[1] This is either a part of the grant made by W. Blundell fil. Ric. Blundell dni de Ince, and which William le Botiller confirmed to the abbey of Whalley, probably after 5 Edward I., when he first obtained a charter for a fair at Warrington, (see *Coucher Book*, p. 252 ;) or it is a part of the burgage granted by Hen. f. Rob. Ruyl, (*Ib.* p. 254,) respecting both which and other privileges see two important charters, (*Ib.* p. 414 et seq. and pp. 494–511.) Will. Butler's grant was confirmed by Edward III. on the 1st Mar. in the second year of his reign.

It appears from Whittaker's *Whalley*, p. 79, that the abbey of Whalley received from Warrington :

Roby on the east, and in breadth between the aforesaid street &c. leading as aforesaid on the north and land of Randle de Rixton on the south; which [premises] render yearly to the said Peter for chief rent six pence.

Also the said Henry Birom holds of the said Peter in capite by the said service one messuage with a garden thereto adjoining in Kyrkestrete, with one acre of arable land lying in Hollay, which messuage and garden lie in length of the said messuage and in breadth of the said garden between a messuage of William Botiller in the tenure of Henry Munke on the west and an empty burgage of John Norreis on the east, and extending in length of the said garden and in breadth of the aforesaid messuage from Kyrkestrete aforesaid on the south as far as a certain garden of the abbot and convent of Qwallay on the north; which same acre lies in two parts in the said Hollay field, one whereof lies in breadth between land of Henry Garnet on the south and land of Mary, late wife of Hamon le Assheton, on the north, and extending in length from land of John Birom on the west as far as Mersey water on the east, and the other part of the aforesaid acre lies beside the aforesaid parcel between land of the said Peter Legh, knight, and land of John Norres; which [premises] render to the said Peter yearly for chief rent twelve pence.

The HEIR of ROGER AROSMYTHE late of Weryngton holds of the said Peter Legh in capite by military service one capital messuage with sollars, kitchen, barn, oven, garden, and appleyard, with thirty-six acres of arable and meadow land, lying in Arpeley field,

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In 1478.	In 1521.
De Weryngton, ij$^{s.}$	In temporalibus
	De Weryngton, viij$^{s.}$

The abbey of Whalley seems to have derived not only some of its revenues, but also some of its officers from Warrington; for in the history of that house (p. 139) we find Robert de Weryngton, as prior of the house, contracting for the sale of its wool. The same person, then only a monk, is their agent in procuring an acquittance of the rent of lands in Swinton in 1335. *Coucher Book*, p. 935.

Arpeley, quod quidem messuagium principale cum coquina et orreo cum pertinentiis jacent et situantur in prædicto vico de Kyrkestrete in latitudine dicti messuagii et longitudine dicti orti et pomœrii inter vicum de Kyrkestrete prædicto ex parte australi et aliam venellam dictæ villæ de Weryngton vocatam Bag lane[1] ex parte boreali et extendunt in longitudine dicti messuagii et latitudine dictorum orti et pomœrii a terra Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannis Tyrehare ex parte orientali usque ad terram ecclesiasticam videlicet unum messuagium legatum per Katerinam Fyssher ad partem sustentationis cujusdam presbyteri celebrantis ante crucem ecclesiæ altæ de Weryngton ex parte occidentali.

Item dictus hæres dicti Rogeri Arosmythe tenet de dicto Petro in capite per dictum servitium unum messuagium cum orto adjacente in dicto vico de Bag lane in latitudine dicti orti et longitudine dicti messuagii inter ortum Nicholai Blundell ex parte occidentali et alium gardinum Gilberti Risseley ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine dicti orti et in latitudine dicti messuagii a venella de Bag lane prædicta ex parte boreali usque ad præscriptam terram prædicti hæredis ex parte australi.

Item tenet de dicto Petro per dictum servitium tres partes unius prati vocati le Downehouse medo jacentes in boreali latere prædicti campi de Hollay cum sepibus inclusas jacentes inter campum Henrici Garnet ex parte occidentali et campum Ricardi Bruche in tenura Rogeri Jamesson ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine a strata de Kyrkestrete videlicet pars australis dicti vici ex parte boreali usque ad acram terræ predicti hæredis et acram Thomæ Hille et haiam de terra ecclesiastica in tenura Henrici Garnet in campo vocato Hollay ex parte australi.

Item tenet de dicto Petro unam acram terræ arabilis in uno parvo campo jacentem in Hollay in latitudine inter dictum campum de terra ecclesiastica ex parte orientali et acram terræ Thomæ

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[1] A deed of partition in Lord Lilford's possession, which is dated 31 Henry VIII., makes mention of the hall of Bag-lane, as well as of several other places, which we meet with in this MS. We read in it of "unum messuagium juxta aulam de

which capital messuage, kitchen, barn, and appurtenances lie and are situate in Kyrkestrete aforesaid in breadth of the said messuage and in length of the said garden and appleyard between Kyrkestrete aforesaid on the south and another lane of the said town of Weryngton called Bag lane on the north, and extending in length of the said messuage and in breadth of the said garden and appleyard from land of William Botiller in the tenure of John Tyrehare on the east as far as the church land, to wit, a messuage bequeathed by Catherine Fyssher in part for the sustentation of a certain priest celebrating before the cross of the high church of Weryngton on the west.

Also the said heir of the said Roger Arosmythe holds of the said Peter in capite by the said service one messuage with a garden adjoining in the said street [called] Bag lane in breadth of the said garden and in length of the said messuage between a garden of Nicholas Blundell on the west and another garden of Gilbert Rysseley on the east, and extending in length of the said garden and in breadth of the said messuage from the lane [called] Bag lane aforesaid on the north as far as the land before described of the aforesaid heir on the south.

Also he holds of the said Peter by the said service three parts of a meadow called le Downehouse medo lying on the north side of the aforesaid Hollay field and enclosed with hedges, lying between a field of Henry Garnet on the west and a field of Richard Bruche in the tenure of Roger Jamesson on the east, and extending in length from Kyrkestrete, (to wit, the south side of the said street,) on the north as far as an acre of land of the aforesaid heir and an acre of Thomas Hille and an enclosure of church land in the tenure of Henry Garnet in the field called Hollay on the south.

Also he holds of the said Peter one acre of arable land within a small field lying in Hollay in breadth between the said field of church land on the east and an enclosed acre of land of Thomas

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Bag-lane." "Una acra terræ jacens in loco vocato Alderswell, et una acra jacens in loco vocato Arpley juxta le Legh Thorne."

Hille clausata in dicto campo ecclesiæ ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a fossa in Hollay vocata communi fossa ex parte australi usque ad prædictum pratum vocatum Downehouse medo ex parte boreali.

Item tenet aliam acram in dicto loco vocatam Pyketakyr jacentem in latitudine inter dictam communem fossam ex parte boreali et communem campum de Hollay ex parte australi, et extendit in longitudine a terra Willielmi Botiller in tenura Radulphi Kellurmargh ex parte orientali et dictum communem campum de Hollay ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet dimidiam acram per dictum servitium jacentem in dicto campo de Hollay juxta quendam locum vocatum Hellehole in tenura Galfridi Twysse extendentem in fine orientali super litus aquæ de Mersee.

Item tenet quatuor acras terræ arabilis in campo de Arpeley invicem jacentes in campo cum sepibus et fossis inclusas vocatas le Longehey, et duæ acræ in dicto longo campo ex parte orientali sunt hæreditatis Ranulphi Rixton, qui quidem campus jacet in latitudine inter terram Mariæ nuper uxoris Hamonis de Assheton ex parte orientali et viam communem de Arpeley, et aliam parcellam terræ vocatam Weteakyrs ex parte occidentali et extendunt in longitudine a campo Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannæ uxoris Hamonis Nayler ex parte australi usque ad campum Thomæ Hille in tenura Ricardi Hardewar ex parte boreali.

Item tenet de dicto Petro per dictum servitium duas acras terræ invicem jacentes in dicto campo de Arpeley jacentes in latitudine inter campum vocatum le Bruche hey ex parte orientali et acram Willielmi Gerard de Ince in tenura Johannis Belle ex parte occidentali et extendunt in longitudine a acra terræ Ranulphi Rixton ex parte australi usque ad parcellam terræ dicti Petri Legh in tenura Johannis Fulshagh ex parte boreali.

Item tenet de dicto Petro per dictum servitium dimidiam acram prati jacentem in Arpeley prædicto in latitudine inter duas acras terræ Willielmi Botiller in tenura uxoris Hamonis Nayler ex parte boreali et terram Ranulphi Rixton ex parte australi et extendit in

Hille in the said church field on the west and extending in length from a ditch in Hollay called the common ditch on the south as far as the aforesaid meadow called Downehouse medo on the north.

Also he holds another acre in the said place, called Pyketakyr, lying in breadth between the said common ditch on the north and the common field of Hollay on the south, and extending in length from land of William Botiller in the tenure of Ralph Kellurmargh on the east and the said common field of Hollay on the west.

Also he holds half an acre by the said service lying in the said field of Hollay beside a certain place called Hellehole in the tenure of Geoffry Twysse, extending at the eastern end upon the shore of Mersey water.

Also he holds four acres of arable land in Arpeley field, lying together in the [said] field inclosed with hedges and ditches and called le Longehey, and two acres in the said Long field [query, Long hey?] are the inheritance of Randle Rixton, which field lies in breadth between the land of Mary, late the wife of Hamon de Assheton, on the east, and a common road or way in Arpeley and another parcel of land called Weteakyrs on the west, and extending in length from a field of William Botiller in the tenure of Johanna the wife of Hamon Nayler on the south as far as a field of Thomas Hille in the tenure of Richard Hardewar on the north.

Also he holds of the said Peter by the said service two acres of land lying together in the said Arpeley field, lying in breadth between a field called le Bruche hey on the east and an acre of William Gerard of Ince in the tenure of John Belle on the west, and extending in length from an acre of land of Randle Rixton on the south as far as a parcel of land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of John Fulshagh on the north.

Also he holds of the said Peter by the said service half an acre of meadow lying in Arpeley aforesaid in breadth between two acres of land of William Botiller in the tenure of the wife of Hamon Nayler on the north and land of Randle Rixton on the south, and

longitudine a acra terræ ecclesiasticæ in tenura Rogeri Hyndeley ex parte occidentali et dictas duas acras Willielmi Botiller ex parte orientali.

Item tenet per dictum servitium aliam dimidiam acram in Arpeley extendentem super occidentalem finem spinæ in dicta occidentali parte in Arpeley. Quæ omnia prædicta reddunt dicto Petro de capitali redditu per annum sex solidos et novem denarios et tres quartronas piperis.

Thomas Hille tenet de dicto Petro Legh in capite per servitium militare unum campum in Arpeley continentem duas acras terræ arabilis et dimidiam acram terræ jacentes in latitudine inter campum Ranulphi de Rixton ex parte orientali et acram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Willielmi Sporis ex parte occidentali et extendentem in longitudine a campo hæredis Rogeri Arosmythe vocato Longehey ex parte australi usque ad tres acras dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenuris Ricardi Wynyngton et Johannæ nuper uxoris Hamonis Nayler ex parte boreali.

Item tenet unam acram terræ extendentem in longitudine a prato de Arpeley ex parte occidentali usque ad aquam de Mersee ex parte orientali jacentem inter communem venellam ducentem de villa de Weryngton usque ad Arpeley ex parte boreali et campum dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Ricardi Wynyngton ex parte australi.

Item tenet de dicto Petro per dictum servitium acram terræ in quodam loco vocato Alderswell jacentem in latitudine inter acram hæredis Richardi Pasmethe ex parte orientali et terram Johannis Wynyngton in tenura Roberti Chalon ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a prato vocato Frere medo ex parte boreali usque ad campum Willielmi Botiller in tenura Aliciæ Clerk vocatum Longehey ex parte australi.

Item tenet quartam partem prati vocati Downehouse medo per dictum servitium limitati sicut præscribitur in tenura Rogeri Arosmythe.

extending in length from an acre of church land in the tenure of Roger Hyndeley on the west and the said two acres of William Botiller on the east.

Also he holds by the said service another half acre in Arpeley, extending upon the west side of the thorn in the said west part in Arpeley. All which aforesaid [premises] render to the said Peter yearly for chief rent six shillings and ninepence, with three quarters of a pound of pepper.

Thomas Hille holds of the said Peter Legh in capite by military service one field in Arpeley containing two acres and a half of arable land lying in breadth between a field of Randle de Rixton on the east and an acre of William Botiller in the tenure of William Sporis on the west, and extending in length from a field of Roger Arosmythe's heir called Longehey on the south as far as three acres of the said William Botiller in the tenures of Richard Wynyngton and Johanna the late wife of Hamon Nayler on the north.

Also he holds one acre of land extending in length from Arpeley meadow on the west as far as Mersee water on the east, lying between a common lane leading from the town of Weryngton as far as Arpeley on the north and a field of the said Willam Botiller in the tenure of Richard Wynyngton on the south.

Also he holds of the said Peter by the said service an acre of land in a certain place called Alderswell, lying in breadth between an acre of Richard Pasmethe's heir on the east and the land of John Wynyngton in the tenure of Robert Chalon on the west, and extending in length from a meadow called Frere medo on the north as far as a field of William Botiller in the tenure of Alice Clerk called Longehey on the south.

Also he holds a fourth part of the meadow called Downehouse medo by the said service, bounded as is before described in the tenure of Roger Arosmythe.

Item tenet unam acram terræ in dicto servitio jacentem in campo de Hollay in quo alia acra dicti hæredis continetur et limitatur.

Item tenet in dicto servitio unam acram terræ arabilis jacentem in tribus parcellis in communi campo de Hollay. Quæ terræ et tenementa prædicta reddunt dicto Petro de capitali redditu per annum novemdecim denarios et unum quarterium piperis.

Unum novum messuagium ortum et pomœrium nuper Henrici Fyssher et Katerinæ uxoris ejusdem legata ecclesiæ altæ de Weryngton ad partem sustentationis unius capellani celebrantis ante crucem dictæ ecclesiæ, quod quidem messuagium ortum et pomœrium jacent et situantur in vico de Kyrkestrete villæ de Weryngton et tenentur de dicto Petro Legh in capite per dictum servitium jacentia in latitudine dictorum orti et pomœrii et longitudine prædicti messuagii inter messuagium et ortum hæredis Rogeri Arosmythe ex parte orientali et messuagium et ortum Ricardi Bruche vocata Barber's lande ex parte occidentali et extendunt in longitudine dicti orti et latitudine prædicti messuagii a prædicta strata de Kyrkestrete ex parte australi usque ad ortum Nicholai Blundell ex parte boreali, quæ reddunt dicto Petro de capitali redditu per annum duodecim denarios.

Item duo burgagia insimul situata cum duobus gardinis et unam acram terræ in Hollay cisdem adjacentem vocatam le Fytchelande nunc pertinentem ecclesiæ altæ de Weryngton per legationem tenentur de dicto Petro Legh per dictum servitium jacentia in strato vocato Hethestrete villæ de Weryngton in latitudine dictorum gardinorum et longitudine dictorum burgagiorum inter gardinum dicti Petri Legh nuper in tenura Willielmi Kyngeley ex parte australi et venellam vocatam Bag lane ex parte boreali et extendunt in longitudine dictorum gardinorum et latitudine dictorum burgagiorum a prædicta venella de Hethestrete ex parte occidentali usque ad gardinum Nicholai Blundell ex parte orientali.

Also he holds an acre of land by the said service lying in Hollay field, wherein another acre of the said heir is contained and enclosed.

Also he holds by the said service one acre of arable land lying in three parcels in the Hollay common field; which lands and tenements aforesaid render to the said Peter yearly for chief rent nineteen pence and one quarter [i.e. of a pound] of pepper.

One new messuage, a garden, and an appleyard, late of Henry Fyssher and Catherine his wife [have been] bequeathed to the high church of Weryngton in part for the sustentation of a chaplain celebrating before the cross of the high church; which messuage, garden, and appleyard lie and are situate in the Kyrkestrete of the said town of Weryngton and are held of the said Peter Legh in capite by the said service, lying in breadth of the said garden and appleyard and in length of the aforesaid messuage between a messuage and garden of Roger Arosmythe's heir on the east and a messuage and garden of Richard Bruche called Barber's lande on the west, and extending in length of the said garden and in breadth of the aforesaid messuage from Kyrkestrete aforesaid on the south as far as a garden of Nicholas Blundell on the north, which render to the said Peter yearly for chief rent twelve pence.

Also two burgages situate together with two gardens, and one acre of land in Hollay adjoining the same, called Fytchelande now belonging to the high church of Weryngton by bequest, are held of the said Peter Legh by the said service, lying in the street called Hethestrete of the said town of Weryngton in breadth of the said gardens and in length of the said burgages between a garden of the said Peter Legh late in the tenure of William Kyngeley on the south and a lane called Bag lane on the north, and extending in length of the said gardens and in breadth of the said burgages from the aforesaid lane [called] Hethestrete on the west as far as a garden of Nicholas Blundell on the east.

Item prædicta acra vocata Fytcheakyr jacet in tribus partibus in campo de Hollay quarum duæ partes jacent in latitudine inter terram Ricardi Torfote ex parte orientali et terram Ranulphi Rixton ex parte occidentali et extendunt in longitudine a quadam acra vocata Pyketakyr antescripta ex parte boreali usque ad acram hæredis Ricardi Pasmethe in tenura Willielmi Hille ex parte australi et tertia pars prædictæ acræ extendit in longitudine a terra Willielmi Botiller vocata Hobbeakyr de Lymme in tenura Radulphi Kellurmargh ex parte occidentali usque ad prædictas duas partes ex parte orientali et jacet in latitudine inter terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Edwardi Twysse ex parte boreali et dimidiam acram Willielmi Botiller nuper in tenura rectoris de Weryngton ex parte australi, quæ prædicta reddunt dicto Petro per annum de capitali redditu duos solidos.

Radulphus Parr tenet de prædicto Petro in capite per servitium militare unum messuagium cum gardino vocatum ex antiquo tempore Bellyn's lande jacentia in le Kyrkestrete prædictæ villæ de Weryngton in latitudine dicti gardini et longitudine dicti messuagii inter messuagium Gilberti Rysseley in tenura Thomæ Pepir ex parte occidentali et burgagium vacuum Ranulphi Rixton ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine dicti gardini et latitudine dicti messuagii a prædicto vico de Kyrkestrete ex parte australi usque ad quoddam croftum nuncupatum Merbury's lande pertinens jure abbathiæ de Norton in tenura Johannis Dychefeld ex parte boreali, quæ reddunt de capitali redditu per annum dicto Petro sex denarios.

Ricardus Torfote tenet de dicto Petro in capite per dictum servitium duo burgagia insimul jacentia sub uno tecto cum duobus gardinis in dicto vico de Kyrkestrete cum una acra terræ in Hollay quæ quidem burgagia jacent et situantur inter burgagium ruinosum in latitudine dictorum gardinorum et longitudine dictorum burgagiorum Ranulphi Rixton ex parte occidentali et messuagium hæredis Rogeri Arosmythe in tenura Radulphi Fawkener ex parte orientali

Also the aforesaid acre called Fytcheakyr lies in three parts in Hollay field, whereof two parts lie in breadth between land of Richard Torfote on the east and land of Randle Rixton on the west, and extend in length from a certain acre called Pyketakyr before described on the north as far as an acre of Richard Pasmethe's heir in the tenure of William Hille on the south, and the third part of the aforesaid acre extends in length from land of William Botiller called Lymme's Hobbeakyr in the tenure of Ralph Kellurmargh on the west as far as the aforesaid two parts on the east, and lies in breadth between land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Edward Twysse on the north and a half acre of William Botiller late in the tenure of the rector of Weryngton on the south, which aforesaid [premises] render to the said Peter yearly for chief rent two shillings.

Ralph Parr holds of the aforesaid Peter in capite by military service a messuage and garden called from ancient time Bellyn's lande, lying in le Kyrkestrete of the said town of Weryngton in breadth of the said garden and in length of the said messuage between a messuage of Gilbert Rysseley in the tenure of Thomas Pepir on the west and an empty burgage of Randle Rixton on the east, and extending in length of the said garden and in breadth of the said messuage from Kyrkestrete aforesaid on the south as far as a certain croft called Merbury's lande, of right belonging to the abbey of Norton, in the tenure of John Dychfeld on the north; which [premises] render yearly for chief rent to the said Peter sixpence.

Richard Torfote holds of the said Peter in capite by the said service two burgages lying together under one roof, with two gardens in the said Kyrkestrete with one acre of land in Hollay, which burgages lie and are situate between a ruined burgage of Randle Rixton in breadth of the said gardens and in length of the said burgages on the west and a messuage of Roger Arosmythe's heir in the tenure of Ralph Fawkener on the east, and extend in length

et extendunt in longitudine dictorum gardinorum et latitudine dictorum burgagiorum a prædicta strata de Kyrkestrete ex parte boreali usque ad terram Ricardi Bruche in Hollay in tenura Rogeri Jamesson ex parte australi. Et prædicta acra jacet in latitudine inter duas partes de prædictis terris vocatis Fychelande pertinentibus ecclesiæ altæ de Weryngton videlicet occidentali parte et orientali, et extendit a terra hæredis Rogeri Arosmythe ex parte boreali usque ad terram hæredis Ricardi Pasmethe in tenura Willielmi Hille ex parte australi, quæ reddunt dicto Petro de capitali redditu per annum duodecim denarios.

Gilbertus Rysseley tenet de dicto Petro Legh in capite per servitium militare unum messuagium cum gardino adjacente situatum in le Kyrkestrete prædicto in tenura Thomæ Pepir, quod quidem messuagium cum gardino jacent in latitudine dicti gardini et longitudine dicti messuagii inter messuagium et gardinum Henrici Garnet nuper in tenura Johannæ Rysseley ex parte occidentali et messuagium et gardinum Radulphi Parr in tenura Elizabethæ Hyndeley ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine dicti gardini et latitudine dicti messuagii a prædicta strata de Kyrkestrete ex parte australi usque ad venellam de Bag lane ex parte boreali.

Item tenet dimidiam acram terræ in Hollay de dicto Petro per dictum servitium jacentem in latitudine inter parcellam terræ Petri Legh nuper in tenura Johannis Wode ex parte orientali et quandam selionem terræ Henrici Garnet ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a quodam crofto circumclauso cum sepibus continente duas acras terræ de hæreditate Petri Werburton armigeri et hæredis Rogeri Arosmythe ex parte boreali usque ad quandam selionem dicti hæredis Rogeri Arosmythe ex parte australi.

Item tenet de dicto Petro et in dicto servitio unum burgagium vacuum jacens in Bag Lane villæ de Weryngton in latitudine inter messuagium dicti hæredis Rogeri Arosmythe in tenura Nicholai Barker ex parte occidentali, et quadam bilanda dividit dictum burgagium dicti Gilberti et dictum messuagium dicti hæredis Rogeri

of the said gardens and in breadth of the said burgages from Kyrkestrete aforesaid on the north as far as land of Richard Bruche in Hollay in the tenure of Roger Jamesson on the south; and the aforesaid acre lies in breadth between two parts of the aforesaid lands called Fytchelande belonging to the high church of Weryngton, to wit on the west and on the east, and extends in length from land of Roger Arosmythe's heir on the north as far as land of Richard Pasmethe's heir in the tenure of William Hille on the south; which [premises] render to the said Peter yearly for chief rent twelve pence.

Gilbert Rysseley holds of the said Peter Legh in capite by military service one messuage with a garden adjoining, situate in le Kyrkestrete aforesaid in the tenure of Thomas Pepir; which messuage and garden lie in breadth of the said garden and in length of the said messuage between a messuage and garden of Henry Garnet, late in the tenure of Johanna Rysseley on the west, and a messuage and garden of Ralph Parr in the tenure of Elizabeth Hyndeley on the east, and extend in length of the said garden and in breadth of the said messuage from Kyrkestrete aforesaid on the south as far as the lane [called] Baglane on the north.

Also he holds half an acre of land in Hollay of the said Peter by the said service, lying in breadth between a parcel of land of Peter Legh late in the tenure of John Wode on the east, and a certain ridge of land of Henry Garnet on the west, and extending in length from a certain croft surrounded with hedges and containing two acres of land the inheritance of Peter Werburton esquire and of Roger Arosmythe's heir on the north, as far as a certain ridge of land of the said Roger Arosmythe's heir on the south.

Also he holds of the said Peter and in the said service one empty burgage, lying in Baglane of the town of Weryngton, in breadth between a messuage of the said Roger Arosmythe's heir in the tenure of Nicholas Barker on the west (and a certain biland, i.e. a double land, divides the said burgage of the said Gilbert and the said messuage of the said Roger Arosmythe's heir, to wit a

Arosmythe et scilicet burgagium Willielmi Blakehurste ex parte orientali, et extendit in longitudine a venella prædicta de Bag lane ex parte boreali usque ad gardinum Willielmi Botiller nuper in tenura Johannis Tyrchare ex parte australi.

Item tenet de dicto Petro in dicto servitio unam acram terræ jacentem in le campo de Daddefelde in latitudine inter terram Henrici Garnet ex parte occidentali et terram Willielmi Blakehurst ex parte orientali et extendentem in longitudine ab alta via quæ ducit ab ecclesia alta de Weryngton usque ad Wulstone ex parte australi usque ad brueram de Weryngton prædicta ex parte boreali.

Item tenet quatuor acras terræ arabilis jacentes subtus le Bruche holte vocatas le Twystes et terram arabilem dicti Ricardi Bruche et scilicet pratum dicti Ricardi Bruche jacens ex orientali parte duarum quatuor acrarum. Quæ messuagium et burgagia cum terris prædictis valent dicto Petro de capitali redditu per annum septemdecim denarios obolum.

Willielmus Blakehurste tenet de dicto Petro in capite per servitium militare unum messuagium cum magno orto et pomœrio jacentia in vico de Hethestrete villæ prædictæ cum uno crofto continente dimidiam acram terræ, quod quidem messuagium ortum et pomœrium jacent in latitudine inter dictam stratam de Hethestrete ex parte orientali et prædictum croftum ex parte occidentali et extendunt in longitudine a quodam parvo burgagio vacuo Petri Werburton armigeri ex parte australi usque ad messuagium Willielmi Botiller nuper in tenura Edmundi Berdisley ex parte boreali.

Item dictus Willielmus tenet de dicto Petro Legh per dictum servitium prædictum croftum jacens in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri Legh et terram prædicti Petri Werburton et terram videlicet vacuum burgagium dicti Willielmi Blakehurste et dimidium crofti Willielmi Botiller et alterum dimidium crofti quondam Gilberti Sotheworthe in tenura Thomæ Cartewright ex parte australi et terram dicti Willielmi Botiller nuper in tenura dicti Edmundi Berdisley ex parte boreali et extendens in longitudine a dicto magno

burgage of William Blakehurste on the east), and extending in length from Baglane aforesaid on the north, as far as a garden of William Botiller late in the tenure of John Tyrehare on the south.

Also he holds of the said Peter in the said service one acre of land, lying in the field [called] Daddefelde, in breadth between the land of Henry Garnet on the west, and the land of William Blakehurst on the east, and extending in length from a highway leading from the high church of Weryngton to Wulstone on the south, as far as the heath of Weryngton aforesaid on the north.

Also he holds four acres of arable land lying below the Bruche holte called le Twystes and the arable land of the said Richard Bruche, and also a meadow of the said Richard Bruche lying on the east of two of the [said] four acres; which messuages and burgages with the aforesaid lands are worth to the said Peter yearly for chief rent seventeen pence halfpenny.

William Blakehurste holds of the said Peter in capite by military service one messuage with a large garden and appleyard lying in the Hethestrete of the aforesaid town with one croft containing half an acre of land; which messuage, garden, and appleyard lie in breadth between the said Hethestrete on the east, and the aforesaid croft on the west, and extend in length from a certain small empty burgage of Peter Werburton esquire on the south, as far as a messuage of William Botiller late in the tenure of Edmund Berdisley on the north.

Also the said William holds of the said Peter Legh by the said service the aforesaid croft, lying in breadth between land of the said Peter Legh and land of the aforesaid Peter Werburton, and land, to wit, an empty burgage of the said William Blakehurste, and half of a croft of William Botiller, and another half croft formerly of Gilbert Sothewurthe in the tenure of Thomas Cartewright on the south, and land of the said William Botiller late in the tenure of the said Edmund Berdisley on the north, and extending in length from the said large garden and appleyard of the

orto et pomœrio dicti Willielmi Blakehurst ex parte orientali usque ad finem orti cujusdam Henrici Garnet ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet de dicto Petro Legh per dictum servitium unum vacuum burgagium jacens in quadam venella et juxta vocata Hallumslane in latitudine inter dictam venellam ex parte australi et terram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Willielmi Holme ex parte boreali et extendens in longitudine a parvo vacuo burgagio dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura dicti Willielmi Holme ex parte orientali usque ad dictum croftum Willielmi Botiller et prædicti Gilberti Sothewurthe in tenura prædicti Thomæ Cartwright ex parte occidentali, quæ omnia prædicta reddunt dicto Petro de capitali redditu per annum duos solidos.

Henricus Garnet[1] filius et hæres Willielmi Garnet nuper de Weryngton legisperiti tenet de dicto Petro Legh in capite per servitium militare unam pulcram aulam cum duabus altis cameris coquina stabulo boscario orreo cum pomœrio et duobus gardinis cum uno crofto continente fere acram terræ friscæ vocatam aulam juxta le Hallumswalle[2] in vico dictæ villæ de Weryngton ducente a loco vocato Marketh yate usque ad ecclesiam altam dictæ villæ, et quidam fons aquæ salientis est ante hostium boreale dictæ aulæ vocatus Hallumswall, quæ quidem aula cum omnibus pertinentiis jacent et situantur in latitudine inter dictam viam sic ducentem ut præscribitur ex parte boreali et messuagium et ortum dicti Petri Legh nuper in tenura Johannis Wode et nunc in tenura Johannis Smythe jacentia in le Bonkestrete dictæ villæ ex parte australi et extendunt in longiori parte a quadam parva venella vocata Hallumslane ex parte orientali usque ad quandam ustrinam et croftum nuper

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[1] It is often popularly said that the lawyers always inhabit the best houses in our provincial towns. It would certainly seem that this lawyer of ancient Warrington, who probably united in himself the character of barrister and attorney, did not falsify the proverb, for this description stamps his house as one of the best at that time in the town.

[2] This word is written with a contraction thus, Hallūswalle, and it is not easy to say whether it is meant for Hallumswalle or Hallunswalle. It is certain, however,

said William Blakehurst on the east, as far as the end of a garden of one Henry Garnet on the west.

Also he holds of the said Peter Legh by the said service one empty burgage lying in and beside a certain lane called Hallumslane, in breadth between the said lane on the south and land of William Botiller in the tenure of William Holme on the north, and extending in length from a small empty burgage of the said William Botiller in the tenure of the said William Holme on the east, as far as the said croft of William Botiller and of the aforesaid Gilbert Sothewurth in the tenure of the said Thomas Cartewright on the west; all which aforesaid premises render to the said Peter yearly for chief rent two shillings.

Henry Garnet, son and heir of William Garnet late of Warrington lawyer, holds of the said Peter Legh in capite by military service one fair hall, called the hall near le Hallumswalle, with two high chambers, a kitchen, stable, cowhouse, barn, appleyard, and a croft containing near an acre of fresh land, in a street of the said town of Weryngton leading from the place called Markethyate as far as the high church of the said town, and a certain fountain of springing water is before the north door of the said hall called Hallumswall, which said hall and its appurtenances lie and are situate in breadth between the said way so leading as aforesaid on the north and a messuage and garden of the said Peter Legh late in the tenure of John Wode and now in the tenure of John Smythe lying in le Bonkestrete of the said town on the south, and extend on their longer side from a certain small lane called Hallumslane on the east, as far as a certain oven and croft late of Richard

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that the fountain gave name to a well known place in Warrington called the Running Pump, and where, until a very recent period, there was an iron conduit and a perpetual stream of spring water. If the word is Hallunswalle, it is probably a corruption from Helenswell; and in that case, the fountain may have claimed St. Helena, according to some authorities the patron saint of the church, for its patroness.

Ricardi Pasmethe tenta de prædicto Petro Legh ad terminum annorum ex parte occidentali. Quæ omnia prædicta reddunt dicto Petro Legh per annum tres solidos et tres denarios.

Maria quæ fuit uxor Hamonis de Assheton tenet de dicto Petro Legh per servitium militare unum messuagium cum uno gardino eidem annexo in Kyrkestrete et quatuor acras terræ arabilis jacentes in campo de Arpeley, quod quidem messuagium et gardinum jacent et situantur in latitudine dicti gardini et longitudine dicti messuagii inter burgagium vacuum Ranulphi de Rixton ex parte occidentali et messuagium et gardinum Willielmi Botiller in tenura Elenæ Munke ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine dicti gardini et latitudine dicti messuagii a vico de Kyrkestrete prædicto ex parte boreali usque ad quoddam croftum Henrici Garnet continens duas acras terræ ex parte australi. Et quatuor acræ prædictæ jacent in duabus parvis croftis videlicet unum continens acram terræ et dimidiam et alterum continens duas acras terræ et dimidiam jacentia in Arpeley in quodam loco vocato Hawrydynge juxta alium locum vocatum Anglesey[1] cum sepibus et fossis inclusis jacentes in latitudine inter terram Ranulphi Rixton de hæreditate sed modo in tenura uxoris nuper Johannis Pigot nomine dotis suæ ex parte occidentali et terram Ricardi Bruche ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine a quodam crofto Thomæ Hille in tenura Ricardi Hardwar ex parte boreali usque ad terram dicti Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannæ nuper uxoris Hamonis le Nayler ex parte australi. Quæ messuagium gardinum cum quatuor acris terræ prædictis reddunt dicto Petro Legh per annum de capitali redditu duos solidos et quatuor denarios.

Item Gilbertus Sothewurthe præscriptus tenet de dicto Petro scilicet in capite per dictum servitium unam acram terræ in campo vocato le Marlet hey cum acra terræ Ricardi Pasmethe scilicet

[1] This field, which preserves its original name to this day, was the subject of controversy at an early period, as may be seen by referring to the Duchy Calendar of Pleadings, vol. ii. p. 137.

Pasmethe and holden of the aforesaid Peter Legh for a term of years on the west; all which aforesaid premises render to the said Peter Legh yearly three shillings and three pence.

Maria, who was the wife of Hamon de Assheton, holds of the said Peter Legh by military service one messuage with one garden thereto annexed in Kyrkestrete and four acres of arable land lying in Arpeley field, which messuage and garden lie and are situate in breadth of the said garden and in length of the said messuage between an empty burgage of Randle de Rixton on the west, and a messuage and garden of William Botiller in the tenure of Ellen Munke on the east, and extend in length of the said garden and in breadth of the said messuage from Kyrkestrete aforesaid on the north, as far as a certain croft of Henry Garnet containing two acres of land on the south; and the aforesaid four acres lie in two small crofts inclosed with hedges and ditches, namely, one containing one acre and a half of land and the other containing two acres and a half, lying in Arpeley in a certain place called Hawrydynge, beside another place called Anglesey, in breadth between land the inheritance of Randle Rixton but now in the tenure of the wife of the late John Pigot, under the name of her dower, on the west, and land of Richard Bruche on the east, and extending in length from a certain croft of Thomas Hille in the tenure of Richard Hardwar on the north, as far as land of the said William Botiller in the tenure of Johanna, late wife of Hamon le Nayler, on the south; which messuage, garden, and four acres of land aforesaid, render to the said Peter Legh yearly for chief rent two shillings and four pence.

Likewise the before named Gilbert Sothewurthe holds of the said Peter, that is to say, in capite by the said service, one acre of land in a field called le Marlet hey with an acre of land of the said

tenta per dictum servitium de dicto Petro, quæ quidem acra cum prædicta acra dicti Ricardi jacent in latitudine inter brueram de Weryngton ex parte boreali et prædictam terram dicti Ricardi Pasmethe ex parte australi et extendunt in longitudine partim a parcella terræ dicti Petri in tenura Johannis Hakynsall vocata le Crymbull ex parte orientali usque ad aliam parcellam dictæ brueræ de Weryngton ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet tres rodas terræ per æstimationem in furlongo campi de Hollay vocato le Hellehole jacentes inter parcellam aquæ de Mersee ex parte australi et ex parte boreali dicta aqua limitat partem dictæ terræ et partem terræ Ranulphi Rixton et extendit ab alia parcella dictæ aquæ ex fine orientali usque ad terram Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannis Sonky ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet in capite de dicto Petro unum burgagium ædificatum cum gardino jacens ex latere orientali dictæ venellæ de Weryngton vocatæ Newgate jacentia in latitudine inter ripam dictæ aquæ et scilicet le Bonke strete ex parte australi et terram videlicet burgagium Willielmi Botiller in tenura Johannis Lawe ex latere boreali.

Item tenet unum gardinum scilicet in capite jacens ex boreali latere cujusdam fontis vocati le Halumswalle et terræ Willielmi Botiller ex parte boreali et extendit a gardino Willielmi Blakehurste ex parte orientali et gardino Henrici Garnet ex parte occidentali. Quæ reddunt dicto Petro per annum viginti denarios.

Item tenet aliam parcellam terræ in capite per dictum servitium jacentem in campo de Weryngton vocato Hammundisholme in Hollay jacen . . . . . quæ reddit per annum dicto Petro viginti tres denarios.

Item tenet aliam parcellam terræ jacentem in Arpeley continentem unam rodam terræ.

Et sciatur quod dictus Gilbertus tenet omnia tenementa sua in Weryngton in capite de dicto Petro per dictum servitium et reddit de capitali redditu per annum in toto decem solidos et tres denarios.

Richard Pasmethe holden of the said Peter by the said service, which acre and also the aforesaid acre of the said Richard lie in breadth between Weryngton heath on the north, and the aforesaid land of the said Richard Pasmethe on the south, and extend in length partly from a parcel of land of the said Peter in the tenure of John Hakynsall, called le Crymbull, on the east, as far as another parcel of the said heath of Weryngton on the west.

Also he holds three roods of land by estimation in the furlong of Hollay field, called le Hellehole, lying between a part of Mersee water on the south, and on the north the said water bounds part of the said land and a part of Randle Rixton's land, and extending from another part of the said water on the east, as far as land of William Botiller in the tenure of John Sonky on the west.

Also he holds in capite of the said Peter one [newly] erected burgage with a garden lying on the east side of the said lane of Weryngton called Newgate, lying in breadth between the bank of the said water, to wit, le Bonkestrete on the south, and land, to wit, a burgage of William Botiller in the tenure of John Lawe on the north.

Also he holds one garden, to wit, in capite lying on the north side of a certain well called le Hallumswalle, and having land of William Botiller on the north, and extending from a garden of William Blakehurste on the east, and a garden of Henry Garnet on the west; which renders to the said Peter yearly twenty pence.

Also he holds another parcel of land in capite by the said service in a field in Weryngton called Hamundisholme in Hollay, lying . . . . . which renders yearly to the said Peter twenty three pence.

Also he holds another parcel of land lying in Arpeley containing one rood of land . . . . . .

And be it known that the said Gilbert holds all his tenements in Weryngton in capite of the said Peter by the said service, and renders yearly for chief rent in the whole ten shillings and three pence.

Hic incipit limitatio omnium messuagiorum terrarum et tenementorum ad voluntatem Petri Legh militis infra hamelettam de Overforthe juxta Weryngton, &c.

Imprimis. Dictus Petrus Legh habet quoddam pratum ad serviendum tenentibus suis de Overforthe prædicto vocatum Dalcarr[1] medo continens sex acras prati jacens in latitudine inter viam quæ ducit a ponte de Longeforthe usque ad villam de Hulme ex parte orientali et alium pratum Willielmi Botiller vocatum Homur plokke ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a bruera de Weryngton ex parte australi usque ad acram prati Nicholai Sonky ex parte boreali, quod pratum valet dicto Petro per annum ad voluntatem suam videlicet tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios.

Johannes Sothurn de Overforthe tenet de dicto Petro ad voluntatem unum messuagium cum orto continente unam rodam terræ jacentia in latitudine inter terram Ricardi Sothewurthe armigeri ex parte boreali et brueram de Overforthe ex parte australi fere et extendunt in longitudine a terra dicti Ricardi Sotheworthe ex parte occidentali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Johannis Sothurne et Gilberti Hoggekynson ex parte orientali.

Item tenet duas parvas haias cum sepibus et fossis inclusas continentes quatuor acras terræ arabilis jacentes in latitudine inter terram dicti Ricardi Sothewurthe ex parte occidentali et terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Gilberti ex parte orientali et extendentes in longitudine a prædicto messuagio et orto dicti Petri in tenura prædicti Johannis ex parte australi usque ad aliam terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Johannis Sothurne vocatam Rede Erthe ex parte boreali.

Item tenet de dicto Petro Legh unam acram terræ arabilis

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[1] This field is still known by its ancient name. In a conveyance dated in 1744, this description occurs: "All that rood land, plot or parcel of unenclosed ground lying and being in Dalker, otherwise Dalker Meadow."

Here begins the limit of all the messuages, lands, and tenements at will of the said Peter Legh, knight, within the hamlet of Overforthe beside Weryngton, &c.

Imprimis the said Peter Legh has a certain meadow for the use of his tenants in Overforthe aforesaid, called Dalcarr medo, containing six acres of meadow lying in breadth between the way which leads from the bridge of Longeforthe as far as the town of Hulme on the east, and another meadow of William Botiller called Homur plokke on the west, and extending in length from Weryngton heath on the south, as far as an acre of meadow of Nicholas Sonky on the north; which meadow is worth to the said Peter yearly at his will thirteen shillings and four pence.

John Sothurn, of Overforthe, holds of the said Peter at will one messuage with a garden containing one rood of land lying in breadth between land of Richard Sotheworthe, esquire, on the north, and Orford heath towards the south, and extending in length from land of the said Richard Sotheworthe on the west, as far as land of the said Peter in the tenures of the said John Sothurne and Gilbert Hoggekynson on the east.

Also he holds two small closes inclosed with hedges and ditches containing four acres of arable land lying in breadth between land of the said Richard Sotheworthe on the west, and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Gilbert on the east, and extending in length from the aforesaid messuage and garden of the said Peter in the tenure of the aforesaid John on the south, as far as other land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said John Sothurne, called Rede Erthe, on the north.

Also he holds of the said Peter Legh one acre of arable land

jacentem in prædicto loco vocato Rede Erthe jacentem in latitudine inter terram dicti Ricardi Sotheworthe ex parte boreali et prædictas duas parvas haias prædicti Petri ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Ricardi Sotheworthe ex parte occidentali usque ad terram dicti Willielmi Botiller ex parte orientali in campo vocato Paynsfeld.

Item tenet aliam acram terræ arabilis jacentem in campo vocato Parkefyld quæ quidem acra vocatur le Clayakyr jacentem in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura Willielmi Chaloner ex parte australi et aliam parcellam terræ dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte boreali et extendit in longitudine a terra prædicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte occidentali usque ad quandam acram dicti Petri in tenura Henrici Holbroke vocatum Holeakyr ex parte orientali.

Item tenet aliam acram terræ jacentem in campo vocato Overforthe fylde nuncupatam le Brokeakyr jacentem in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura Willielmi Cowper ex parte fere australi et terram dicti Petri in tenura Gilberti Madur ex parte fere boreali et extendentem in longitudine a quodam rivulo vocato Hoghton broke ex parte orientali usque ad quandam parcellam terræ Laurentii Longtre vocatam Irpuls Erthe in tenura Willielmi Chaloner ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet unam acram terræ cum sepibus et fossis inclusam vocatam le Broke hey jacentem in latitudine inter unam venellam ducentem a hameleto de Overforthe prædicto usque ad campum de Overforthe ex parte occidentali et prædictum rivulum de Hoghton broke ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura dicti Gilberti Madur ex parte boreali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Gilberti ex parte australi. Quæ messuagium ortum terræ et tenementa prædicta reddunt dicto Petro per annum de redditu voluntatis tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios cum servitio videlicet in implendo bigam fimalem quæ valet duos denarios item una die faciendo fœnum quæ valet per annum . . . . . denarium cum quatuor diebus autumpnalibus quæ valent octo denarios.

lying in the aforesaid place, called Rede Erthe, lying in breadth between land of the said Richard Sotheworthe on the north, and the two small closes aforesaid of the said Peter on the south, and extending in length from land of the said Richard Sotheworthe on the west, as far as land of the said William Botiller on the east, in a field called Paynsfeld.

Also he holds another acre of arable land lying in a field called Parkefyld, which acre is called le Clayakyr, lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of William Chaloner on the south, and another parcel of land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the north, and extending in length from land of the aforesaid Peter in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the west, as far as a certain acre of the said Peter in the tenure of Henry Holbroke, called Holeakyr, on the east.

Also he holds another acre of land lying in the field called Overforthe Fylde, called le Brokeakyr, lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of William Cowper towards the south, and land of the said Peter in the tenure of Gilbert Madur towards the north, and extending in length from a certain rivulet called Hoghton broke on the east as far as a certain parcel of land of Lawrence Longtre called Irpuls Erthe in the tenure of William Chaloner on the west.

Also he holds one acre of land inclosed with hedges and ditches called le Broke hey lying in breadth between a lane leading from the aforesaid hamlet of Orford as far as the Overforthe field on the west and the aforesaid rivulet of Hoghton broke on the east, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Gilbert Madur on the north as far as the land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Gilbert on the south; which messuage, garden, lands and tenements aforesaid render to the said Peter yearly for rent at will thirteen shillings and fourpence, with service, to wit, one day at filling the dung cart, which is worth two pence, also one day at hay making, which is worth yearly one penny, with four days in autumn, which are worth eight pence.

Gilbertus Hoggekynson de Overforthe prædieta tenet de dieto Petro ad voluntatem unum messuagium voeatum Merburyshowse cum orto et crofto eum sepibus et fossis inclusis continentia aeram terræ, quæ quidem messuagium ortum et croftum jaeent in latitudine inter terram dieti Petri in tenura dieti Johannis Sothurn ex parte oecidentali et terram dicti Petri in tenura Rieardi Sothurne ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine a dieta bruera de Overforthe ex parte australi usque ad terram dieti Petri in tenura dicti Johannis Sothurne ex parte boreali.

Item tenet unam acram terræ arabilis jacentem super altum eampum de Overforthe jaeentem in latitudine inter tres rodas terræ dieti Petri in tenura Willielmi Cowper ex parte boreali et terram dieti Petri in tenura Henriei Holbroke ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a terra dieti Petri videlicet tres rodas terræ in tenura dieti Henriei ex parte oeeidentali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dieti Gilberti Madur ex parte orientali.

Item tenet aliam aeram terræ voeatam le Brokeakyr jaeentem in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte boreali et terram dieti Petri in tenura dicti Gilberti Madur ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a dieto rivulo voeato Hoghton Broke ex parte orientali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dieti Rieardi Sothurne ex parte oeeidentali. Quæ reddunt dieto Petro per annum ad voluntatem sex solidos eum servitio unius implendo bigam fimalem quæ valet per annum duos denarios, item una die unius faciendi fœnum quæ valet denarium eum quatuor diebus autumpnalibus, que valent per annum octo denarios.

Ricardus Sothurne de Overforthe tenet de dicto Petro Legh unum messuagium eum orreo et orto jaeentia in latitudine inter terram dieti Petri in tenura dieti Rieardi ex parte boreali et dietam brueram de Overforthe ex parte australi et extendit in longitudine a dieto messuagio dieti Petri voeato Merburishowse ex parte oeeidentali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura Roberti Kyngeley ex parte orientali.

Gilbert Hoggekynson of Overforthe aforesaid holds of the said Peter at will one messuage called Merbury's howse, with a garden and croft inclosed with hedges and ditches, containing an acre of land, which messuage, garden and croft lie in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said John Sothurn on the west and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Richard Sothurne on the east, and extending in length from the said heath of Overforthe on the south as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said John Sothurn on the north.

Also he holds one acre of arable land lying upon Overforthe high field in breadth between three roods of land of the said Peter in the tenure of William Cowper on the north and land of the said Peter in the tenure of Henry Holbroke on the south, and extending in length from land of the said Peter, to wit, three roods of land in the tenure of the said Henry on the west as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Gilbert Madur on the east.

Also he holds another acre of land called le Broke akyr lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the north and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Gilbert Madur on the south, and extending in length from the said rivulet called Hoghton Broke on the east as far as the land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Richard Sothurne on the west; which render to the said Peter yearly at will six shillings, with one day's service at filling the dung cart, which is worth two pence yearly, also one day at hay making, which is worth one penny, with four days in autumn, which are worth yearly eight pence.

Richard Sothurne of Overforthe holds of the said Peter Legh one messuage with a barn and a garden lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Richard on the north and the said Overforthe heath on the south, and extending in length from the said messuage of the said Peter called Merburishowse on the west as far as the land of the said Peter in the tenure of Robert Kyngeley on the east.

Item tenet unum croftum continens duas acras terræ arabilis et cum sepibus et fossis inclusum jacens in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri vocati Merburislande ex parte occidentali et terram dicti Roberti Kyngeleye ex parte orientali et extendens in longitudine a dicto orto dicti Petri in tenura dicti Ricardi ex parte australi usque ad terram dicti Petri vocatam Rede Erthe in tenura prædicti Ricardi ex parte boreali.

Item tenet unam acram terræ jacentem in prædicto loco vocato Rede Erthe in latitudine inter terram dicti Ricardi Sotheworthe ex parte occidentali et terram dicti Petri in tenura Willielmi Chaloner et terram dicti Willielmi Botiller ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a dicto crofto dicti Petri et in tenura dicti Ricardi Sothurn ex parte australi usque ad terram dicti Ricardi Sothewurthe armigeri ex parte boreali.

Item tenet aliam acram terræ vocatam Holeakyr jacentem in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri vocatam Parkefylde in tenura Willielmi Chaloner ex parte boreali et terram dicti Petri continentem rodam terræ in tenura dicti Gilberti Madur ex parte australi et extendentem in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte orientali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Roberti Kyngeley ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet acram terræ vocatam le Clayeakyr jacentem in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura Willielmi Chaloner ex parte occidentali et terram vocatam Merburislande dicti Petri et in tenura dicti Gilberti Hoggekynson ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a dicta terra Laurentii Longtre vocata Irpuls Erthe ex parte australi usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte boreali.

Item tenet aliam acram terræ vocatam Emmeakyr jacentem in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte occidentali et terram dicti Petri in tenura Willielmi Cowper ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte boreali usque ad

Also he holds one croft containing two acres of arable land inclosed with hedges and ditches, lying in breadth between land of the said Peter called Merburislande on the west and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Robert Kyngeley on the east, and extending in length from the said garden of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Richard on the south as far as the land of the said Peter called the Rede Erthe in the tenure of the aforesaid Richard on the north.

Also he holds one acre of land lying in the aforesaid place called Rede Erthe in breadth between land of the said Richard Sothewurthe on the west and land of the said Peter in the tenure of William Chaloner and land of the said William Botiller on the east, and extending in length from the said croft of the said Peter and in the tenure of the said Richard Sothurn on the south as far as the land of the said Richard Sothewurthe esquire on the north.

Also he holds another acre of land called Holcakyr lying in breadth between land of the said Peter called Parkefylde in the tenure of William Chaloner on the north and land of the said Peter containing a rood of land in the tenure of the said Gilbert Madur on the south, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke on the east as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Robert Kyngeley on the west.

Also he holds an acre of land called le Clayeakyr lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of William Chaloner on the west and the land of the said Peter called Merburislande in the tenure of the said Gilbert Hoggekynson on the east and extending in length from the said land of Lawrence Longtre called Irpuls Erthe on the south as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the north.

Also he holds another acre called Emmeakyr lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke on the west and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Cowper on the east, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Cowper on

terram prædicti Petri in tenura dicti Gilberti Madur ex parte australi. Quæ reddunt per annum dicto Petro Legh ad voluntatem undecim solidos cum servitio unius diei per annum implendi bigam fimalem quæ valet duos denarios et una die faciendo fœnum quæ valet denarium cum duobus diebus autumpnalibus quæ valent per annum octo denarios.

Robertus Kyngeley tenet de dicto Petro ad voluntatem unum messuagium cum orreo et orto et le foldestydde cum una falda ante ostium occidentale dicti messuagii jacentia in latitudine et in longitudine usque ad terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura dicti Roberti ex utraque parte boreali et orientali et extendunt in longitudine a bruera de Overforthe ex parte occidentali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Roberti ex parte boreali.

Item tenet sex acras terræ arabilis invicem jacentes in campo vocato Overforthe fylde videlicet ante hostium orientale prædicti messuagii in tenura dicti Roberti quarum quidem quatuor acræ jacent in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura Ricardi Sothurn ex parte fere occidentali et terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte fere orientali et extendunt in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura Willielmi Chaloner ex parte australi usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner vocatam Parke fylde ex parte boreali et duæ acræ prædictarum sex jacent ex transverso prædictis quatuor acris videlicet in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex utraque latere videlicet orientali et occidentali et extendunt in longitudine a messuagio dicti Petri in tenura dicti Ricardi Sothurn ex parte australi usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke videlicet quatuor acras terræ ex parte boreali, quæ reddunt dicto Petro per annum octo solidos et duos denarios cum servitio unius diei per annum implendo bigam fimalem quæ valet duos denarios item una die per annum faciendo fœnum quæ valet denarium cum quatuor diebus autumpnalibus per annum quæ valent octo denarios.

the north as far as land of the aforesaid Peter in the tenure of the said Gilbert Madur on the south; which render to the said Peter yearly at will eleven shillings, with one day's yearly service at filling the dung cart, which is worth two pence, and one day at haymaking, which is worth one penny, with two days in autumn, which are worth eight pence.

Robert Kyngeley holds of the said Peter at will one messuage with a barn and garden and le foldestydde with one fold before the western gate of the said messuage, lying in breadth and in length as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Robert on both sides north and east, and extending in length from Overforthe heath on the west as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Robert on the north.

Also he holds six acres of arable land lying together in the field called Overfurthe fylde, to wit, before the easterly gate of the aforesaid messuage in the tenure of the said Robert, four of which said acres lie in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of Richard Sothurn towards the west and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke towards the east, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of William Chaloner called Parkefylde on the north, and the other two acres of the aforesaid six acres lie over against the aforesaid four acres, to wit, in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke on two sides, to wit, on the west, and extending in length from a messuage of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Richard Sothurn towards the south as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke, to wit, four acres of land on the north; which render to the said Peter yearly eight shillings and two pence, with one day's service yearly at filling the dung cart, which is worth two pence, also one day at hay making, which is worth one penny, with four days in autumn, which are worth eight pence.

Henricus Holbroke de Overforthe prædicto tenet de dicto Petro ad voluntatem unum messuagium cum orreo et orto cum domo turbariorum cum una falda jacentia in longitudine inter terram dicti Petri videlicet tria crofta ex parte boreali et venellam de Overforthe ex parte australi et in latitudine a terra dicti Petri et in tenura dicti Henrici ex parte orientali et brueram de Overforthe ante hostium dicti Henrici ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet prædicta tria crofta cum sepibus et fossis inclusa continentia quatuor acras terræ arabilis jacentia inter brueram prædictam ex parte australi et terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Roberti Kyngeley ex parte boreali et extendentia in longitudine altera parte dictæ brueræ ex parte occidentali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte orientali.

Item tenet tres acras terræ invicem jacentes in dicto campo de Overforthe jacentes in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte occidentali et terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Roberti Kyngeley ex parte orientali et extendunt in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte boreali usque ad tres rodas terræ dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte australi.

Item tenet tres rodas terræ prædictas invicem jacentes ex transverso prædictas tres acras terræ jacentes in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Roberti Kyngeley ex parte boreali et prædictas tres acras terræ ex parte australi et extendentes in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura dicti Ricardi Sothurn ex parte orientali usque ad terram dicti Petri Legh in tenura prædicti Roberti Kyngeley ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet unam acram terræ vocatam Emmeakyr jacentem in latitudine inter terram prædicti Petri in tenura dicti Ricardi Sothurn ex parte orientali et terram prædicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte occidentali et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Petri scilicet in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper vocata le Gale Parrok ex parte australi usque ad aliam parcellam terræ dicti Petri et in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte boreali.

Henry Holbroke of Overforthe aforesaid holds of the said Peter at will one messuage with a barn and garden, and one turf house with a fold, lying in length between land of the said Peter, to wit three crofts on the north and a lane in Overforthe on the south and in breadth from land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry on the east and the heath of Overforthe before the door of the said Henry on the west.

Also he holds the aforesaid three crofts inclosed with hedges and ditches, containing four acres of arable land lying between the aforesaid heath on the south and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Robert Kyngeley on the north, and extending in length from another part of the said heath on the west as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Cowper on the east.

Also he holds three acres of land in the said Overforthe field lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Cowper on the west and land of the said Peter in the tenure of Robert Kyngeley on the east, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Cowper on the north as far as three roods of land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke on the south.

Also he holds the aforesaid three roods of land lying together over against the aforesaid three acres of land, in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Robert Kyngeley on the north and the aforesaid three acres of land on the south, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Richard Sothurn on the east as far as land of the said Peter Legh in the tenure of the aforesaid Robert Kyngeley on the west.

Also he holds one acre of land called Emmeakyr lying in breadth between land of the aforesaid Peter in the tenure of the said Richard Sothurn on the east and land of the aforesaid Peter in the tenure of the said William Cowper on the west, and extending in length from land of the said Peter, to wit, in the tenure of the said William Cowper called le Gale Parrok on the south as far as another parcel of land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Cowper on the north.

Item tenet aliam aeram terræ vocatam le Holcakyr jacentem in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri et in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte australi et terram dicti Petri in tenura Willielmi Chaloner ex parte boreali et extendit in longitudine a terra prædicti Petri in tenura dicti Ricardi Sothurne ex parte occidentali usque ad terram Laurentii Longtre præscriptam vocatam Irpuls Erthe in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte orientali. Quæ prædicta reddunt dicto Petro Legh ad voluntatem per annum septemdecim solidos et decem denarios cum servitio unius diei per annum implendo bigam fimalem quæ valet duos denarios, item una die per annum faciendo fœnum quæ valet per annum denarium cum quatuor diebus autumpnalibus quæ valent per annum octo denarios.

Gilbertus Madur de Overforthe prædicto tenet de dicto Petro ad voluntatatem unum messuagium cum orreo et orto cum uno crofto vocato Gale Crofte continente duas acras terræ arabilis, quæ quidem messuagium ortum et croftum jacent et situantur inter venellam de Overforthe ex parte australi et prædictam terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper vocatam Gale Sperth ex parte boreali et extendunt in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte occidentali usque ad terram dicti Petri et in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte orientali.

Item tenet unum croftum vocatum medo hey continens unam aeram at dimidiam terræ cum sepibus et fossis inclusum jacens in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte occidentali et præscriptum rivulum de Hoghton ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura dicti Johannis Sothurn ex parte boreali usque ad terram prædicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte australi.

Item tenet unum parvum Parrok cum sepibus inclusum jacens in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Johannis Sothurn ex parte australi et terram prædicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte boreali et extendens in longitudine a

Also he holds another acre of land called le Holeakyr lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Cowper on the south and land of the said Peter in the tenure of William Chaloner on the north, and extending in length from land of the aforesaid Peter in the tenure of the said Richard Sothurne on the west as far as the before described land of Laurence Longtre called Irpuls Erthe in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the east; which aforesaid [premises] pay to the said Peter Legh at will seventeen shillings and tenpence yearly, with the service of one day yearly at filling the dung cart, which is worth two pence, also one day a year at making hay, which is worth one penny per year, and with four days in autumn, which are worth eight pence.

Gilbert Madur of Overforthe aforesaid holds of the said Peter at will one messuage with a barn and garden, with one croft called Gale Crofte, containing two acres of arable land, which messuage, garden, and croft lie and are situate between a lane in Overforthe on the south and the aforesaid land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Cowper called Gale Sperth on the north, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Cowper on the west as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the east.

Also he holds a croft called medo hey containing one acre and a half of land inclosed with hedges and ditches, lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the west and the before mentioned Hoghton brook on the east, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said John Sothurn on the north as far as land of the aforesaid Peter in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the south.

Also he holds one small parrok inclosed with hedges and ditches lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said John Sothurn on the south and land of the aforesaid Peter in the tenure of the said William Cowper on the north, and extend-

dicto rivulo vocato Hoghton Broke ex parte fere orientali ut supponitur usque ad venellam vocatam Fawreakyr lane et dicta venella est de terra dicti Petri ex parte fere occidentali ut supponitur.

Item tenet acram terræ vocatam le Brokeakyr jacentem inter terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Johannis Sothurn ex parte australi et terram dicti Petri in tenura Gilberti Hoggekynson ex parte boreali et extendit in longitudine a dicto rivulo de Hoghton Broke ex parte orientali usque ad terram dicti Laurentii Longtre vocatam Irpuls Erthe et in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet aliam acram terræ jacentem in cacumine prædicti campi de Overforthe in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura prædicti Willielmi Cowper ex utraque parte australi et boreali et extendit in longitudine a dicta Irpuls Erthe ex parte orientali usque ad terram dicti Petri vocatam Merburislande in tenura Gilberti Hoggekynson ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet unam rodam terræ jacentem in dicto campo de Overforthe in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte australi et terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Ricardi Sothurne ex parte boreali et extendentem in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte occidentali usque ad terram prædicti Petri Legh in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte orientali; quæ reddunt per annum dicto Petro et ad voluntatem undecim solidos cum servitio unius diei per annum implendo bigam fimalem quæ valet duos denarios, item una die faciendo fœnum quæ valet denarium, cum quatuor diebus autumpnalibus quæ valent per annum octo denarios.

Willielmus Cowper de Overforthe prædicto tenet de dicto Petro duo messuagia invicem jacentia cum uno orreo et scilicet falda in hamelcto de Overforthe prædicta in latitudine inter croftum dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte occidentali et alium croftum dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi ex parte orientali et extendit in longitudine a via alta quæ ducit infra hameletum prædictum ex parte australi usque ad terram videlicet

ing in length from the said rivulet called Hoghton broke towards the east to a lane called Fawreakyr lane, as it is supposed, and the said lane on the side towards the west is supposed to be the said Peter's land.

Also he holds an acre of land called le Broke akyr lying between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said John Sothurn on the south and land of the said Peter in the tenure of Gilbert Hoggekynson on the north, and extending in length from the said rivulet [called] Hoghton broke on the east as far as land of the said Laurence Longtre called Irpuls Erthe and in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the west.

Also he holds another acre of land lying in the upper part of the aforesaid Overforthe field in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the aforesaid William Cowper on two sides, the south and the north, and extending in length from the said Irpul's Erthe on the east as far as land of the said Peter called Merburislande in the tenure of Gilbert Hoggekynson on the west.

Also he holds one rood of land lying in the said Overforthe field in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Cowper on the south and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Richard Sothurne on the north, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke on the west as far as land of the aforesaid Peter Legh in the tenure of the said William Cowper on the east; which [premises held] at will render yearly to the said Peter eleven shillings, with the service of filling the dung cart one day in a year, which is worth two pence, also one day at hay making, which is worth one penny, with four days in autumn, which are worth eight pence.

William Cowper of Overforthe aforesaid holds of the said Peter two messuages lying together, with a barn and a fold, in the hamlet of Overforthe aforesaid, in breadth between a croft of the said William on the east and extending in length from a highway which leads below the hamlet aforesaid on the south as far as land,

croftum dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte boreali.

Item tenet unum croftum continens unam acram et dimidiam terræ ad finem orientalem dicti orrei jacens in latitudine inter dictam altam viam de Overforthe ex parte australi et quoddam croftum dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte boreali et extendit in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura dicti Gilberti Madur ex parte orientali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet unam acram terræ arabilis jacentem in campo de Overforthe prædicto vocato Emmeakyr continentem in se duos puteos jacentem in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte occidentali et terram prædicti Petri scilicet in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte orientali et extendentem in longitudine a quadam Sperthe vocata Gale Sperthe quæ ducit a domo dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper usque ad terram dicti Petri vocatam Fawreakyr in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte australi usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura prædicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte boreali et tres tunge sharpes dictæ acræ vocatæ Emmeakyr jacentes ex transverso residuum prædictæ acræ jacent in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri et in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte australi et terram prædicti Petri in tenura prædicti Roberti Kyngeley ex parte boreali et extendunt in longitudine a terra prædicti Petri et scilicet in tenura dicti Roberti Kyngeley ex parte occidentali usque ad terram dicti Petri et in tenura prædicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte orientali.

Item tenet præscriptum Sperthe vocatum Gale Sperthe jacens in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Gilberti Madur ex parte australi et dictam acram vocatam Emmeakyr in tenura prædicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte boreali et extendens in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte occidentali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Ricardi Sothurne scilicet vocatam Emmeakyr ex parte orientali.

to wit, a croft of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke on the north.

Also he holds a croft containing one acre and a half of land at the east end of the said barn, lying in breadth between the said highway in Overforthe on the south and a certain croft of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke on the north, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Gilbert Madur on the east as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke on the west.

Also he holds one acre of arable land lying in the field in Overforthe aforesaid called Emmeakyr, containing therein two pits lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke on the west and land of the aforesaid Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke on the east, and extending in length from a certain Sperthe called Gale Sperthe, which leads from a house of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Cowper as far as land of the said Peter called Fawreakyr in the tenure of the said William Cowper on the south as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the aforesaid Henry Holbroke on the south, and three tunge sharpes of the said acre called Emmeakyr, lying over against the rest of the said acre, lie in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke on the south and land of the aforesaid Peter in the tenure of the aforesaid Robert Kyngeley on the north, and extend in length from land of the aforesaid Peter also in the tenure of the said Robert Kyngeley on the west as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the aforesaid William Cowper on the east.

Also he holds the before described Sperthe called Gale Sperthe, lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Gilbert Madur on the south, and the said acre called Emmeakyr, in the tenure of the said William Cowper on the north, and extending in length from land of the aforesaid Peter in the tenure of the aforesaid Henry Holbroke on the west as far as the land of the said Peter called Emmeakyr in the tenure of the said Richard Sothurne on the east.

Item tenet unum campum continentem quatuor acras terræ arabilis jacentem in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri et in tenura prædicti Johannis Sothurne ex parte orientali et terram dicti Petri in tenura prædicti Ricardi Sothurne ex parte occidentali et extendentem in longitudine a prædicta terra Laurentii Longtre vocata Irpuls Erthe ex parte boreali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte australi.

Item tenet unam acram terræ vocatam Brokeakyr jacentem inter terram prædicti Petri Legh in tenura dicti Gilberti Madur ex parte australi et terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Johannis Sothurne ex parte boreali et extendentem in longitudine a dicto rivulo vocato Hoghton broke ex parte orientali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura prædicti Willielmi Cowper et præscriptam Irpuls Erthe ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet aliam acram terræ vocatam le Gorsty akyr jacentem in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Gilberti Madur ex parte australi et terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte boreali et extendit in longitudine a dicta terra vocata Irpuls Erthe ex parte orientali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura prædicti Gilberti Hoggekynson nuper in tenura Johannis Merbury ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet unam acram terræ scilicet vocatam le Gorstyakyr jacentem in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Gilberti Madur ex parte boreali et terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte australi et extendentem in longitudine a terra prædicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte occidentali usque ad prædictam terram dicti Laurentii Longtre vocatam Irpuls Erthe in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte orientali.

Item tenet tres rodas terræ invicem jacentes inter terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Gilberti Madur ex parte boreali et terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Gilberti Hoggekynson nuper in tenura Johannis Merbury ex parte australi et extendentes in longitudine a terra prædicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte

Also he holds one field containing four acres of arable land lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the aforesaid John Sothurne on the east and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the aforesaid Richard Sothurne on the west, and extending in length from the aforesaid land of Laurence Longtre called Irpuls Erthe on the north as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the south.

Also he holds one acre of land called Brokeakyr, lying between land of the aforesaid Peter Legh in the tenure of the said Gilbert Madur on the south and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said John Sothurne on the north, and extending in length from the said rivulet called Hoghton broke on the east as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the aforesaid William Cowper and the before described Irpuls Erthe on the west.

Also he holds another acre of land called le Gorsty akyr, lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Gilbert Madur on the south and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke on the north, and extending in length from the said land called Irpuls Erthe on the east as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the aforesaid Gilbert Hoggekynson, late in the tenure of John Merbury, on the west.

Also he holds an acre of land, namely, an acre called le Gorsty akyr lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Gilbert Madur on the north and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke on the south, and extending in length from land of the aforesaid Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke on the west as far as the aforesaid land of the said Laurence Longtre called Irpuls Erthe in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the east.

Also he holds three roods of land lying together between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Gilbert Madur on the north and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Gilbert Hoggekynson late in the tenure of John Merbury on the south, and extending in length from land of the aforesaid Peter in the tenure of the said William Cowper on the east towards the lastly

orientali versus præscriptam ultimam Gorstyakyr usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet quandam parcellam prati vulgariter vocatam per tenentes le Penyplokke et dictus rivulus vocatus Hoghton broke circuit ex antiquo tempore prædictam parcellam et dictus rivulus currit ex parte occidentali prædictæ parcellæ jacentis in campo Ricardi Bruche vocato Hankeye et terra prædicti Ricardi Bruche circuit dictam parcellam dicti Petri ex omni parte extra occidentali parte ubi dictus rivulus de Hoghton currit, quæ omnia prædicta in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper valent dicto Petro per annum quindecim solidos cum servitio unius diei per annum implendo bigam fimalem quæ valet duos denarios, item una die faciendo fœnum quæ valet per annum denarium cum quatuor diebus autumpnalibus quæ valent octo denarios.

Willielmus Chaloner de Overforthe prædicto tenet de dicto Petro unum messuagium cum camera orreo et orto cum falda quod quidem messuagium cum camera orreo et orto jacent et situantur inter altam viam de Overforthe prædicto ex parte australi et terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Gilberti Madur vocatam Medo Heye ex parte boreali et extendunt in longitudine a dicto rivulo vocato Hoghton broke ex parte orientali usque ad quoddam croftum dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet unum croftum continens duas acras terræ jacens in latitudine inter duos campos dicti Petri et in tenura dicti Gilberti Madur ex utraque parte orientali et occidentali et extendens in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte boreali usque ad altam viam de Overforthe prædicto ex parte australi.

Item tenet unam acram terræ vocatam le Broke akyr jacentem in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri nuper in tenura Johannis Merbury sed modo in tenura Gilberti Hoggekynson ex parte australi et terram dicti Ricardi Sotheworthe armigeri ex parte boreali

before described Gorsty akyr as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke on the west.

Also he holds a certain parcel of meadow, commonly called by the tenants le Penyplokke, and the said rivulet called Hoghton broke encircles from ancient time the aforesaid parcel [of land,] and the said rivulet runs on the west of the aforesaid parcel, which lies in a field of Richard Bruche called Hankeye, and the land of the aforesaid Richard Bruche encircles the said parcel of the said Peter in every part except on the west, where the said Hoghton brook runs. All which [premises] aforesaid in the holding of the said William Cowper are worth to the said Peter yearly fifteen shillings, with one day's service yearly at filling the dung cart, which is worth twopence, also one day at making hay, which is worth one penny, with four days in autumn, which are worth eight pence.

William Chaloner of Overforthe aforesaid holds of the said Peter one messuage with a chamber, barn, garden, and fold, which messuage, with the chamber, barn, and garden, lie and are situate between the highway in Overforthe aforesaid on the south and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Gilbert Madur called Medo Heye on the north, and extend in length from the said rivulet called Hoghton broke on the east as far as a certain croft of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the west.

Also he holds a croft containing two acres of land lying in breadth between two fields of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Gilbert Madur on two sides on the east and on the west, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Cowper on the north as far as the highway in Overforthe aforesaid on the south.

Also he holds one acre of land called le Broke akyr lying in breadth between land of the said Peter late in the tenure of John Merbury, but now in the tenure of Gilbert Hoggekynson, on the south, and land of Richard Sotheworth, esquire, on the north, and

et extendit in longitudine a dicto rivulo de Hoghton broke ex parte orientali usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte occidentali.

Item tenet aliam acram terræ vocatam le Claye akyr aliter vocatam le Qwyteakyr jacentem in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura Ricardi Sothurne ex parte orientali et terram dicti Petri in tenura prædicti Johannis Sothurne ex parte occidentali et extendentem in longitudine a prædicta terra dicti Laurencii Longtre vocata Irpuls Erthe in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte australi usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte boreali.

Item tenet tres acras terræ arabilis invicem jacentes in campo vocato Parke Fylde in latitudine inter terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Johannis Sothurne ex parte occidentali et aliam parcellam terræ dicti Petri in tenura dicti Johannis Sothurne ex parte orientali et extendentes in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura dicti Henrici Holbroke ex parte australi usque ad terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte boreali.

Item tenet acram terræ jacentem in campo de Overforthe vocato le Longe shote et dicto campo vocato Parke Filde jacentem in latitudine inter terram Willielmi Botiller armigeri vocatam Payns Fylde ex parte boreali et terram dicti Petri in tenura dicti Willielmi Chaloner ex parte australi et extendentem in longitudine a terra dicti Petri in tenura dicti Johannis Sothurne ex parte occidentali usque ad quandam acram dicti Petri vocatam Brokeakyr in tenura dicti Willielmi Cowper ex parte orientali. Quæ prædicta reddunt dicto Petro Legh per annum ad voluntatem videlicet tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios cum servitio unius diei implendo bigam fimalem quæ valet per annum duos denarios cum die una faciendo fœnum quæ valet per annum denarium et quatuor diebus autumpnalibus quæ valent per annum octo denarios, &c.

extending in length from the said rivulet of Hoghton broke on the east as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the west.

Also he holds another acre of land called le Claye akyr, otherwise called le Qwyteakyr, lying in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Richard Sothurne on the east and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the aforesaid John Sothurne on the west, and extending in length from the aforesaid land of the said Laurence Longtre called Irpuls Erthe in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the south as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the north.

Also he holds three acres of arable land lying together in the field called Parke fylde, in breadth between land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said John Sothurne on the west and another parcel of land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said John Sothurne on the east, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said Henry Holbroke on the south as far as land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the north.

Also he holds an acre of land lying in a field in Overforthe called le Longe shote, (and the said field called Parke Filde) lying in breadth between land of William Botiller, esquire, called Payn's Fylde on the north and land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said William Chaloner on the south, and extending in length from land of the said Peter in the tenure of the said John Sothurne on the west as far as a certain acre of the said Peter called Broke akyr in the tenure of the said William Cowper on the east; which aforesaid [premises held] at will render to the said Peter Legh yearly thirteen shillings and fourpence, with one day's service at filling the dung cart, which is worth two pence yearly, with one day at hay making, which is worth yearly one penny, and four days in autumn, which are worth yearly eight pence.

Sequiter Capitalis Firma hameleti de Overforthe prædicto pertinens dicto Petro Legh militi.

Ricardus Bruche tenet de prædicto Petro Legh in capite unum messuagium cum duobus ortis et quinque croftis cum una parcella prati in tenura Jacobi Sothurn jacentia in hameleto de Overforthe juxta Weryngton, quæ ortus crofta et pertinentia continent in se novem acras terræ arabilis et prati jacentia ex parte australi venellæ de Overforthe ex opposito fere messuagii prædicti Petri in tenura Willielmi Cowper et extendentia in longitudine a venella prædicta ex parte boreali usque ad quendam rivulum vocatum Ryssheffelde broke currentem inter dictam terram dicti Ricardi Bruche et brueram de Weryngton ex parte australi. Quæ prædicta reddunt dicto Petro de capitali redditu per annum. . . . . .

Item dictus Ricardus Bruche tenet de dicto Petro in capite in Overforthe prædicto alium messuagium cum orreo orto et tribus croftis cum parcella prati quæ omnia continent octo acras terræ arabilis et prati extendentes in longitudine a dicta venella ex parte boreali usque ad prædictum rivulum vocatum Ryssheffelde broke ex parte australi et est ex orientali latere prædicti messuagii dicti Ricardi Bruche in tenura dicti Jacobi et dictum messuagium orreum ortus et croftum pratum sunt modo in tenura Ricardi Cowper quæ reddunt dicto Petro Legh militi per annum de capitali redditu quindecim solidos et sex denarios.

Capitalis Redditus pertinens dicto Petro infra villam de Lacheforth.

Hugo Midillhurst tenet de dicto Petro in capite per servitium militare infra villam de Lacheforth in comitatu Cestriæ unum

Here follows the Chief Rent of the hamlet of Overforthe aforesaid belonging to the said Peter Legh, knight.

Richard Bruche holds of the aforesaid Peter Legh in capite one messuage with two gardens and five crofts with one parcel of meadow in the tenure of James Sothurn lying in the hamlet of Overforthe beside Weryngton, which garden and crofts, with their appurtenances, contain nine acres of arable and meadow land lying on the south of Overforthe lane and nearly over against a messuage of the aforesaid Peter in the tenure of William Cowper, and extending in length from the lane aforesaid on the north as far as a certain rivulet called Rysshefelde broke running between the said land of Richard Bruche and a heath of Weryngton on the south; which aforesaid [premises] render to the said Peter for chief rent yearly . . . . . .

Also the said Richard Bruche holds of the said Peter in capite in Overforthe aforesaid another messuage, with a barn, garden, three crofts, and a parcel of meadow, all which contain eight acres of arable and meadow land, extending in length from the said lane on the north as far as the aforesaid rivulet called Rysshefelde broke on the south and to the east of the aforesaid messuage of the said Richard Bruche in the tenure of the said James, and the said messuage, barn, croft, and meadow are now in the tenure of Richard Cowper; which [premises] render to the said Peter Legh, knight, yearly for chief rent, to wit, the before described render yearly fifteen shillings and six pence.

Chief Rent belonging to the said Peter within the town of Lacheforth.

Hugh Middlehurst holds of the said Peter in capite by military service within the town of Lacheforth in the county of Chester

messuagium cum orreo et duobus ortis et croftis eidem adjacentibus vocatum Middlehursteshowse jacens super litus aquæ de Mersee videlicet in occidentali latere, quod quidem messuagium cum orreo et crofto jacent et situantur in latitudine dicti messuagii et longitudine dictorum ortorum et croftorum inter ortum et in antiquo tempore messuagium scilicet nunc destructum per cursum aquæ prædictæ Willielmi Venables[1] de Goldburne armigeri ex parte orientali et parvum rivulum currentem per medium dictæ villæ de Lacheforthe ex parte occidentali et extendunt in longitudine dicti messuagii et latitudine dictorum ortorum et croftorum a terra sive orto jam in lite pendente inter Thomam Radyche et hæredes Johannis Adburgham infra villam de Lacheforthe prædicta modo in tenura Hugonis Smythe ex parte boreali usque ad parvam venellam ducentem a villa prædicta usque ad villam de Gropenhall ex parte australi. Et hæc prædicta tenentur de dicto Petro ut de dominico suo de Gropenhall. Quæ reddunt de capitali redditu per annum . . . . . .

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[1] This William Venables was probably the successor of the Thomas le Venables mentioned in the following charter (transcribed from a collection in the possession of the Shakerley family). Ego Henricus Torald capellanus remisi Thomæ le Venables filio Hugonis de Venables de Kinderton hæredibus et assignatis suis totum jus &c. in omnibus terris tenementis redditibus et possessionibus habui ex dono et feoffamento Thomæ Barker personæ ecclesiæ de in civitate Cestriæ et [*sic in the copy*] Latchford juxta Warington. Habend. prædicto Thomæ et hæredibus suis in perpetuum, testibus Johanne Walsh, maiore civitatis Cestriæ, Johanne de Cotyngham, et Roberto de Eton tunc vicecomite civitatis ejusdem, Rogero de Coton, Thoma de Waley. Dat. apud Cestriam 19 Hen. VI.

one messuage, with a barn, two gardens, and crofts adjoining the same called Middlehursteshowse, lying upon the shore of Mersee water, to wit, on the west side; which messuage, barn, and croft lie and are situate in breadth of the said messuage and in length of the said gardens and crofts between a garden and the site where of ancient time stood a messuage which is now destroyed by the course of the aforesaid water, belonging to William Venables of Goldburne, esquire, on the east, and a small rivulet running through the middle of the said town of Lacheforth on the west, and extending in length of the said messuage and in breadth of the said gardens and crofts from land or a garden now in litigation between Thomas Radyche and the heirs of John Adburgham within the town of Lacheforthe aforesaid now in the tenure of Hugh Smythe on the north as far as a small lane leading from the aforesaid town to the town of Gropenhull on the south. And the aforesaid [premises] are held of the said Peter as of his demesne of Gropenhall and render yearly for chief rent . . . . . .

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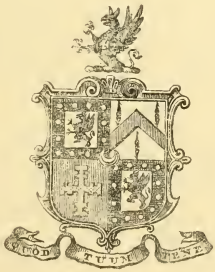

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2. Collection of the Tracts published during the Civil Wars, relating to the Battles, Sieges, and Military Operations in Lancashire and Cheshire. (The Lancashire Tracts are in the Press.)

3. Pott's Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster, from the edition of 1613.

4. More's (George) Discourse concerning the Possession and Dispossession of Seven Persons in one Family in Lancashire, from a Manuscript formerly belonging to Thoresby, and which gives a much fuller Account of that Transaction than the Printed Tract of 1600; with a Bibliographical and Critical Review of the Tracts in the Darrel Controversy.

5. The Life of the Rev. Adam Martindale, Vicar of Rostherne, in Cheshire, from the MSS. in the British Museum. (4239 Ascough's Catalogue.) (In the Press.)

6. A Selection of the most Curious Papers and Tracts relating to the Pretender's Stay in Manchester in 1745, in Print and Manuscript.

7. Proceedings of the Presbyterian Classes of Manchester and the Neighbourhood, from 1646 to 1660, from an Unpublished Manuscript.

8. Catalogue of the Alchemical Library of John Webster, of Clitheroe, from a Manuscript in the Rev. T. Corser's possession; with a fuller Life of him, and List of his Works, than has yet appeared.

9. Dee's Compendious Rehearsal, and other Autobiographical Tracts, not included in the recent Publication of the Camden Society edited by Mr. Halliwell, with his Collected correspondence. (In the Press.)

10. Correspondence between Samuel Hartlib (the Friend of Milton), and Dr. Worthington, of Jesus College, Cambridge (a native of Manchester), from 1655 to 1661, on various Literary Subjects.

11. Iter Lancastrense, by Dr. Richard James; an English Poem, written about 1620, containing a Metrical Account of the Principal Families and Mansions in Lancashire; from the unpublished MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

12. "Antiquities concerning Cheshire," by Randall Minshull, written A.D. 1591, from a MS. in the Gough Collection.

13. Register of the Lancaster Priory, from a MS. (No. 3764) in the Harleian Collection.

14. Selections from the Visitations of Lancashire in 1533, 1567, and 1613, in the Herald's College, British Museum, Bodleian, and Caius College Libraries.

15. Selections from Dodsworth's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Randal Holme's Collections for Lancashire and Cheshire (MSS. Harleian), and Warburton's Collections for Cheshire (MSS. Lansdown).

16. "Chester's Triumph in Honour of her Prince," from the Rare Tract of 1610, in 4to.

17. Annales Cestrienses, or Chronicle of St. Werburgh, from the MSS. in the British Museum.

18. A Reprint of Henry Bradshaw's Life and History of St. Werburgh, from the very rare 4to. of 1521, printed by Pynson.

19. The Letters and Correspondence of Sir William Brereton.

20. A Poem, by Laurence Bostock, on the subject of the Saxon and Norman Earls of Chester.

21. Bishop Gastrell's Notitia Cestriensis, on the subject of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Diocese of Chester, from the Original MSS.

22. History of the Earldom of Chester, collected by Archbishop Parker, entitled De Successione Comitum Cestriæ a Lugone Lupo ad Johannem Scoticum, from the Original MSS. in Ben'et College Library, Cambridge.

23. Volume of Funeral Certificates of Lancashire and Cheshire.

24. Volume of Early Lancashire and Cheshire Wills.

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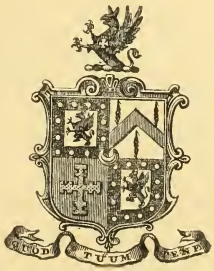

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Crosse, Thomas Bright, Shaw Hill, near Chorley
Crossley, George, Manchester
Crossley, James, Manchester

Crossley, John, M.A., Scaitcliffe House, Todmorden
Currer, Miss Richardson, Eshton Hall, near Skipton

Daniel, George, Manchester
Darbishire, Samuel D., Manchester
Darwell, James, Manchester
Darwell, Thomas, Manchester
Davies, John, M.W.S., Manchester
Dawes, Matthew, F.G.S., Westbrooke, near Bolton
Dearden, James, F.S.A., The Orchard, Rochdale
Dearden, Thomas Ferrand, Rochdale
Delamere, The Lord, Vale Royal, near Northwich
Derby, The Earl of, Knowsley
Dilke, C. W., London
Dinham, Thomas, Manchester
Driver, Richard, Manchester
Dugard, Rev. George, M.A., Birch, near Manchester
Dyson, T. J., Tower, London

Earle, Richard, Edenhurst, near Prescott
Eccles, William, Wigan
Egerton, The Lord Francis, M.P., Worsley Hall
Egerton, Sir Philip de Malpas Grey, Bart., M.P., Oulton Park, Tarporley
Egerton, Wilbraham, Tatton Park
Eyton, J. W. K., F.S.A. L. & E., Elgin Villa, Leamington

Faulkner, George, Manchester
Feilden, Joseph, Witton, near Blackburn
Fenton, James, Jun., M.A., Heywood Hall, near Rochdale
Fernley, John, Manchester
Ffarrington, J. Nowell, Worden, near Chorley
Ffrance, Thomas Robert Wilson, Rawcliffe Hall, Garstang
Fielding, Rev. Henry, M.A., Salmonby Rectory, near Horncastle
Fleming, Thomas, Pendleton, near Manchester
Fleming, William, M.D., Ditto
Fletcher, Samuel, Broomfield, near Manchester
Fletcher, Samuel, Ardwick, near Manchester
Flintoff, Thomas, Manchester
Ford, Henry, Manchester
Fraser, James W., Manchester
Frere, W. E., Rottingdean, Sussex

Gardner, Thomas, Worcester College, Oxford
Garner, J. G., Manchester
Garnett, William James, Quernmore Park, Lancaster
Germon, Rev. Nicholas, M.A., High Master, Free Grammar School, Manchester
Gibb, William, Manchester
Gladstone, Robertson, Liverpool
Gladstone, Robert, Withington, near Manchester
Gordon, Hunter, Manchester
Gould, John, Manchester
Grant, Daniel, Manchester
Grave, Joseph, Manchester
Gray, Benjamin, B.A., Trinity College Cambridge
Gray, James, Manchester
Greaves, John, Irlam Hall, near Manchester
Greenall, G., Walton Hall, near Warrington
Grey, The Hon. William Booth
Grundy, George, Chetham Fold, near Manchester

Hadfield, George, Manchester
Hailstone, Edward, F.S.A., Horton Hall, Bradford, Yorkshire
Hardman, Henry, Bury, Lancashire
Hardy, William, Manchester
Hargreaves, George J., Hulme, Manchester
Harland, John, Manchester
Harrison, William, Brearey, Isle of Man
Harter, James Collier, Broughton Hall, near Manchester
Harter, William, Hope Hall, near Manchester
Hately, Isaiah, Manchester
Hatton, James, Richmond House, near Manchester
Hawkins, Edward, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., British Museum, London
Heelis, Stephen, Manchester
Henshaw, William, Manchester
Herbert, The Hon. and Very Rev. Wm., Dean of Manchester
Heron, Rev. George, M.A., Carrington, Cheshire
Heywood, Sir Benjamin, Bart., Claremont, near Manchester
Heywood, James, F.R.S., F.G.S., Acresfield, near Manchester
Heywood, John Pemberton, near Liverpool
Heywood, Thomas, F.S.A., Hope End, Ledbury, Herefordshire
Heywood, Thomas, Pendleton, near Manchester
Heyworth, Lawrence, Oakwood, near Stockport
Hibbert, Mrs., Salford
Hickson, Charles, Manchester
Hinde, Rev. Thomas, M.A., Winwick, Warrington
Hoare, G. M., The Lodge, Morden, Surrey
Hoare, P. R., Kelsey Park, Beckenham, Kent
Hodgson, F. R., Rusholme, Manchester.
Holden, Thomas, Summerfield, Bolton
Holden, Thomas, Rochdale
Holme, Thomas Brian, New Inn, London
Holme, Edward, M.D., Manchester
Hughes, William, Old Trafford, near Manchester
Hulme, Davenport, M.D., Manchester
Hulme, Hamlet, Medlock Vale, Manchester
Hulton, Rev. A. H., M.A., Ashton-under-Lyne
Hulton, Rev. C. G., M.A., Manchester
Hulton, H. T., Manchester
Hulton, W. A., Preston
Hunter, Rev. Joseph, F.S.A., London

Jackson, Joseph, Ardwick, near Manchester
Jacson, Charles R., Barton Lodge, Preston
James, Paul Moon, Summerville, near Manchester
Jemmett, William Thomas, Manchester
Johnson, W. R., Manchester
Johnson, Rev. W. W., M.A., Manchester
Jones, Rev. Henry Longueville, M.A., Manchester.
Jones, Jos., Jun., Hathershaw, Oldham
Jones, W., Manchester
Jordan, Joseph, Manchester

Kay, James, Turton Tower, Bolton
Kay, Samuel, Manchester
Kelsall, Strettle, Manchester
Kendrick, James, M.D., F.L.S, Warrington
Kennedy, John, Ardwick House, near Manchester
Ker, George Putland, Caius College, Cambridge
Kershaw, James, Green Heys, near Manchester
Kidd, Rev. W. J., A., Didsbury, near Manchester

Langton, William, Manchester
Larden, Rev. G. E., M.A., Brotherton Vicarage, Yorkshire
Leeming, W. B., Salford
Legh, G. Cornwall, M.P., F.G.S., High Legh, Cheshire
Legh, Rev. Peter, M. A., Newton in Makerfield
Leigh, Rev. Edward Trafford, M.A., Cheadle, Cheshire
Leigh, Henry, Moorfield Cottage, Worsley
Leresche, J. H., Manchester
Lloyd, William Horton, F.S.A., L.S., Park-square, London
Lloyd, Edward Jeremiah, Oldfield House, Altringham
Lomas, Edward, Manchester
Lomax, Robert, Harwood, near Bolton
Love, Benjamin, Manchester
Lowndes, William, Egremont, Liverpool
Loyd, Edward, Green Hill, Manchester
Lycett, W. E., Manchester
Lyon, Edmund, M.D., Manchester
Lyon, Thomas, Appleton Hall, Warrington

McClure, William, Peel Cottage, Eccles
McFarlane, John, Manchester
McKenzie, John Whitefoord, Edinburgh
McVicar, John, Manchester
Mann, Robert, Manchester
Mare, E. R. Le, Belmont, Cheshire
Markland, J. H., F.R.S., F.S.A., Bath
Markland, Thomas, Mab Field, near Manchester
Marsden, G. E., Manchester
Marsden, William, Manchester
Marsh, John Fitchett, Warrington
Marshall, Miss, Ardwick, near Manchester
Marshall, William, Penwortham Hall, Preston
Marshall, Frederick Earnshaw, Ditto
Marshall, John, Ditto
Mason, Thomas, Copt Hewick, near Ripon
Master, Rev. Robert M., M.A., Burnley
Maude, Daniel, M.A., Salford
Mellor, Thomas, Green Heys, near Manchester
Molyneux, Edward, Chetham Hill, Manchester
Monk, John, Manchester
Moore, John, F.L.S., Cornbrook, near Manchester
Mosley, Sir Oswald, Bart., Rolleston Hall, Staffordshire
Murray, James, Manchester

Nield, William, Mayfield, Manchester
Nelson, George, Manchester
Neville, James, Beardwood, near Blackburn
Newall, Mrs. Robert, Littleborough, near Rochdale
Newall, W. N., Wellington Lodge, Littleborough
Newbery, Henry, Manchester
Nicholson, William, Thelwall Hall, Warrington
Norris, Edward, Manchester
Norwich, The Bishop of

Ormerod, George, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., Sedbury Park, Gloucestershire
Ormerod, George Wareing, M.A., F.G.S., Manchester
Ormerod, Henry Mere, Manchester
Owen, John, Manchester

Parker, Robert Townley, Esq., Cuerden Hall
Parkinson, Rev. Richard, B.D., Canon of Manchester
Parkinson, Captain, Polygon, Manchester.
Patten, J. Wilson, M.P., Bank Hall, Warrington
Pedley, Rev. J. T., M.A., Peakirk-cum-Glinton, Market Deeping
Peel, Sir Robert, Bart., M.P., Drayton Manor
Peel, George, Brookfield, Cheadle
Peel, Joseph, Singleton Brook, near Manchester
Peet, Thomas, Manchester
Pegge, John, Newton Heath, near Manchester
Percival, Stanley, Liverpool
Philips, Mark, M.P., The Park, Manchester
Philippi, Frederick Theod., Belfield Hall, near Rochdale
Phillips, Shakspeare, Barlow Hall, near Manchester
Phillipps, Sir Thomas, Bart., Middle Hill, Worcestershire
Piccope, Rev. John, M.A., Farndon, Cheshire
Pickford, Thomas, Mayfield, Manchester
Pickford, Thomas E., Manchester
Pierpoint, Benjamin, Warrington
Pilkington, George, Manchester
Pilling, Charles R., Caius College, Cambridge
Plant, George, Manchester
Pooley, Edward, Manchester
Pooley, John, Hulme, near Manchester
Porrett, Robert, Tower, London
Prescott, J. C., Summerville, near Manchester
Price, John Thomas, Manchester

Radford, Thomas, M.D., Higher Broughton, near Manchester
Raffles, Rev. Thomas, D.D., LL.D., Liverpool
Raikes, Rev. Henry, M.A., Hon. Can., and Chancellor of Chester
Raines, Rev. F. R., M.A., F.S.A., Milnrow Parsonage, Rochdale
Reiss, Leopold, High Field, near Manchester
Rickards, Charles H., Manchester
Ridgway, Mrs., Ridgemont, near Bolton
Ridgway, John Withenshaw, Manchester
Robson, John, Warrington
Roberts, W. J., Liverpool
Royds, Albert Hudson, Rochdale
Rushton, The Ven. Archdeacon, D.D., Manchester

Samuels, John, Manchester
Sattersfield, Joshua, Manchester
Scholes, Thomas Seddon, High Bank, near Manchester
Schuster, Leo, Penge Place, Sydenham, Kent
Sharp, John, Lancaster
Sharp, Robert C., Bramhall Hall, Cheshire

Sharp, Thomas B., Manchester
Sharp, William, Lancaster
Sharp, William, London
Simms, Charles S., Manchester
Simms, George, Manchester
Skaife, John, Blackburn
Skelmersdale, The Lord, Lathom House
Smith, Rev. Jeremiah, D.D., Leamington
Smith, Junius, Strangeways Hall, Manchester
Smith, J. R., Old Compton-street, London
Sowler, R. S., Manchester
Sowler, Thomas, Manchester
Standish, W. J., Duxbury Hall, Chorley
Stanley, The Lord, Knowsley
Stanley, The Lord, of Alderley
Sudlow, John, Jun., Manchester
Swain, Charles, M.R.S.L., Cheetwood Priory, near Manchester.
Swanwick, Josh. W., Hollins Vale, Bury, Lancashire

Tabley, The Lord De, Tabley, Cheshire
Tattershall, Rev. Thomas, D.D., Liverpool
Tatton, Thos., Withenshaw, Cheshire
Tayler, Rev. John James, B.A., Manchester
Taylor, Thomas Frederick, Wigan
Teale, Josh., Salford
Thomson, James, Manchester
Thorley, George, Manchester
Thorpe, Robert, Manchester
Tinker, Wm., Hyde, near Manchester
Tobin, Rev. John, M.A., Liscard, Cheshire
Townend, John, Polygon, Manchester
Townend, Thomas, Polygon, Manchester
Turnbull, W. B., D.D., Edinburgh
Turner, Samuel, F.R.S, F.S.A., F.G.S., Liverpool
Turner, Thomas, Manchester

Vitrè, Edward Denis De, M.D., Lancaster

Walker, John, Weaste, near Manchester
Walker, Samuel, Prospect Hill, Pendleton
Wanklyn, J. B., Weaste, near Manchester
Wanklyn, James H., Crumpsall House, near Manchester
Warburton, R. E. E., Arley Hall, near Northwich
Ware, Samuel Hibbert, M.D., F.R.S.E., Edinburgh
Wareing, Ralph, Manchester
Westhead, Joshua P., Manchester
Westminster, The Marquis of
Whitaker, Rev. Robert Nowell, M A., Vicar of Whalley
Whitehead, James, Manchester
Whitelegg, Rev. William, M.A., Hulme, near Manchester
Whitmore, Edward, Jun., Manchester
Whitmore, Henry, Manchester
Wilson, William James, Manchester
Wilton, The Earl of, Heaton House
Winter, Gilbert, Stocks, near Manchester
Worthington, Edward, Manchester
Wray, Rev. Cecil Daniel, M.A., Canon of Manchester
Wright, Rev. Henry, M.A., Mottram, St. Andrew's, near Macclesfield
Wroe, Frederick, Cheetham Hill near Manchester

Yates, Joseph B., West Dingle, Liverpool

WORKS PUBLISHED BY THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

For the Year 1843—1844.

1 Brereton's Travels.
2 The Civil War Tracts of Lancashire.
3 Chester's Triumph, 1610.

For the Year 1844—1845.

4 The Life of Adam Martindale.
5 Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion of 1715.
6 Potts's Discoverie of Witches.

For the Year 1845—1846.

7 Dr. James's Iter Lancastrense.
8 Vol. I. Gastrell's Notitia. *Cheshire.*
9 The Norris Papers.

WORKS SELECTED FOR PUBLICATION.

Dee's Compendius Rehearsal.

Gastrell's Notitia Cestriensis. *The Second Part.*

Proceedings of the Presbyterian Classis of Manchester and the Neighbourhood, from 1646 to 1660, from an Unpublished Manuscript.

Correspondence between Samuel Hartlib (the Friend of Milton), and Dr. Worthington, of Jesus College, Cambridge (a native of Manchester), from 1655 to 1661, on various Literary Subjects.

A Reprint of Henry Bradshaw's Life and History of St. Werburgh, from the very rare 4to. of 1521, printed by Pynson.

Volume of Early Lancashire and Cheshire Wills.

A Memoir of the Chetham Family, from original documents.

The Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome, M.A., from the original MS. in the possession of his descendant, the Rev. Thomas Newcome, M.A., Rector of Shenley, Herts.

The Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey.

The inedited Remains (including some interesting letters addressed to him) of the late John Byrom, M.A., F.R.S., now first printed from the original MSS. in the possession of his last lineal descendant, Miss Atherton of Kersall Cell. By the Rev. R. Parkinson, B.D., Canon of Manchester.

WORKS SUGGESTED FOR PUBLICATION.

Selections from the Unpublished Correspondence of the Rev. John Whittaker, Author of the History of Manchester, and other Works.

More's (George) Discourse concerning the Possession and Dispossession of Seven Persons in one Family in Lancashire, from a Manuscript formerly belonging to Thoresby, and which gives a much fuller Account of that Transaction than the Printed Tract of 1600; with a Bibliographical and Critical Review of the Tracts in the Darrel Controversy.

A Selection of the most Curious Papers and Tracts relating to the Pretender's Stay in Manchester in 1745, in Print and Manuscript.

Catalogue of the Alchemical Library of John Webster, of Clitheroe, from a Manuscript in the Rev. T. Corser's possession; with a fuller Life of him, and List of his Works, than has yet appeared.

"Antiquities concerning Cheshire," by Randall Minshull, written A.D. 1591, from a MS. in the Gough Collection.

Register of the Lancaster Priory, from a MS. (No. 3764) in the Harleian Collection.

Selections from the Visitations of Lancashire in 1533, 1567, and 1613, in the Herald's College, British Museum, Bodleian, and Caius College Libraries.

Selections from Dodsworth's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Randal Holmes's Collections for Lancashire and Cheshire (MSS. Harleian), and Warburton's Collections for Cheshire (MSS. Lansdown).

The Letters and Correspondence of Sir William Brereton, from the original MSS., in 5 vols folio, in the British Museum.

A Poem, by Laurence Bostock, on the subject of the Saxon and Norman Earls of Chester.

History of the Earldom of Chester, collected by Archbishop Parker, entitled De Successione Comitum Cestriæ a Hugone Lupo ad Johannem Scoticum, from the original MS. in Ben'et College Library, Cambridge.

Volume of Funeral Certificates of Lancashire and Cheshire.

Lucianus Monacus de laude Cestrie, a Latin MS. of the 13th century, descriptive of the walls, gates, &c., of the City of Chester, formerly belonging to Thomas Allen, DD., and now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Richard Robinson's Golden Mirrour, Bk. lett. 4to. Lond., 1580. Containing Poems on the Etymology of the names of several Cheshire Families; from the exceedingly rare copy formerly in the collection of Richard Heber, Esq., (see Cat. pt. iv. 2413,) and now in the British Museum.

A volume of the early Ballad Poetry of Lancashire.

THE FIRST REPORT

OF THE

Council of the Chetham Society,

BEING

FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH, 1844.

THE Council deem it necessary first to advert in their Report to the number of members.

The Society was limited to three hundred and fifty, by the rules agreed upon at the general meeting on the 23d March, 1843; and this number was speedily filled up shortly after its formation. To meet occasional vacancies occurring, by death or otherwise, in the body of members, there is a reserved list of candidates for admission; and there appears every reason to believe that the society may be considered as established upon a permanent basis; and that its present annual income will not diminish, and will be adequate to the outlay to be incurred in fulfilling the objects proposed, and which are detailed in the original prospectus.

It will be seen from the Treasurer's report, that all the annual subscriptions for the first year have been paid, with the exception of one. Twenty-two of the members have elected to compound for their future subscriptions by the payment of £10 each, in pursuance of the power given by the rules of the Society; and the Council have ordered these compositions, amounting to £220, to be invested in the £3 per cent. consols, in the joint names of WILLIAM LANGTON, Esq., the Treasurer, and WILLIAM FLEMING, Esq., M.D., the Honorary Secretary. The dividends arising from this investment will be applicable as part of the annual income of the Society.

The Council would next refer to the publications, completed or in progress. The first of these, the *Travels of Sir William Brereton*, which has been completed and delivered to the members, was printed from a manuscript obligingly furnished by Sir PHILIP DE MALPAS GREY EGERTON, BART. As the evidence in favour of its being an authentic production of this celebrated Parliamentary General appeared to be incontrovertible, the work seemed to the Council naturally to fall within that department of the proposed publications of the Society which is devoted to the illustration of the history and biography of distinguished natives and residents of Lancashire and Cheshire. The Council have felt pleasure in observing, that since this publication issued, (and which was carefully and satisfactorily edited by EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq., of the British Museum,) reference has been made to it in various quarters, as containing curious and important particulars, throwing great light on general and local history.

The second publication for the first year, and which will be ready for delivery to the members immediately after the present annual meeting, will be a Collection of Tracts relating to the military proceedings in Lancashire during the great Civil War, edited by GEORGE ORMEROD, D.C.L., &c. the able historian of Cheshire. The Council feel satisfied that this publication will be admitted to be an important and valuable contribution to the history of Lancashire, the most interesting portion of which it illustrates by reprints of the tracts of the period, or extracts from them, arranged in chronological order, and rendered still more valuable by the connecting and explanatory notes of the accurate and judicious editor.

The third and last of the publications for the first year, which is now in progress, and may be expected to appear very shortly, will be *Iter Lancastrense*, by Dr. RICHARD JAMES, an English Poem, written about 1620, giving an account of an excursion into Lancashire in that year, from the original MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Edited by the Rev. THOMAS CORSER.

The other works, which are, under the sanction of the Council, in progress with a view to publication for the use of the Society, are: —

1. The Life of the Rev. Adam Martindale, Vicar of Rostherne, in Cheshire; from the MSS. in the British Museum. Edited by the Rev. RICHARD PARKINSON, Canon of Manchester.
2. Dee's Compendious Rehearsal, and other Autobiographical Tracts, not included in the recent publication of the Camden Society, with his collected Correspondence. Edited by JAMES CROSSLEY, Esq.

3. Potts's Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster, from the edition of 1613. Edited by JAMES CROSSLEY, Esq.
4. A selection from the Correspondence of the Norris Family, of Speke Hall, near Liverpool. Arranged and edited by THOMAS HEYWOOD, Esq., F.S.A., &c.
5. Memorials relating to Humphrey Chetham and his Family. Collected and edited by the Rev. J. T. ALLEN, M.A.

The Council also deem it highly essential that immediate arrangements should be made for the collection and publication, for the use of the Society, under the superintendence of a competent editor, of all the State Papers and scattered documents and letters having historical interest relating to Lancashire and Cheshire. As such a work requires extensive co-operation to be brought out in anything like a complete and satisfactory state, the Council emphatically urge the members to unite in making application, in every suitable quarter, for the communication of letters and documents which may fall within the plan of such a work; and trust that every member who may have original MSS. in his possession, will not scruple to allow them to be used for such a purpose. By the liberal communication, on an extensive scale, of even single letters of an interesting nature, a very valuable work may be composed, and such as it is the peculiar province of societies like the present to originate and promote.

The Council cannot conclude their report without expressing their sense of the great obligation which they consider the members lie under to the Honorary Secretary, Dr. FLEMING. His able, persevering, and energetic exertions have never been wanting, on any occasion, when the interests or success of the Society could be promoted or secured.

DR. *WILLIAM LANGTON, Treasurer, in account with the Chetham Society,* 1843-4. CR.

		L.	S.	D.
2	Subscriptions in arrear.			
326	Annual Subscriptions collected ..	326	0	0
328				
22	Life Members' compositions	220	0	0
350				
	Interest allowed by Bankers.....	4	16	0
		£550	16	0

1844.
March 1. To Balance..... £447 1 4

Errors excepted,
WILLIAM LANGTON, Treasurer.

			L.	S	D.
1843.					
April 13.	By	Expenses incurred by Honorary Secretary	2	12	4
May 6.	„	Ditto ditto	1	4	4
„ 23.	„	Stationery.....	0	2	0
July 25.	„	T. Sowler, printing and advertising	6	18	6
„ „	„	Taylor and Garnett, advertising	1	10	6
„ „	„	Bradshaw and Co., circulars	0	9	0
Aug. 26.	„	Transcript of Sir Wm. Brereton	5	5	0
Dec. 12.	„	Richards, printer, viz., Sir Wm. Brereton's Travels, and general printing	81	19	0
„ 28.	„	Stamped Envelopes	2	4	6
„ 31.	„	Postages charged by the Bankers	0	14	6
1844.					
Jan. 16.	„	Simms and Co., carriage of parcel and Stationery	0	15	0
			103	14	8
March 1.	„	Balance in the Bank at the close of the year	447	1	4
			£550	16	0

AUDITED,
JOHN MOORE,
GEORGE PEEL,
EDWARD WHITMORE, in the place of
T. W. WINSTANLEY, deceased.

THE SECOND REPORT

OF THE

Council of the Chetham Society,

BEING

FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH, 1845.

THE Council have to report, that, as some difficulty arose in bringing out Dr. James's *Iter Lancastrense*, the proposed third volume for the first year, as early as had been expected, it was determined to substitute in its place a reprint of *Chester's Triumph*, one of the works which had been suggested for publication; and this has accordingly been printed and issued during the last year. As the only specimen, connected with the counties within the range of this Society, of a very curious class of compositions to which of late considerable attention has been paid, the pageants which succeeded the early mysteries, the Council considered that a reprint of this tract, which is of considerable rarity, was both within the scope of their plan, and would be generally acceptable to the members; and the Rev. T. CORSER kindly lent his aid by supplying an appropriate introduction and notes, and superintending the work during its progress through the press. The following will be the publications of this Society for the year ending March, 1845: —

1. The Life of Adam Martindale, written by himself, and now first printed from the original manuscript in the British Museum; edited by the Rev. RICHARD PARKINSON, B.D., Canon of Manchester.
2. The Journal of Peter Clarke, relating to the Insurrection, begun in Scotland, and concluded at Preston, Lancashire, on November 14th,

1715. Now first published from an original manuscript, and edited, with an Introduction and Notes, and an Appendix of Supplementary Papers, by SAMUEL HIBBERT WARE, M.D., F.R.S., &c. &c.

3. Potts's Discovery of the Witches tried at Lancaster, in August, 1612; reprinted from the scarce edition of 1613, with an Introduction and Notes.

In the Life of Adam Martindale, which presents a most unreserved and vivid picture of the author and his opinions, and the transactions in which he was engaged, the Council may congratulate the members of the Society on an acquisition of no ordinary value to the general stock of English biographical literature; while the many curious particulars which it contains referring to the history, ecclesiastical and civil, of this district, give it a singular interest in this locality. Perhaps few works afford a clearer insight into the points in dispute between the various religious parties which divided the country from the death of Charles the First, to the eviction of the Nonconformists; and none certainly give a more complete portrait of the individual author. The research, care, and judgment, with which its very able editor, the Reverend Canon PARKINSON, has executed a task of some difficulty, have added greatly, in the opinion of the Council, to the attraction of the book; and, as they will be appreciated by every reader, are deserving of the most grateful acknowledgements of the members.

The Papers relative to the Rebellion of 1715, edited by Dr. HIBBERT WARE, will, the Council feel assured, be hailed by the members as an important addition to the history of a period not so well known as its interest deserves, and with respect to which the materials are rather scanty, so far at least as Lancashire is concerned. The name of the editor will be a sufficient guarantee that nothing will be wanting in the shape of illustration which can add to the value of the materials which he has collected. Dr. HIBBERT WARE, also, with a liberality which entitles him to be considered a benefactor to the Society, announced his intention, some time ago, of presenting to the members a publication, to be printed at his own expense, to form part of the series of its works. With this intention he had printed, to be issued in a separate form, "An Essay on the State of Parties in Lancashire, in 1715," It appearing to the Council desirable that this valuable summary should be combined with the papers last mentioned, and to which it seemed to form a most appropriate introduction, Dr. H. WARE has been requested to concur in that arrangement; and accordingly "The State of Parties,"

which the members are to consider as Dr. H. Ware's free and liberal contribution, will in all probability be included in the second volume of the Society for the past year, instead of being presented in a separate form.

In the general history of the two counties, which it is one great object of the Chetham Society to illustrate, the history of their superstitions can never be considered as unimportant or uninteresting. Potts's Discovery of Witches, published in 1613, is unquestionably the most curious tract now known relating to this head of inquiry; as it is also the most complete and authentic report we have of any early English trial of witches, is of uncommon occurrence, and has never been reprinted except once, and very inaccurately, in the voluminous collection of the Somers's Tracts, edited by Sir W. Scott, it appeared to the Council to be deserving of republication. As near a fac-simile as was practicable has been given of the edition of 1613; and such notes and preliminary observations as seemed to be required, without overstepping the bounds of just and necessary illustration, have been appended by the editor.

In the selection of publications which has been made, it has been the desire of the Council to study variety as much as possible, and to avoid too exclusive a limitation to any particular class or description of works. It has likewise been their wish to select those which were not deficient in interest to the general reader, at the same time that they fell legitimately within the scope of the Society, and possessed a permanent value from their decided bearing upon the history or biography of the two counties. How far the main objects of the Council have been attained, it will be for the members generally to judge. Of the three works for the year ending March, 1845, the first will be ready for delivery to the members on the 3d instant, and the second and third may be confidently expected to be in the hands of the members during the present month of March. The following is a list of the works in progress, or determined upon, for future publication: —

1. Dee's Compendious Rehearsal, and other Autobiographical Tracts — in the press.
2. Dr. James's Iter Lancastrense — in the press.
3. Proceedings of the Presbyterian Classis of Manchester and the Neighbourhood from 1646 to 1660, from an unpublished manuscript, edited by the Rev. George Dugard, M.A.
4. Bishop Gastrell's Notitia Cestriensis, from the original MSS., edited by the Rev. F. R. Raines, M.A., F.S.A.

5. The Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome, from the original MSS. in the possession of his descendant, the Rev. Thomas Newcome, M.A., Rector of Shenley, Herts.
6. A Memoir of the Chetham family, from original documents, by the Rev. J. T. Allen, M.A.
7. A Selection from the Papers of the Family of Norris, of Speke, edited by Thomas Heywood, Esq., F.S.A.
8. The Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey.

With respect to the Memoir of the Chetham Family, the Council are happy to state, that materials of great interest have unexpectedly presented themselves, which will add considerably to the means afforded of rendering it full, ample, and satisfactory. For the manner in which these materials have been made available, as well as for the energetic and untiring assiduity with which he has forwarded the interest and accelerated the progress of the Society, the members are under the greatest obligations to their invaluable Secretary, William Fleming, Esq., M.D.

THE THIRD REPORT

OF THE

Council of the Chetham Society,

BEING

FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH, 1846.

IN presenting their report to the general meeting, the Council have merely to refer to the publications for the year 1845–6, and those which are now in preparation for the year ensuing.

The first of the books for the last year, Bishop Gastrell's "Notitia Cestriensis," part I., containing the Cheshire portion, is now in the hands of the members. This invaluable repository of facts relating to the ecclesiastical state of that part of the diocese, has been rendered still more useful by the elaborate annotations of its indefatigable editor, the Rev. F. R. RAINES, and will be hailed, in the opinion of the Council, as a most desirable accession to the general historical materials of the county of Chester.

The second of the publications, the "Norris Papers," is already printed, and will be ready for delivery to the members in the course of a few days. This forms one of a class, namely, family correspondence, to which perhaps too little attention has hitherto been paid in this country. The Council cannot but avow their opinion, that there is no family correspondence now existing, of as early a date as this, from which an interesting selection might not be made. They would wish to impress this consideration upon the possessors of similar family papers, who are perhaps generally disposed to underrate the value and interest of what may, at the first sight, appear only trivial and commonplace communications, and are therefrom, not from any

want of liberality, but a misconception as to their suitableness for publication, rather disposed to keep back the correspondence they may possess. It is, however, from those sources that the important facts are mainly derived which are of such unspeakable use to the historian of manners; and it may safely be asserted, that until an accumulation of such selections shall have enriched this department of our historical literature, at present so poor and meagre, and shall furnish a connected series from the period of the Paxton correspondence downwards, no account of the social habits and character of the English people, worthy of that great subject, at once accurate, vivid, and comprehensive, and fully disclosing the penetralia of the domestic life of our forefathers, in all its various lights and shadows, can ever be furnished to the public.

The Council think they may refer, as some confirmation of their observations, to the work now in review, which, amongst many other notices of interest, gives a lively picture of the state and municipal relations of Liverpool, then fast emerging into great commercial importance, and of the parties and persons by whom it was principally swayed. They feel assured that every reader will receive gratification from the amusing and agreeable introduction and notes of its able editor, Mr. Thomas Heywood.

Various circumstances, which it is scarcely necessary to mention in detail, have contributed to delay the appearance of Dr. James's "Iter Lancastrense," which, in the order of priority, is the first of the publications for the last year, but which will be the last issued of the three. The reverend editor, Mr. Corser, however, confidently expects that it will be in the hands of the members within at least a month from this time; and it may be observed that though the poem, which is the very curious production of a very singular writer, and in all respects deserving of publication, is not long, it appeared to its editor to require, for its full elucidation, a great extent of annotation, and the difficulty of satisfactorily explaining some of the allusions of the author, from recondite sources, has tended materially to prevent its appearance in the order originally announced and intended.

The publications now in progress, of which the three first issued will constitute the works for 1846-7, are the following: —

1. Henry Bradshaw's Life and History of St. Werburgh, reprinted from the very rare quarto of 1521, printed by Pynson, and edited, with an introduction and notes, by Edward Hawkins, Esq., of the British Museum.

2. Proceedings of the Presbyterian Classis of Manchester and the Neighbourhood, from 1646 to 1660, edited from the original MSS., with an introduction and notes, by the Rev. G. Dugard.
3. Correspondence between Samuel Hartlib and Dr. Worthington, of Jesus College, Cambridge, (a native of Manchester,) from 1653 to 1661, on various literary subjects.
4. Dee's Compendious Rehearsal, and other Autobiographical Tracts, not included in the recent publication of the Camden Society.
5. Bishop Gastrell's Notitia Cestriensis, part II., viz. Lancashire, edited, with a full Memoir of Bishop Gastrell, and extracts from his correspondence, by the Rev. F. R. Raines.
6. The Inedited Remains of John Byrom, Esq., M.A., edited, with an introduction and notes, by the Rev. Canon Parkinson.
7. The Diary of the Rev. H. Newcome, M.A., from the original MSS. in the possession of his descendant, the Rev. Thomas Newcome, M.A., Rector of Shenley, Herts.

DR. *WILLIAM LANGTON, Treasurer, in account with the Chetham Society,* 1845-6. CR.

		L.	S.	D.
40	Arrears at the date of last Annual Meeting.			
5	Members retired.			
35	Subscriptions collected.....	35	0	0
10	Subscriptions of 1845-6, accounted for last year.			
6	Ditto ditto, now in arrear.			
304	Annual Subscriptions collected ..	304	0	0
320	Total of Subscribing Members.			
30	Life Members, (Compositions invested in £300 Consols.)			
350				
3	Life Members, paid in the year 1845-6	30	0	0
30	Subscriptions for the year 1846-7, already collected.....	30	0	0
	Received for Books supplied to New Members	16	0	0
	Difference between Pounds due and Guineas received	0	9	0
	Dividends on Consols	6	14	0
	Interest allowed by the Bankers..	6	10	2
		428	13	2
1845. *March* 1.	Balance in Bank at commencement of the year.....	246	11	10
		£675	5	0
1846. *March* 5.	To Balance	£149	6	7

5th March, 1846.
Errors excepted,
WILLIAM LANGTON, Treasurer,

					L.	S.	D.
1845. *Mar.* 11.	By Simms and Dinham, for Stationery	0	7	0			
„ „ „	Postage of Adam Martindale.....	1	10	0			
					1	17	0
May 24.	„ Ditto of Potts's Discoverie.....				1	10	0
Aug. 15.	„ Ditto of Rebellion, 1715				1	5	6
„ 28.	„ Taylor and Garnett, advertising.....				0	8	0
„ „ „	T. Sowler, ditto.....				0	4	0
„ „ „	C. Simms, Stationery ..				3	16	0
„ „ „	Neill and Co., Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion of 1715				99	12	0
„ „ „	Simms & Dinham, binding and carriage of State of Parties, Adam Martindale, and Potts's Discoverie				48	0	0
Oct. 11.	„ Simms & Dinham, binding Lancashire Memorials.....				20	9	6
Dec. 30.	„ Postages charged by the Bankers				0	14	5
1846. *Feb.* 6.	„ Cost of Indices of Adam Martindale.....	2	2	0			
„ „ „	Of Notitia Cestriensis..	10	10	0			
					12	12	0
„ 17.	„ Cost of £70 Consols, at $96\frac{5}{8}$.....				67	14	6
„ 18.	„ C. Simms, Circulars	2	7	0			
„ „ „	For first Sheet of Presbyterian Classis	1	2	6			
					3	9	6
„ 19.	„ Cost of Postage Stamps by Hon. Secretary....				2	4	6
Mar. 4.	„ Simms & Dinham, Potts's Discoverie	20	13	9			
„ „ „	Notitia Cestriensis	173	18	1			
„ „ „	Norris Papers	62	0	0			
„ „ „	On account of Iter Lancastrense	4	10	0			
„ „ „	Sundries.....	0	19	8			
					262	1	6
					525	18	5
„ 5.	„ Balance in Bank at the close of the year.....				149	6	7
					£675	5	0

Audited 29th April, 1846.
SAMUEL WALKER,
JOHN OWEN,
HENRY M. ORMEROD.

DR. *WILLIAM LANGTON, Treasurer, in account with the Chetham Society*, 1844-5. CR.

		L.	S.	D.
2	Arrears at the date of last Annual Meeting collected	2	0	0
40	Subscriptions now in arrear.			
282	Annual Subscriptions collected	282	0	0
322	Total of Subscribing Members.			
28	Ditto Life Members			
350				
6	Life Members paid in the year 1844-5	60	0	0
10	Subscriptions for the year 1845-6 already received	10	0	0
	Received for Books supplied to New Members	5	0	0
	Difference between Pounds due and Guineas received	0	2	0
	Subscription of a deceased Member overpaid, liable to be recalled	1	0	0
	Dividend on Consols	3	7	0
	Interest allowed by Bankers	9	5	3
		372	14	3
1844. *March* 1.	Balance in hand at commencement of the year	447	1	4
		£819	15	7

1845.
March 1. To Balance £246 11 10

			L.	S.	D.
1844. *March*	15.	By Postages (Brereton) incurred by the Honorary Secretary	1	14	8
April	10.	„ Transcript of Iter Lancastrense	0	18	0
„	„	„ Carriage of Civil War Tracts	1	8	6
„	„	„ Civil War Tracts	129	0	0
Aug.	14.	„ Cash paid Simms & Dinham for Circulars, &c.	3	2	0
Octr.	23.	„ Cost of £230, 3 % Cons. at 100	230	5	9
„	24.	„ Ditto Power of Attorney and Postage	1	1	10
Decr.	21.	„ London Postages	2	0	0
„	„	„ Postages (Civil War Tracts) incurred by the Hon. Secretary	1	10	0
„	24.	„ Stephenson, for engraving Woodcuts for Chester's Triumph	4	0	0
„	31	„ Postages	0	13	9
1845. *Feby.*	24.	„ Harrison, for Circulars	0	12	6
„	„	„ Charles Simms & Co. for do. &c.	5	17	0
„	27.	„ Do. for do.	1	4	6
„	„	„ Simms & Dinham, for Chester's Triumph	32	2	7
„	„	„ Do. for Adam Martindale	80	2	5
„	„	„ Do. for Potts's Discoveric of Witches	77	10	3
			573	3	9
		Balance in the Bank at the close of the year	246	11	10
			£819	15	7

Errors excepted,
WILLIAM LANGTON,
By his Attorney,
E. WHITMORE, Esq.

March 4th, 1845.
Examined and found right,
JOHN MOORE,
THOS. ARMSTRONG,
J. B. WANKLYN.

REMAINS

HISTORICAL & LITERARY

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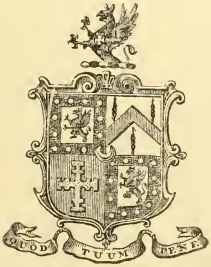

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